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Our diverse cities

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Prairies Region

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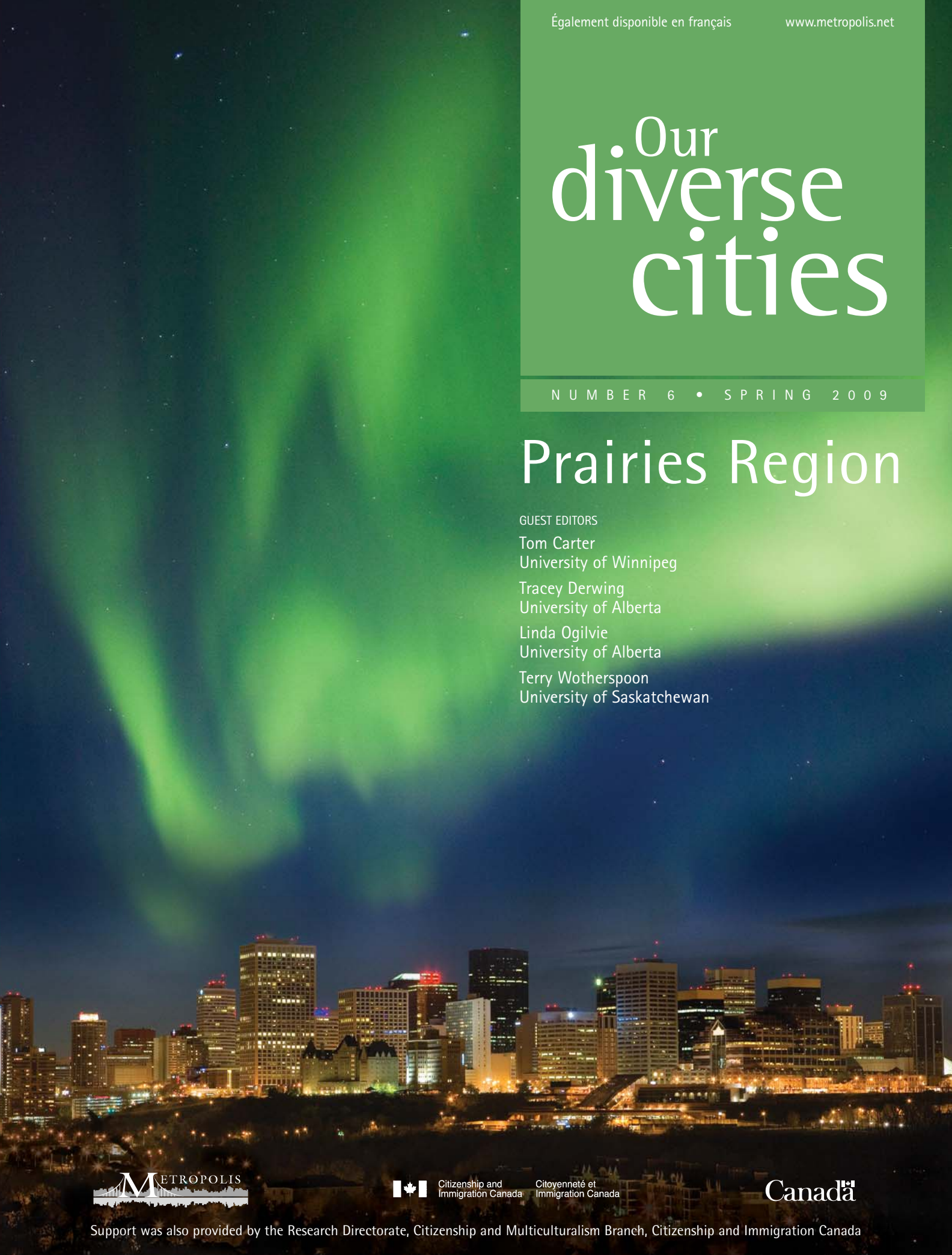

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Our Diverse Cities: The Prairies – Frontiers of Migration

Introduction

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The articles in this latest volume of *Our Diverse Cities* demonstrate the significant role immigration and immigration research have played and continue to play in the Prairies. Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have long been frontier destinations that promise a new start. In earlier times, immigrants came with hopes of acquiring land of their own. Now many come for financial independence and a better life. Despite the global economic downturn, the Prairie Provinces are still prosperous, appealing to newcomers, both immigrants and Canadian-born. Refugees are also well-represented on the Prairies: with longstanding and strong support for refugees, the three provinces together sponsor proportionately more than the national average.

After several years during which most immigrants chose Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal, immigration is now becoming more regionalized; smaller centres seek to attract newcomers, and newcomers recognize that there are opportunities for them outside the traditional destinations. Immigration in the last decade has seen other changes as well. Provinces have become more involved in newcomer selection, utilizing Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs). The federal Temporary Foreign Worker Program is a venue through which substantial numbers of newcomers come much faster than through traditional means to fill labour market demands. In this volume, scholars, policy-makers and practitioners share their insights, providing a comprehensive overview of the Prairie Provinces' experiences with immigration.

The Metropolis Project, by integrating knowledge, policy and practice regarding immigration and integration processes, can disseminate information about common challenges and transfer innovative approaches across jurisdictions. It draws attention to the unique ways in

While the challenges of dealing effectively with cultural and racial diversity are enormous, solutions lie with both the host community and the new arrivals. If integration is to be successful, both groups must take central values to heart…based on notions of equality, importance of community and acceptance of diversity.

which immigration has factored into the histories and experiences in regional and national contexts. The Prairie Metropolis Centre (PMC) is instructive in this regard: the Prairies' immigration patterns have appeared at times to be out of synch with those in other parts of Canada. However, the PMC's work led the way to a greater awareness of the oft-neglected issue of immigration to the Prairie Provinces and spurred tremendous interest among researchers – in the Prairies and elsewhere – in the Metropolis research theme of regionalization of immigration. Strategies to expand social and economic diversification in the Prairies, combined with burgeoning resource-sector opportunities, have elevated immigration to a place of prominence. Immigration is now central in the planning landscape, fuelling an economic resurgence and providing renewed hope in many communities once on their way to extinction. The PMC has worked closely with all levels of government, immigrant-serving agencies and academics to ensure a strong knowledge base and enhanced communications to better inform the integration of immigrants and refugees, and to help host communities become more welcoming.

Immigration and settlement on the Prairies

To understand the current context, we should consider historical antecedents. Vineberg's article reveals that acceptance of diversity began early in Canada's history; the high intermarriage rate among Europeans and First Nations people and the *Quebec Act* of 1774 were two indicators of this acceptance. Vineberg concludes that citizenship and diversity are "inextricably intertwined with our very Canadian identity." Subsequent articles demonstrate how the commitment to diversity is evident in recent immigration strategies on the Prairies. Gurlock explores historical facts, pointing to the significance of PNPs, particularly in Manitoba, and the effects of secondary migration and temporary foreign workers (TFWs). Wilkinson and Kalischuk examine the migration of newcomers to third-tier centres and the role of the Canadian Experience Class. They highlight the need for timely statistics to determine retention rates. Discussing settlement, Birjandian and Bray describe "Made in the Prairies" solutions to develop more awareness within communities about immigration's importance. They predict that the Prairies will attract a larger percentage of Canada's immigrants in the future, and therefore encourage long-term planning. The Honourable Nancy Allan of the Government of Manitoba details the role of Manitoba's *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act*, legislation from a province that has brought in increased numbers of TFWs. In Saskatchewan there is also a desire to attract newcomers, and the provincial government will soon release an immigration strategy to encourage more individuals to settle there. Some components of that strategy are no doubt outlined in Belding and McRae's article describing the "Toolbox of Ideas for Smaller Centres," a document intended to help smaller communities attract and retain newcomers. Pruegger and Cook's article also addresses attraction and retention of immigrants, highlighting the importance of individual community responses to newcomers. Shukla's article concludes this section with a discussion on the reality of immigration to rural communities and how best to cope in light of limitations and barriers. She argues that, ultimately, it is crucial to have a clear understanding of the nature of the community and to develop partnerships to achieve good outcomes.

The overall message in this first section is the importance of long-term planning, the recognition that host communities play a significant role in the integration of newcomers, and the invaluable role that partnerships play in integration strategies. Prairie communities need "Made in the Prairies" solutions tailored to newcomers and to communities themselves.

Cultural and racial diversity

Although the Prairies have always had a significant indigenous population, the provinces' immigrants were primarily of European origin

until the last few decades, when the region began to attract more newcomers from various non-European countries. This cultural and racial diversity is tied to immigration trends in general, but also to certain government policies, including the PNP and the Official Languages Program, which promotes the settlement of Francophones, including those from Africa and the Caribbean, in smaller western centres. In recent years, Aboriginal populations have also grown, revealing more complex dynamics both internally and in relation to other groups.

Dib and Rodriguez-Gallagher provide statistics from the 2006 Census on visible minorities and indigenous people in the Prairies. After discussing issues related to diversity, they conclude with possible research topics for academics, highlighting the need to foster policies and practices for effective social and economic integration.

Arnal, in an examination of Alberta's Francophone communities, suggests that there is an important distinction between cultural heritage and cultural development. He describes David Crombie's conception of Canadian values, which rest on notions of equality, diversity and community. Arnal argues that all groups, Francophones included, must take these values to heart in order to continue to develop.

TFWs are now coming to the Prairies in large numbers, but the provincial governments' interpretation of "temporary" differs considerably from one province to the next. In Manitoba, "temporary" means "transitional," because the province is interested in attracting individuals who will choose to stay. Bucklaschuk, Moss and Annis describe the impact that burgeoning immigration will have on service provision, housing, schooling and language supports in Brandon. They stress the importance of community collaboration and the recognition that TFWs may become Canadian citizens in the not-so-distant future.

Recent immigration patterns affect how communities and individual subgroups, such as youth, see themselves and interact with others. Calgary's increased racial diversity has come with challenges, particularly discrimination. Cook outlines some of the inequitable measures of visible minority status in that city. He also points to the high rates of hate crime and racism, indicating that despite anti-racism initiatives, Calgary must change its self-image to be a viable destination for newcomers. In his article examining the perceptions of Canadian-born and foreign-born youth with regard to ethnic identity, Frideres concludes that immigrant youth "have an interest in maintaining their ethnic culture but, at the same time, they realize that they must carry out daily interactions with other ethnic group members." Hébert and Lee's examination of attachment to urban places among youth revealed that young immigrants preferred home, unlike their Canadian counterparts, who preferred shopping malls. The authors discuss these findings with regard to the absorption capacity of cities.

An area of immigration research that received very little attention until recently is religion's role in the integration of newcomers. Mulatris describes a pilot study that examines the contribution of Francophone African Christian churches in assisting newcomers.

Finally, Durst describes challenges and success stories of urban Aboriginal peoples on the Prairies, many of whom share neighbourhoods with newly arrived immigrants and encounter barriers similar to those experienced by them. Given the high growth rate of the indigenous population, it behooves researchers, policy-makers and NGOs to consider how Aboriginal issues interrelate with work among immigrant and refugee populations.

The authors in this section demonstrate that while the challenges of dealing effectively with cultural and racial diversity are enormous, solutions lie with both the host community and the new arrivals. If integration is to be successful, both groups must take central values to heart, such as those outlined by Arnal, based on notions of equality, importance of community and acceptance of diversity.

Challenges facing newcomers

The *raison d'être* of the Metropolis Project is to produce research that informs policies to ensure that immigrants and host societies are well-served. Many Metropolis studies have identified difficulties faced by newcomers in crucial aspects of their lives. In this section, the authors describe several challenges and suggestions for addressing them.

White explores immigrant and refugee women's mental health. Her research indicates that many of the barriers identified by a Canadian Task Force in 1988 still remain. She proposes several solutions, including a more collaborative approach to health care.

Carter investigates the resettlement experience of privately sponsored refugees. He concludes

General orientation, housing, health care, schooling, adult language training, employment and psychological counseling: these are all areas that can be dealt with independently. However, if the providers of these services worked and planned together, the outcome would be faster, less stressful immigrant integration.

that, overall, the privately-sponsored refugee program in Winnipeg is working well, but suggests follow-ups to monitor and support resettlement and to provide assistance when sponsorships fail. In their longitudinal study of refugee housing in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton, Enns and Carter conclude that new arrivals need access to more information about housing and neighbourhoods and that landlords also need information regarding cultural differences. The authors suggest that more transitional housing and an increased supply of affordable rental accommodation are needed; both would allow refugees to focus on other settlement challenges.

Kanu addresses the schooling context for African refugee students in Manitoba. She notes that although schools try to help these students, many changes are necessary, including faster processing of refugee claims in Africa to reduce disruption of schooling. Discrimination experienced by visible and linguistic minorities is a theme explored by Lafontant and by Lai and Huffey. Lafontant's interviews of African Francophone immigrants reveal that many had to learn English for employment and most felt that being Francophone, as well as a visible minority, was an increased burden. Lai and Huffey's research on visible minorities in small-town Alberta echoes familiar challenges: lack of recognition for foreign credentials, differential treatment, and intergenerational issues. Kazemipur focuses on social capital and social trust in a study comparing other provinces to Alberta. Using frequency of voting, political party involvement and confidence in public institutions as measures of social capital, he argues that the Prairie Provinces are not well prepared to accommodate newcomers. He calls for a heavy investment in social infrastructure.

In her examination of the transition of Filipino caregivers from TFWs to permanent residents in southern Alberta, Bonifacio concludes that standard settlement programs are generally irrelevant to their needs. She recommends an evaluation of existing services to better serve these individuals. Rogers argues that settlement agencies should not be alone in helping newcomers overcome barriers: everyone must fight injustice.

The cases in this section highlight issues that have arisen as Prairie communities have sought to accommodate newcomer groups. Research has demonstrated critical needs, both in institutional relationships and service delivery arrangements, but it has also demonstrated the growth of innovative partnerships and arrangements that may apply in other contexts. Some of these arrangements are the focus of articles in the next section.

Integration initiatives

The ultimate goal of many newcomers is full integration into Canadian society. It is also the goal of service-providing agencies and government departments. In this section, several initiatives that have fostered integration are highlighted. Some concentrate on immigrants and others on accommodations carried out by existing institutions. Although newcomers move to Canada, they live in a particular community, and how they are received has an impact on whether they feel welcome. The articles that follow focus on individual municipalities, or work that provincial governments do in conjunction with communities.

Palamar describes several activities undertaken by the Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission to build welcoming communities and combat racism. The Commission has worked with local governments to support the Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination. Garcea and Garg outline initiatives taken by the City of Saskatoon to attract, retain and integrate more newcomers through inclusive consultation with all stakeholders.

As described by Reilly, another Prairie city active in the area of integration is Edmonton, which has developed an Immigration and Settlement Policy, materials for newcomers – including a *Newcomer Guide* in eight languages – and partnerships with other levels of

government. In 2009, Edmonton launched a 3-1-1 telephone interpretive service with information in more than 150 languages on all city services as well as referrals to relevant community services. As for Winnipeg, Haliburton writes that the City does not have a stand-alone policy for diversity, but that diversity is integral to all human resources policies, directives and practices. As well, the City has several specific initiatives developed for immigrants, persons with disabilities and Aboriginal youth.

Gurnett discusses the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers' (EMCN) holistic, integrated practice. Recognizing the complexity of integration, EMCN has adopted this approach rather than dealing with newcomers' needs in piecemeal fashion. Gurnett stresses the importance of really listening to newcomers in order to assist them. Chiu, Ortiz and Wolfe describe the work of the Multicultural Health Brokers Cooperative in Edmonton, which has developed initiatives that address determinants of immigrants' health and that increase the cultural responsiveness of the health care system.

Dietrich outlines activities of the Regina Open Door Society that serve newcomers and the host community alike. Winnipeg's unique experiences with refugee sponsorship are discussed by Denton; this city comprises 2% of Canada's population but receives 17% of the country's private sponsorships. Indeed, more than 56% of all new cases of private sponsorship submitted to the federal government are from Winnipeg. Fleming Juárez describes the Community Host program at the Saskatoon Open Door Society, which she views as crucial to retention. Passler ends this volume with a description of the Southeast Community Settlement Committee, established to help newcomers upon their arrival. The Committee, which represents several rural communities in Saskatchewan, has two functions: to see that newcomers are welcomed by volunteers and to ensure that volunteers become more knowledgeable about people from other cultures.

As several authors indicate, many service-providing organizations are ready to receive newcomers, and numerous municipalities have established equitable policies to support newcomers and minorities. Nonetheless, the key to making immigrants feel welcome is the development of a coherent, holistic approach, which involves partnerships and communication. Best practices should be based on solid research. General orientation, housing, health care, schooling, adult language training, employment and psychological counseling: these are all areas that can be dealt with independently. However, if the providers of these services worked and planned together, the outcome would be faster, less stressful immigrant integration. Governments can play an important role by bringing other stakeholders together and developing policies that would foster fairer practices for immigrants.

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It can be posited that from the very beginning of European settlement in what is now Canada, an extraordinary acceptance of diversity was also developing. This was not just tolerance. The extremely high rate of intermarriage and the significant Métis population of Canada is the enduring evidence of this phenomenon.

Canadian Diversity and the Prairie Provinces: A Historical Perspective*

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Senior Policy Advisor, Prairie Metropolis Centre

What is the origin of Canada's commitment to diversity in its immigration programs and in its concept of citizenship? It has been suggested that the multiculturalism policy wrought a great change in attitude in Canada. In this paper, I will argue that it was, in fact, the evolution of Canadian society and attitudes that paved the way for a multiculturalism policy that would be widely accepted. This paper adopts a historical approach to suggest that it is more so a philosophy of citizenship and diversity that underlies Canada's approach to immigration and immigrant integration. To examine this approach, it is useful to look back long before the creation of Canada.

Two thousand years ago, when a man from an obscure Roman province in the Middle East or a distant island off the coast of northwest Europe declared *civis romanus sum*, he was claiming the right of equality before the law. He was proclaiming his attachment to Roman civil society and its institutions. He was not, however, pretending in any way to be the same as a Roman citizen born in Latium. The Roman Empire was a remarkably diverse state and Romans realized that their empire could never be governed without a high degree of consent from the multitude of peoples within its far-flung borders. Loyalty, however, was to the empire-state even as the intrigues of the Palatine palaces toppled emperor after emperor.

The concept of nationality and nationalism, based on a single, or at least a predominant ethnicity, is a relatively modern idea. Only as European borders began to be reorganized along linguistic and ethnic lines rather than according to religion following the *Treaty of Westphalia* in 1648, did the idea of allegiance to a monarch begin to be replaced by that of allegiance to a nation state.[1] The emerging nation states identified themselves by common "race," common religion and common language, even if the reality fell far short of the model. Nevertheless, this led to the suppression of those unfortunate enough to belong to a minority – be it ethnic, linguistic or religious.

As the new nation states emerged and made themselves more and more "pure," they also became less and less tolerant of outsiders, including citizens of their neighbouring states. With few exceptions, this process continued well into the 20th century, culminating with

* This article is based on a presentation entitled "Citizenship and Diversity," delivered by the author at the Innovation in Integration Symposium in Calgary, Alberta on May 27, 2004.

[1] While there are many accounts of this evolution to nation state following the *Peace of Westphalia*, one of the most lucid is in Tim Blanning's recent book *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648-1815*:

> Although there was a rich multiplicity of constitutional forms...behind them all lay the sovereignty of an abstraction – the state....Part and parcel of this development was secularization....But the blood that ran though the veins of the state was thin and tepid. To motivate its members, the transfusion of something more inspiring was needed. Increasingly, that was found in nationalism, a secular religion with the ability to unleash devotion and hatred just as fierce as anything experienced during the religious conflicts of an earlier period. (p. xxiv)

the two catastrophic World Wars and, with the second war, the Holocaust – sadly the worst example of "ethnic cleansing," even if Hitler had never heard of that term.

Amid the ruins wrought by Hitler's war, Western Europeans determined that such a thing should never again be allowed to happen and, as a result, have progressively created pan-European institutions that, by transcending borders, have reduced if not eliminated the possibility of such horrific behaviour in the future. Unfortunately, in other parts of the world, including Afghanistan, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and on the periphery of Europe in the former Yugoslavia, the atrocities of ethnic cleansing have kept recurring, again and again.

This is the one of the risks of identity that is based on exclusivity; people deemed to be different in any way threaten this identity.

It seems clear that the notion of benefit from this blood-, religion- and language-based nationality has run its course and truly deserves to be banished to the "dustbin of history." The two-millenia old Roman concept of citizenship may serve as a better model.

The roots of Canadian diversity

Very few parts of the modern world have had a history amenable to a different concept of citizenship. Indeed, throughout the colonial era, European states exported their narrow concept of the nation state to most parts of the world. In retrospect, one of the few places that has a different experience has turned out to be in what is now Canada. Following the British conquest of New France and the French cession of "Canada" to England with the *Treaty of Paris* in 1763, the British found themselves in legal possession of a vast territory populated by a French-speaking Catholic people within an English-speaking Protestant empire.

While the normal reaction of the time was to suppress such a minority – as the English did to the Acadians, suppression was not really an option in the Quebec territory, or New France as it was then called. The English occupiers were the minority and found, as had the Romans so many centuries before, that they could govern effectively only with the consent of the people they sought to govern.

Therefore, in a decision that was extraordinary for the time, the English decided to not only tolerate but to protect the old French civil law and the Roman Catholic religion. At first this was only practical and administrative, but it was subsequently enshrined in statute and, while the *Quebec Act* of 1774 was silent on language, French was the working language of the colony. As the great American historian of French Canada, Mason Wade (1968) explained: "A new principle of empire was laid down [in the *Quebec Act*] when it was conceded that the French Canadians could be British without becoming English."

The *Quebec Act* was quickly added to the list of "grievances" to which the American colonists pointed in order to justify their *Declaration of Independence* two years later. Why? Because granting the Mid-West, then known as the "Indian Lands," to Quebec was seen by the Americans as a move by the British to keep the growing American population (and its many land speculators) forever constrained within the narrow sweep of territory between the Atlantic shore and the Appalachian Mountains.

The French Canadians, always a minority in North America, had traditionally regarded native North Americans as friends and allies. The French portrayed their King not as the ruler of the Aboriginal people but as the ultimate mediator between the French colonists and the Indians. This was diametrically opposed to the approach of the English and their American colonists, who portrayed the King of England as the Indians' new ruler. The mutual respect between French Canadians and the Aboriginal population resulted in economic cooperation that helped the small population of New France to flourish and also led to a military alliance that held off the British and Americans for the better part of two centuries.

Therefore, it can be posited that from the very beginning of European settlement in what is now Canada, an extraordinary acceptance of diversity was also developing. This was not just tolerance. There was an extremely high rate of intermarriage and the significant Métis population of Canada is the enduring evidence of this phenomenon.

The English acceptance of their new North American subjects was rewarded in very real terms during the American Revolution. The American colonies at first invited all the North American colonies to join in the rebellion. The huge naval and military presence in Halifax and the relatively recently arrived colonists in what is now Atlantic Canada served to suppress any revolutionary ardour. However, the Americans

While the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s allowed people to reach the Prairies more easily, immigration levels remained low until agricultural advances resulted in hearty wheat suited to cultivation north of the 49th parallel and until the free land south of the 49th was occupied.

regarded French Canadians as an oppressed people who would jump at the opportunity to throw off their English conquerors who, after all, had been in Québec City for only 15 years.

To the great surprise of the Americans, French Canadians remained loyal to Britain, not only rebuffing the overtures of the Americans but also volunteering to help British regulars stationed in Quebec to repel two invasions during the War of Independence. The British decision to live with diversity had rewarded them hugely. If Quebec had either joined the revolution or fallen to American arms, the remaining British colonies to the east would ultimately have been unviable and all North America might have been absorbed into the new United States of America.

Another consequence of the American Revolution was the populating of the Canadian Maritimes and Quebec province, west of the Ottawa River, by American colonists who had remained loyal to the British Crown and fled or were forced out of the new republic. These people were known as the United Empire Loyalists. In just a few short years, the French Canadians found that they no longer formed a vast majority of Europeans in the northern part of North America.

This may have been an opportunity or an excuse for the British to end their experiment with diversity, but they chose not to do so. Instead, in the *Constitutional Act* of 1791, the Quebec province was split into two provinces: Upper Canada, to the west of the Ottawa River, and Lower Canada, to the east of the Ottawa. Ostensibly this was a legislative response by Westminster to the complaints of the Loyalist settlers in Quebec that they were an English and Protestant minority in a French and Catholic colony, even if the colony was British. The division created a new colony in the heartland of North America for the Loyalists, but it also ensured that French Canadians would remain a majority in Lower Canada.

The worrisome but unsuccessful rebellions of 1837 in both Upper and Lower Canada presented the British with another opportunity to suppress the French Catholic population in North America. However, political thought was evolving, and the British had learned some lessons from the American Revolution. They realized that the Canadian rebellions were the expression of the colonists' desire to govern themselves under the British Crown – not to secede from the empire. The initial response was an inquiry by Lord Durham and the subsequent *Durham Report* that described the Canadians as "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state" (1963: 23). He went on to recommend that Upper and Lower Canada be merged so that the 19th century waves of British migration would eventually drown out the French fact in British North America (*Ibid.*: 159).

In the 1841 *Act of Union*, the British Parliament did in fact create a single province of Canada but undermined the rest of Durham's ideas by giving equal representation in the Legislative Assembly to both Lower Canada, known as Canada East, and Upper Canada, known as Canada West. As a result, Canadian legislators adopted the practice of the "double majority." In other words, legislation could only be passed if approved by a majority of members of the legislative assembly from both Canada East and Canada West. Thus, through compromise, the rights of French Canadians continued to be protected. However, the double majority created a formula for deadlock in the long run. This deadlock brought together English- and French-speaking leaders in Canada to seek a solution to this problem by creating a broader confederation that recognized religious freedom and protected French language rights in the new province of Quebec.

Thus the foundation of diversity in Canada – English, French and Aboriginal – was laid even before the emergence of Canada as a sovereign nation. This was, in fact, an amazingly sound foundation that survived countless affronts during Canada's first century: the Riel Rebellions in the West and the denial of rights to French Canadians living outside of Quebec, a federal government that operated almost solely in

English and an *Indian Act* that in large measure marginalized Canada's Aboriginal population.

The Prairie Provinces

At this very same time, the Government was faced with the necessity of governing and defending its vast Northwest Territories, which Canada acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870. The best way to do this was to populate it. While the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s allowed people to reach the Prairies more easily, immigration levels remained low until agricultural advances resulted in hearty wheat suited to cultivation north of the 49th parallel and until the free land south of the 49th was occupied. These conditions coincided with the election of the new Laurier government in 1896. The government decided to aggressively promote Canada to immigrants as a destination outside the United Kingdom, the USA and France. The belief was that by populating the Prairies, Canada could hold on to this vast territory and not lose it to a flood of Americans, as had happened with Mexico earlier in the century when it lost much of its territory to the United States. In an effort led by the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, also an MP from Manitoba, free land on the Prairies was offered to settlers. Group migration of Eastern Europeans was also encouraged (Manpower and Immigration 1974).

By 1914, when large-scale immigration ceased due to World War I, the farmland of the Prairies had been largely settled, and the face of Canada – in particular the new Prairie Provinces of Manitoba (1870), Saskatchewan (1905) and Alberta (1905) – had been changed forever. As W. L. Morton observed in his history of Manitoba (1967: 311), "it was apparent that all the diversity of Europe, in race and creed, had been imported on the already diversified population of Manitoba" by the end of the great pre-war migration.

The Prairie Provinces were unique in Canada in that neither the English nor the French were ever a majority population. The Aboriginal majority was displaced by peoples from every part of Europe and the United States. Thus, the English language became a unifying factor, yet nationality never did. While the ruling elite promoted allegiance to the "Imperial" concept of the British Empire, this concept never fully took root among the many nationalities of peoples now living in the West. The experience of World War I, during which soldiers from all these different backgrounds fought side by side, marked the beginning of the concept of Canadian nationality based on common cause as opposed to common ethnicity. The Canadian Army, at first scorned by the British Army officer corps as mere colonials, was regarded by the end of 1917 as the elite force of the Western Front not only by the allies but also by the German army. This marked the beginning of an ineluctable process that included the Balfour Declaration of 1926 acknowledging Canada as a "self-governing dominion" and the *Statute of Westminster* granting full independence to Canada in 1931, largely completing the work begun with Confederation in 1867. However, the proclamation of Canada's first citizenship act in 1947 was clearly the logical consequence of Canada's slow but constant path to independence.

Despite this evolution, not all immigrants were welcome in Canada. Severe quotas were imposed on non-Europeans and, at the urging of the province of British Columbia, a head tax was imposed on Chinese immigrants (Manpower and Immigration 1974: 7). Canadians of Japanese origin were forcibly moved inland during World War II and Jewish refugees were turned away to perish in the ovens of Hitler's concentration camps.

Nevertheless, a new and confident Canada emerged from World War II, and by the 1960s, the federal government was making great efforts to return Canada to its roots. Canada became officially bilingual and immigration policy became non-discriminatory in 1962 by administrative measures and in 1966 by policy, as enunciated in the *Immigration White Paper* (*Ibid.* 1966). Shortly thereafter, the government also developed a multiculturalism policy that encouraged Canadians to celebrate their origins and to encourage diversity.

Canada is not a country forged by its own war of independence, as was the United States, but a creation of political evolution. It developed its own sense of nationhood on the battlefields of Europe in both World Wars, not on Canadian soil. As such, for many years, the lack of the strident patriotism seen in Europe and the United States was perceived as a weakness. Now this very lack of an identity based on traditional nationalism is, by and large, regarded as a strength, and Canada's identity is often described in terms of our diversity and our ability to celebrate this diversity.

Most commentators tend to link Canadian support of diversity with the phenomenon of large-scale immigration from around the world that began in earnest in the 1960s. However, quite to the contrary, it was the very foundation of diversity upon which Canada was built that predisposed policy-makers in the 1960s to make the series of decisions that led to the great Canadian experiment: building the first truly heterogeneous country in the modern world.

In view of Canada's history, it is clear that a citizenship built upon the traditional notion of nationalism would not be feasible in Canada, even if it were desirable. If we accept the argument that traditional nationalism and the "exclusive" *nationalité de sang* is not desirable, a citizenship based upon respect for diversity, equality before the law and open access to civil society appears to be the choice of Canadians. Canada extends citizenship as the symbolic and also very real culmination of the process of welcoming diverse people as full members of Canadian society.

Has Canada revived and improved upon the concept of citizenship that first evolved in the Roman Empire but was lost to the world for 1,500 years? Perhaps. What is certain, however, is that the respect for and even the celebration of diversity in Canada have roots that reach back to the arrival of the very first European settlers. Therefore, citizenship and diversity are not only compatible in Canada but also inextricably intertwined with our very Canadian identity.

Immigration to the three Prairie Provinces has continued to increase steadily, both in absolute terms, to over 35,000 in 2007, and proportionately, representing 15% of all immigration to Canada in 2007. Thus, the diversity of all parts of the world is now being added to the traditional diversity of the Prairies. The 2006 Census has underlined this diversity: 11.2% of the Prairies' 5.3 million native-born and immigrant residents are visible minorities. After British Columbia and Ontario, Alberta has the third highest proportion of visible minorities, with 13.9%, and Manitoba has the fourth highest proportion of visible minorities, with 9.6% (Statistics Canada 2001: 21). Naturally, the largest urban areas are home to most visible minorities. In Calgary, they account for 22% of the population, in Edmonton, 17% of the population and in Winnipeg, 15% (*Ibid.*: 31).

In a world that increasingly recognizes the failure of modern nationalism and citizenship based on ethnic exclusivity, the Canadian model may well be the way forward. Canada's model is wholeheartedly endorsed by all three Prairie Provinces, each with explicit policies supporting the increase in immigration from all parts of the world.

The Prairie economies of today are leading the nation, with labour market shortages being most acute in the three Prairie Provinces. And, just as a century ago when a multitude of peoples from Europe were being welcomed to populate the Prairies, today's Prairie Provinces are looking to the diverse peoples from around the world to join in building new frontiers for the 21st century.

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Immigration to the Prairies dropped during the 1930s and declined throughout the remainder of the 20th century. In the past five years, however, this trend has started to shift as more immigrants choose the Prairie Provinces as a destination. The purpose of this article is to provide a snapshot of immigration trends to the Prairies from 2003 to 2007 and to briefly review some of the factors leading to these increased immigration numbers.

Immigration: The Prairie Story*

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Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Many Western Canadians are able to trace their family origins to relatives who immigrated to the Prairie Provinces in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Encouraged by the aggressive policies of Clifford Sifton, the Federal Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, immigrants from Europe migrated in increasing numbers to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In the six years preceding World War I, approximately 1.7 million people immigrated to Canada. Of these, 646,135 came to the Prairies, which represented 37.7% of the total immigration to the country. In terms of the percentage of total immigration to the country, immigration to the region dropped during the 1930s and declined throughout the remainder of the 20th century. In the past five years, however, this trend has started to shift as more immigrants choose the Prairie Provinces as a destination. The purpose of this article is to provide a snapshot of immigration trends to the Prairies from 2003 to 2007 and to briefly review some of the factors leading to these increased immigration numbers.

Historic trends

The largest number of immigrants to arrive in Canada in a single year was in 1913, when 400,870 newcomers entered the country. The Prairie Provinces received 32.6% of these immigrants. In 1927, just before the onset of the Great Depression, 52% of immigrants to Canada arrived in the Prairies. These numbers represent the peak years for immigration to the region. Table 1 illustrates how, as a percentage of the total immigration to Canada, the numbers peaked and then generally declined throughout the 20th century. The decline was particularly acute from 1987 to 1997.

TABLE 1
Immigration to the Prairies, 1908–1997

Year	Immigrants to the Prairies	Percentage of Canadian total
1908	66,446	46.3
1927	80,068	52
1937	3,221	21
1947	7,909	12.3
1957	13,172	13
1967	28,071	12.6
1977	19,983	17.4
1987	18,863	12.4
1997	18,268	8.4

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (n.d.).

By 2003, the downward trend of the second part of the 20th century had reversed, with 24,004 immigrants arriving in the three Prairie Provinces. By 2007, this number had grown to 35,396.

Table 2 shows the number of immigrants destined to each of the three Prairie Provinces from 2003 to 2007.

This increase in the number of immigrants settling in the Prairies is even more significant when viewed in the context of their percentage of total immigration to Canada. Table 3 illustrates the rise of immigration to the Prairies, proportionally to total national figures.

* The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of Citizenship and Immigration Canada or the Government of Canada.

TABLE 2
Immigration to the Prairie Provinces and to Canada as a whole, 2003–2007

Year	Canada	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	Total – Prairies
2003	221,349	6,503	1,668	15,833	24,004
2004	235,823	7,426	1,942	16,474	25,842
2005	262,240	8,096	2,108	19,404	26,608
2006	251,643	10,047	2,724	20,716	33,487
2007	236,758	10,995	3,517	20,857	35,396

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008).

TABLE 3
Rise of immigration to the Prairie Provinces, proportional to the total of Canada

Year	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	Total – Prairies
2003	2.9	0.8	7.2	10.9
2004	3.1	0.8	7	10.9
2005	3.1	0.8	7.4	11.3
2006	4.0	1.1	8.2	13.3
2007	4.6	1.5	8.8	14.9

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008).

Immigrant categories and the impact of Provincial Nominee Programs

The selection of immigrants is made according to immigrant categories, as defined by the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. In general, these categories are family class immigrants, economic immigrants and refugees. Additionally, each year small numbers of immigrants fall into the category of "others." As Table 4 illustrates, the immigrant categories of newcomers to the Prairies from 2003 to 2007 generally match those of Canada as a whole.

However, when these figures are examined on a province-by-province basis, interesting differences emerge. As Table 5 illustrates, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have proportionally higher numbers of newcomers in the economic immigrant category than does Alberta. Further, Saskatchewan has a higher proportion of refugees in its newcomer population than do its Prairie neighbours. This is a result of the specific government policy designed to send a high proportion of Government Assisted Refugees to the Prairies.

These numbers can be further analyzed by reviewing the number of Provincial Nominees, a sub-category of the economic immigration category. Table 6 compares immigration within this category and demonstrates the strong impact of the Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP) in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The PNP allows provincial and territorial governments to actively participate in the immigration process. Like other provinces,

TABLE 4
Immigrant category of newcomers to the Prairie Provinces compared to Canada as a whole, 2003–2007

Immigrant category	% to the Prairies	% to Canada
Family class	25.6	28.0
Economic	58.8	55.4
Refugee	13.4	11.8

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008).

Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have signed agreements with the Government of Canada in order to be able to identify and designate immigrants who will meet their local economic needs. While these nominees must meet federal health and security admission criteria, they are not subject to the skilled worker selection grid that determines eligibility. Through these agreements, provinces are afforded a significant opportunity to promote immigration to their regions and fulfill labour market needs that may not be reflected nationally.

The PNPs of all three Prairie Provinces have evolved considerably since their inception. Alberta signed a PNP Agreement with the Government of Canada in 2002. As of the autumn of 2008, Alberta's program consisted of an employer-driven stream (including categories for international graduates and a limited semi-skilled category), a family stream and a self-employed farmer stream. Saskatchewan's Agreement, signed

TABLE 5
Immigrant category of newcomers to individual Prairie Provinces, 2003–2007

Immigrant category	Alberta	%	Saskatchewan	%	Manitoba	%
Family class	29,700	31.8	2,314	19.3	6,003	14
Economic	50,180	53.8	6,505	54.4	3,057	71
Refugees	10,987	11.8	2,907	24.3	5,988	13.9

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008).

TABLE 6
Provincial nominees (principal applicants, spouses and dependents) by province, compared to Canada as a whole, 2003–2007

Alberta	%	Saskatchewan	%	Manitoba	%	Canada	%
3,820	4	3,763	31.5	26,134	60.7	49,144	4

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008).

in 1998, includes the following categories: skilled workers, family members, entrepreneurs, farm owner/operators, health professionals, long haul truck drivers, students and a project for the hospitality sector.

Manitoba's PNP Agreement was signed in 1998 as an addendum to the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement, originally signed in 1996. Manitoba has aggressively used the PNP to promote immigration to the province and, in terms of numbers, has been the most successful in Canada. The Manitoba program includes categories under a general stream, an international student priority assessment stream, an employer direct stream and categories for business and strategic initiatives. As Table 6 shows, the Manitoba PNP accounted for 60.7% of immigration to the province between 2003 and 2007. This compares to 4% for Canada. Saskatchewan's PNP numbers are also quite high when compared to the country as a whole.

Aggressive utilization of a PNP can have a dramatic effect on the population growth of communities, as illustrated by immigration to the Manitoba towns of Steinbach and Winkler. These two communities are amongst the fastest growing in Manitoba. Statistics Canada 2006 Census data for Steinbach shows a population of 11,066, up 19.9% from 2001 (Statistics Canada 2008b). During the same period, Winkler's population grew 14.6% to 9,106 (*Ibid*. 2008c). Obviously, immigration is not the sole factor contributing to migration in and out of Steinbach and Winkler. However, the immigration numbers to both communities are striking. From 2003 to 2007, 3,119 people immigrated to Winkler. Of these, 93% were provincial nominees or their dependants. During the same period, 91% of the 1,839 people who immigrated to Steinbach were in the PNP category. Manitoba has promoted immigration to destinations outside of Winnipeg through specific agreements with a number of municipalities.

The increase in the number of people obtaining Canadian citizenship also illustrates how the region is attracting people who wish to settle permanently. In 2007, 26,872 permanent residents living in the Prairies applied for and received a grant of citizenship. This compares to only 10,798 in 2003.

Secondary migration

Secondary migration occurs when an immigrant destined to one part of Canada moves to another region after becoming a permanent resident. Tracking this phenomenon is problematic as there is no easy way to quantify the movement of secondary migrants and relatively little research has been done on the issue. However, anecdotal information, provided primarily from immigrant service organizations and front line CIC officials, suggests that significant numbers of immigrants are moving to Alberta. Statistics Canada data from the 2006 Census on "Immigrant status and period of immigration" does provide some insight. Table 7 compares the number of immigrants who became permanent residents in the Prairie Provinces from 2001 to 2006 with the number of people who stated on the census they were immigrants to Canada who arrived approximately during the same period (*Ibid*. 2008a).

This suggests that Alberta had a net increase of over 20,000 newcomers during the 2001 to 2006 period, while Saskatchewan and Manitoba

TABLE 7
Number of immigrants who became permanent residents in the Prairie Provinces, compared to number of people who immigrated to Canada, 2001–2006

Province	Permanent residents 2001–2006	Individuals who stated on the Census that they immigrated between 2001–2006	Variance
Alberta	82,900	103,680	+20,780
Saskatchewan	11,812	8,095	-3,717
Manitoba	41,279	31,190	-10,089

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008) and Statistics Canada (2008a).

TABLE 8
Stock[a] of temporary foreign workers, 2003–2007

Year	Alberta	Saskatchewan	Manitoba
2003	11,067	1,541	2,104
2004	12,936	1,733	2,454
2005	15,815	2,017	2,717
2006	22,392	2,200	3,356
2007	37,257	2,998	4,603

[a] Stock statistics measure the number of temporary residents present in the CIC system on December 1.
Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007 and 2008).

experienced a decrease. However, this inference should be viewed with a degree of caution for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the census data records only immigrants who landed in Canada prior to Census Day, May 16, 2006, while the permanent resident statistics include landings for the entire year. Certainly, it cannot be stated with certainty that Saskatchewan and Manitoba are experiencing a net loss of immigrants. Nevertheless, this data supports the notion that a region with a booming economy such as Alberta's experiences an influx of secondary migration.

Temporary foreign workers

From 2003 to 2007, growth in the Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) program in the Prairies has matched or, in the case of Alberta, surpassed growth in the permanent resident programs. Table 8 illustrates the increasing numbers of TFWs in the Prairie Provinces from 2003 to 2007.

These temporary foreign workers represent a significant pool of applicants for permanent residence. All three of the Prairie Provinces' PNPs provide opportunities for TFWs in various categories to obtain permanent residence. In all three provinces this is becoming an increasingly common path to permanent residence. In Manitoba the practice has become so widespread that some employers refer to the TFW program as the "Transitional Foreign Worker" program. A noteworthy example of this is the utilization of the PNP by Maple Leaf Foods in Brandon.

TABLE 9
Temporary foreign workers employed under National Occupation Classification (NOC) codes 0, A or B, 2007

Province	Number of TFWs	%
Alberta	14,842	40
Saskatchewan	1,657	55
Manitoba	2,030	44

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008).

The federal Canada Experience Class (CEC), implemented in September 2008, provides further opportunities for foreign workers to become permanent residents. The CEC allows for TFWs who have worked in Canada for at least two years in a managerial, professional, skilled or technical position (National Occupation Classification codes 0, A and B) to apply for permanent residence without leaving the country. In 2007, considerable numbers of TFWs in the Prairies were working in jobs that made them potential applicants under the CEC.

These numbers represent only individual foreign workers, and many of those who choose to become permanent residents will eventually be accompanied by spouses and children, thus increasing the overall immigration numbers even further.

The economic downturn, which began to affect Canada's economy late in 2008, may temporarily affect this growth.

Conclusion

In terms of the proportion of total immigration to Canada, it seems improbable that the Prairies will ever again reach early 20th century numbers. However, since 2003, there has been a definite trend towards increased numbers of newcomers arriving in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The draw of booming economies combined with aggressive and targeted PNPs and a growing pool of potential permanent resident applicants currently in the country as TFWs are major factors driving this trend. The growth of communities such as Winkler and Steinbach demonstrates that policies designed to attract immigrants can be successful even in smaller centres. Clifford Sifton would be pleased.

About the author

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Smaller centres can be successful in attracting migrants. The key to their long term success, however, is encouraging them to settle in these areas permanently.

Recent Trends in Migration to Third-Tier Centres in the Prairies*

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Until recently, migration to third-tier communities in Canada has rarely garnered much attention. With ten federal-provincial agreements that provide the provinces with additional power in attracting immigrants to their communities, the settlement of international migrants may become a significant source of population growth for many third-tier centres in the Prairies. One of the main programs used by the provinces to convince immigrants to settle in third-tier centres has been the widely successful Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs). One Prairie Province, Manitoba, has led the way in developing a program that not only attracts immigrants, but has convincingly shifted the population flow, as the figures below show. The purpose of this paper is to provide a snapshot of third-tier migration in the Prairie Provinces. In the process, we address the following questions: Is migration to these areas increasing or decreasing? Are the Prairie Provinces different from other provinces in terms of the number and distribution of migrants? We also spend some time providing information about temporary foreign workers (TFWs) to third-tier centres given the vital labour contribution they provide to rural areas in the Prairies. While it may be too early to assess the efficacy of the new PNPs, the historical data presented in this article can help researchers contextualize the numbers as the provinces begin to release the data on their respective PNPs.

* The authors gratefully acknowledge the special tabulation data provided by Statistics Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Prairie Metropolis Centre. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not represent those of the organizations providing the figures.

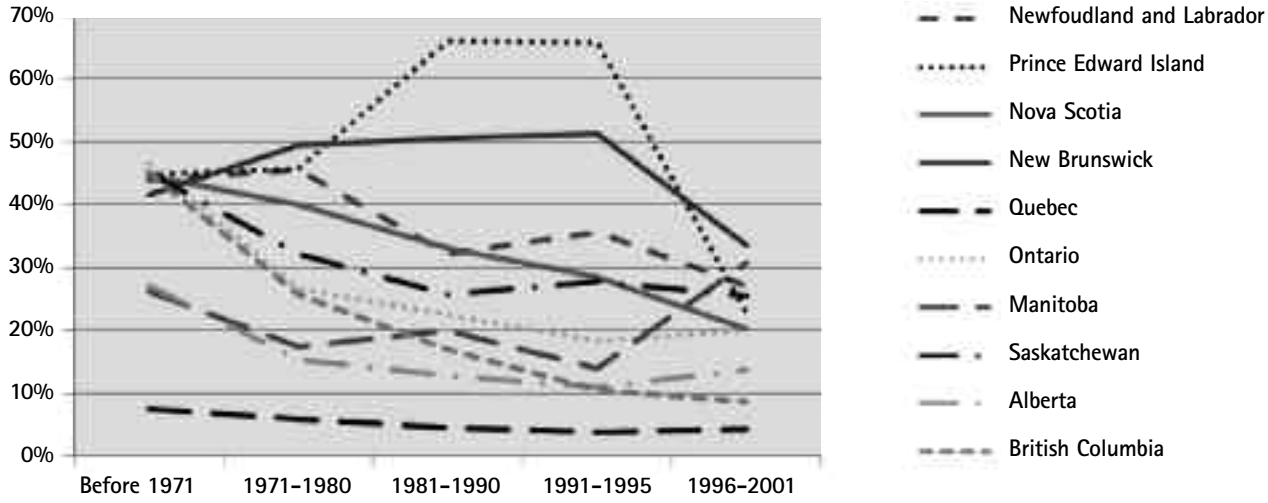
Is migration to third-tier centres increasing or decreasing?[1]

Special tabulations produced for the Metropolis Project by Statistics Canada (2005)[2] reveal the migration patterns of immigrants by settlement location and various other characteristics. One of these patterns is the decline in rural residence by recently arrived migrants. Figure 1 shows the sharp decline in recently arrived immigrants residing in third-tier centres. Immigrants arriving in Canada prior to 1971 (29%) were roughly three times more likely to reside in third-tier centres than those arriving more recently (9% of those arriving between 1991 and 2001). These figures are supported by Clemenson and Pitblado (2007) whose findings indicate that fewer than 32,000 immigrants settled in rural areas between 1996 and 2001, and made up less than half a percentage of rural residents in Canada. If

[1] One of the unexpected challenges in producing this article was our difficulty in locating current statistics on provincial migration. While CIC's *Facts and Figures* remains the primary information source on migration statistics, it does not prepare tables in ways that are useful in understanding the characteristics of migrants at a provincial level, nor does it release figures regarding the magnitude and characteristics of immigration to third-tier centres. The problem of data release is not only federal; provincial governments do not provide detailed information, either. It was extremely difficult to locate information about third-tier cities outside of Manitoba, the province with the most accessible published data on migrants. We suspect, however, that as the popularity of the PNP grows in Saskatchewan and Alberta, more detailed statistics will be released in the near future.

[2] At the time of writing, the most recent special tabulation data on third-tier centres is based on the 2001 Census. Metropolis researchers look forward to the release of these tabulations for the 2006 Census.

FIGURE 1
Rural dwellers by period of arrival, before 1971 to 2001



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2005).

settlement patterns in the three Prairie Provinces are considered separately, the picture is slightly different, but also in decline. According to Sorensen (2007), the rural population of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta currently makes up 21% of the provincial population, down from 29% in 1970. Her figures show that the rural population in Alberta has actually grown by 32% over the past 30 years, compared to 8% in Saskatchewan and 4% in Manitoba. In sum, this decline does not mean that the rural population has failed to grow, rather that the growth has not matched that of the urban centres.

Immigration to the three Prairie Provinces, as in other provinces, is mainly urban. Data provided by the Metropolis Project in Table 1 reveal that by 2001, 26% of the immigrant population in Canada lived in rural areas. Another 26% of temporary residents resided in rural areas. A differential urban/rural pattern of settlement between permanent residents and temporary residents can be seen when comparing provinces. Temporary residents are more likely to live in rural areas in Newfoundland and Labrador (52%) than any other province. Over 40% of temporary migrants live in rural areas in Prince Edward Island (48%) and New Brunswick (41%). Temporary residents are least likely to live in rural areas of Quebec (5%), British Columbia (20%) and Alberta (22%). Manitoba (26%) and Saskatchewan (28%) have the highest rates of rural-dwelling temporary residents in the Prairies.

Among permanent residents, Prince Edward Island (47%), New Brunswick (45%) and Newfoundland and Labrador (39%) have the highest proportion living in rural areas. These figures should be contextualized with the knowledge that the three Atlantic provinces receive the fewest number of immigrants. Of the Prairie Provinces, Saskatchewan (35%) has the highest proportion of rural dwellers, followed distantly by Manitoba (18%) and Alberta (17%). Readers should note that since these figures were based on tabulations from the 2001 Census, they do not take into account the numbers of migrants arriving in the various PNPs which were mainly introduced after 2001.

Recent trends in the Prairies

In examining more recent figures provided by the provinces, we can discern somewhat different trends. The Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour of the Province of Saskatchewan (2008) reports that by 2007, nearly 2,500 immigrants entered that province under their PNP, an increase of over 2,200 since its introduction in 2003 and surpassing all other classes of migration to that province combined. According to Garcea (2007), a significant majority of those migrants chose to live in the two largest centres. Saskatoon and Regina proportionately receive 35% more immigrants while the remaining third-tier centres in the province receive 45% less immigrants, according to population density. Saskatoon attracts 46% of all

TABLE 1
Urban and rural immigration, Canada, 2001

	Immigrants		Non-permanent residents		Canadian-born	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	**8,030**		**955**		**499,095**	
St. John's CMA	4,885	(60.80)	455	(47.60)	165,765	(33.20)
Rural	3,145	(39.20)	500	(52.40)	333,330	(66.80)
Prince Edward Island	**4,140**		**310**		**128,935**	
Charlottetown CA	2,200	(53.10)	160	(51.60)	54,935	(42.60)
Rural	1,940	(46.90)	150	(48.40)	74,000	(57.40)
Nova Scotia	**41,320**		**2,595**		**853,660**	
Halifax CMA	24,390	(59.00)	1,945	(75.00)	329,605	(38.60)
Cape Breton CA	1,780	(4.30)	115	(4.40)	105,980	(12.40)
Rural	15,150	(36.70)	535	(20.00)	418,075	(49.00)
New Brunswick	**22,465**		**1,685**		**695,555**	
Saint John CMA	4,615	(20.50)	415	(24.60)	116,305	(16.70)
Moncton CA	3,360	(15.00)	240	(14.20)	112,220	(16.10)
Fredericton CA	4,460	(19.90)	340	(20.20)	75,885	(10.90)
Rural	10,030	(44.60)	690	(40.90)	391,145	(56.20)
Quebec	**706,970**		**40,195**		**6,378,420**	
Total Metropolitan Area	668,710	(94.60)	38,405	(95.50)	4,040,180	(63.30)
Rural	38,255	(5.40)	1,790	(450)	2,338,235	(36.70)
Ontario	**3,030,075**		**90,615**		**8,164,860**	
Toronto CMA	2,032,960	(67.10)	58,135	(64.20)	2,556,855	(31.30)
Other[a]	997,115	(32.90)	32,480	(35.80)	5,608,005	(68.70)
Manitoba	**133,655**		**4,520**		**965,520**	
Winnipeg CMA	109,385	(81.80)	3,365	(74.40)	548,970	(56.90)
Rurale	24,270	(18.20)	1,155	(25.60)	416,550	(43.10)
Saskatchewan	**47,825**		**3,105**		**912,220**	
Regina CMA	14,010	(29.30)	870	(28.00)	175,135	(19.20)
Saskatoon CMA	16,870	(35.30)	1,370	(44.10)	204,390	(22.40)
Rural	16,945	(35.40)	865	(27.90)	532,695	(58.40)
Alberta	**438,335**		**17,275**		**2,485,540**	
Calgary CMA	197,410	(45.00)	7,590	(43.90)	738,310	(29.70)
Edmonton CMA	165,235	(37.70)	5,820	(33.70)	755,965	(30.40)
Rural	75,690	(17.30)	3,865	(22.40)	991,265	(39.90)
British Columbia	**1,009,820**		**37,190**		**2,821,865**	
Abbotsford CMA	31,655	(3.10)	765	(2.10)	112,570	(4.00)
Vancouver CMA	738,550	(73.10)	29,165	(78.40)	1,199,760	(42.50)
Rural	239,615	(23.70)	7,260	(19.50)	1,509,535	(53.50)
Canada	**5,448,485**		**198,645**		**23,991,905**	
Urban CMA	4,020,475	(73.80)	149,155	(75.00)	11,292,830	(47.00)
Rural	1,428,010	(26.00)	49,490	(25.00)	12,699,075	(53.00)

[a] Includes major immigrant receiving CMAs, among which Hamilton, Kitchener, Windsor, London, Ottawa and St. Catharines.
Source: Statistics Canada (2005).

migrants to that province while Regina attracts 26%. The remaining 28% reside in smaller centres even though the rural residents account for 56% of the province's population (Statistics Canada 2008). Despite the issues regarding the imbalance in rural/urban settlement, the number of immigrants to Saskatchewan continues to increase. According to official figures, between 2007 and 2008, 3,517 immigrants arrived in the province, an increase of 29%, almost entirely due to the PNP (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, Employment and Labour 2008).

Alberta, unlike Saskatchewan, has only seen modest increases in migrant arrivals over the past five years. The fourth most popular destination province for immigrants (after Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec), Alberta consistently receives between 14,000 and 20,000 migrants

TABLE 2
Retention rate of immigrants by province, between 1980 and 2000

	Destined at landing	Out-migration	Retention rate (%)
Atlantic	21,530	10,340	(52.0)
Quebec	214,700	43,940	(79.5)
Ontario	668,625	40,310	(94.0)
Manitoba	41,855	14,305	(65.8)
Saskatchewan	16,300	9,185	(43.7)
Alberta	113,135	28,945	(74.4)
British Columbia	194,65	18,310	(90.6)
Total	**1,270,710**	**165,335**	**(87.0)**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007b).

each year (CIC 2008). In 2004,[3] 16,469 migrants arrived in the province. Of that number, 29% of new immigrants settled in Edmonton and 57% settled in Calgary (Alberta Office of Institutional Statistics 2008). To better understand the imbalance in urban/rural destinations of immigrants to that province, Edmonton's population accounts for 31% of provincial residents while Calgary's population represents 32% (Statistics Canada 2008). As a result, very few immigrants settled in the province's third-tier centres including Red Deer (1.5%), Lethbridge (1.1%), or Medicine Hat (0.9%). This trend of migrant preference for Calgary and Edmonton has not changed since 1995[4] (*Ibid.*). In sum, the trends for Alberta reveal a slight increase in the number of immigrants (they receive about 2,000 more immigrants per year in 2004 than they did in 1995), but the proportion of those migrants choosing to live in rural areas has not changed – with less than 15% selecting to settle in these smaller areas.

The story for Manitoba is significantly different in terms of rural settlement of migrants during the past five years. Much of this difference can be attributed to their widely successful PNP. Established in 1998 and renewed indefinitely in 2003, the major objective of this program is to attract 3.8% of all immigrants to Canada to Manitoba, representative of the province's proportion of the national population (CIC 2001). In 2006, they met and surpassed that target, mainly due to their PNP. In that year, 50% of all immigrants who entered under the various PNPs in Canada were destined to Manitoba (N=6,661).[5] There remains, however, an imbalance between the number of immigrants settling in Winnipeg (76%) versus smaller centers in the province (24%). Winnipeg is home to 60% of provincial residents but attracts 76% of all immigrants. (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2008). This urban/rural imbalance, however, is not as great as those discussed in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Winkler, a centre of 9,106, attracted 710 immigrants in 2007, representing nearly an 8% increase in their population based solely on the arrival of migrants. Other centres such as Brandon (population 48,256) attracted 642 immigrants and Steinbach (population 11,066), 369 during the same year (Statistics Canada 2008, Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2008). In short, smaller centres can be successful in attracting migrants. The key to their long term success, however, is encouraging them to settle in these areas permanently.

While the three Prairie Provinces are working hard to attract immigrants, particularly to settle in third-tier centres, researchers have not undertaken an examination of the retention rates. Using data from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB),[6] Wilkinson and Pettigrew (2007) find that the Prairie Provinces do not fair well in retaining migrants compared

[3] This is the year of most recently available statistics for smaller centres in that province. Citizenship and Immigration Canada does not release statistics for smaller non-urban areas.

[4] Readers should note that the preference for Calgary over Edmonton has been consistent over the past ten years, with Calgary receiving as much as 25% more immigrants than Edmonton.

[5] This is based on calculations from figures released by Manitoba Labour and Immigration (2007) and CIC (2007b).

[6] The IMDB is a restricted-access file that links landing records from CIC's Landed Immigrant Database with tax records from Revenue Canada. The data is useful in tracking of immigrants' economic performance, mobility within Canada and changes in job status over time.

TABLE 3
Temporary foreign workers by province and urban area

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Manitoba	**1,591**	**1,841**	**1,790**	**1,712**	**1,470**	**1,305**	**1,506**	**1,791**	**2,150**	**2,878**
Winnipeg	1,041	1,372	1,197	1,158	887	834	922	1,008	1,265	1,579
(%)	(65)	(75)	(67)	(68)	(60)	(64)	(61)	(56)	(59)	(55)
Other	550	469	593	554	584	471	584	783	885	1,299
(%)	(35)	(25)	(33)	(32)	(40)	(36)	(39)	(44)	(41)	(45)
Saskatchewan	**1,102**	**1,059**	**1,113**	**982**	**940**	**863**	**969**	**1,295**	**1,340**	**1,851**
Regina	266	290	288	204	246	192	198	252	270	362
(%)	(24)	(27)	(26)	(21)	(26)	(22)	(20)	(19)	(22)	(14)
Saskatoon	294	285	324	339	317	255	360	406	461	702
(%)	(27)	(27)	(29)	(35)	(34)	(30)	(37)	(31)	(34)	(38)
Other	542	484	501	439	377	416	411	637	609	787
(%)	(49)	(46)	(45)	(45)	(40)	(48)	(42)	(49)	(45)	(43)
Alberta	**7,341**	**7,227**	**8,118**	**8,393**	**7,300**	**6,768**	**7,840**	**9,592**	**14,652**	**24,371**
Calgary	2,854	2,548	2,991	2,996	2,635	2,491	3,010	3,574	4,948	7,431
(%)	(39)	(35)	(37)	(36)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(37)	(34)	(30)
Red Deer	123	168	159	88	71	70	119	273	164	393
(%)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)
Edmonton	1,833	1,786	1,994	2,173	1,712	1,503	1,546	1,615	2,455	5,368
(%)	(25)	(25)	(25)	(26)	(23)	(22)	(20)	(17)	(17)	(22)
Wood Buffalo	75	96	121	135	96	90	123	273	421	495
(%)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(2)
Other	2,456	2,629	2,853	3,001	2,786	2 614	3,042	3,857	6,664	10,684
(%)	(33)	(36)	(35)	(36)	(38)	(39)	(39)	(40)	(45)	(44)
Total	**10,034**	**10,127**	**11,021**	**11,087**	**9,710**	**8,936**	**10,315**	**12,678**	**18,142**	**29,100**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008b).

to the other provinces. Table 2 shows that nearly 75% of immigrants destined to Alberta stay there, compared with only 66% of those destined to Manitoba and 44% of those destined to Saskatchewan. When compared to the remaining provinces, the retention rate is much lower than the national average of 87%, owing mainly to the propensity of migrants landing in Ontario and British Columbia to remain in these provinces permanently after landing.

Economic opportunities and migration

Immigrants, like native-born Canadians, settle in locations where there are job opportunities and where familial and friendship networks exist. Analyses from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Schellenberg and Maheux 2007) reveals that job issues affect over 50% of recent migrants and that one in five migrants indicated problems locating suitable employment as their primary problem in settlement. Data from CIC (2000) and other studies indicate that economic class immigrants (investors, self-employed, skilled labourers) and refugees destined to second- and third-tier centres are more likely to relocate to first-tier cities after their arrival in Canada mainly due to better job opportunities. The lure of the big city is not new: Trovato (1988) and Newbold (1996) in separate studies suggest that the main reason immigrants relocate to large cities is the existence of better work opportunities and well-established ethnic communities. Immigrants in the United States are no different. Immigrants there are mainly "attracted to large cities with relatively well-educated adults and high wages" (Scott, Coomes and Izyumov 2005: 113).

With the introduction of the Canadian Experience Class, the government has signaled its intention to encourage TFWs to remain in Canada once they have completed their work commitment by easing the transition from temporary to permanent resident. The number of TFWs to Canada has increased significantly in the past decade. In 1998, approximately 66,000 TFWs resided in Canada. By 2007, just over 115,000 migrants entered under this category, almost double the number ten years earlier (CIC 2008). Among the Prairie Provinces, Alberta received the largest number of arrivals in this category, with 24,371 arriving in 2007, representing 84%

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of the Prairies total, an increase of 11% of the Prairies total since 1998. A closer look at the trends reveals that the number of TFWs has increased significantly in Alberta, ranging from a low of 7,227 in 1999 to a high of 24,371 last year. In fact, nearly 10,000 new TFWs entered that province between 2006 and 2007. Saskatchewan and Manitoba have seen modest increases in the number of TFWs destined to their provinces. Manitoba has nearly doubled its number of TFWs between 1998 and 2007.

Temporary foreign workers provide valuable labour to smaller centres in the Prairies. The distribution of TFWs in smaller centres is similar across the three Prairie Provinces. Just over half of all the TFWs to Manitoba reside in Winnipeg, with the remaining 45% living in third-tier centres. In Saskatchewan, 58% of these workers reside in Saskatoon or Regina, the remaining 42% living in third-tier centres. In Alberta, 53% live in Edmonton and Calgary, the remaining 47% residing elsewhere.

Temporary foreign workers who re-enter Canada tend to be those most interested in permanent residence. This is the group that is most likely to take advantage of the Canadian Experience Class, if they qualify. In 2007, nearly 50,000 TFWs returned to work in Canada in this category, up from just 34,000 ten years earlier (CIC 2008). In the Prairies, the number of returnees has remained steady in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In 2007, 630 TFWs returned to work in the province, compared with 533 in 1998. In Manitoba, the trend is similar with 949 returnees in 1998 and 1,056 in 2007. Readers should note, however, that more TFWs are living in third-tier centres in 2007 (45%) than they were in 1998 (35%). Alberta has the largest number of returnees in this category. In 1998, only 2,810 TFWs returned to work in the province, but by 2007, 5,034 had returned to work, nearly doubling in ten years. Alberta accounts for 75% of all returnee TFWs in the Prairies. In that province, 58% of returnees are living in third-tier centres while in Manitoba, 45% are living in third-tier centres.[7] This may be a good avenue for third-tier centres to attract immigrants to settle permanently using the Canadian Experience Class. It is important to track secondary migration among TFWs who apply for permanent residence status using the Canadian Experience Class to ascertain if this would be a viable program to attract more migrant residents to third-tier centres.

Conclusion

This short review article has provided a snapshot of migration to third-tier centres in Canada, but many issues remain unaddressed. If the three Prairie Provinces are serious about their efforts in attracting and maintaining their migrant populations, we urge the governments to consider releasing more statistics and in a timely fashion. Currently, only the Province of Manitoba makes statistics on third-tier migration readily accessible to non-government researchers. We hope that the Alberta government will make improvements to their statistics Website that includes additional information on the migrants to that province. We encourage the Province of Saskatchewan to consider distributing their statistics more publicly. Similarly, CIC is urged to provide more detail about the characteristics of migrants to third-tier centres in its annual *Facts and Figures* report.

We also encourage all three provinces and researchers to closely examine the retention rates of migrants, especially as the Provincial Nominees and TFWs who apply for permanent residence status through the Canadian Experience Class both become more widely used as an entry point to Canada. While the PNPs are beneficial in that they cut waiting times in processing paperwork and gaining access to Canada, do they really help encourage a wider geographic distribution of migrants? Preliminary research from Manitoba (Wilkinson and Pettigrew 2007) indicates that significant numbers of migrants to Manitoba resettle elsewhere. While data

[7] It is not possible to calculate the number of returnees to third-tier centres in Saskatchewan using available statistics.

TABLE 4
Re-entering foreign workers by province and urban area

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Manitoba	**949**	**958**	**999**	**949**	**826**	**604**	**656**	**632**	**851**	**1,056**
Winnipeg	616	626	686	618	536	411	384	395	500	582
(%)	(65)	(65)	(69)	(65)	(65)	(68)	(59)	(63)	(59)	(55)
Other	333	332	313	331	290	193	272	237	351	474
(%)	(35)	(35)	(31)	(35)	(35)	(32)	(41)	(38)	(41)	(45)
Saskatchewan	**533**	**508**	**399**	**387**	**370**	**325**	**336**	**460**	**562**	**630**
Regina	72	85	85	67	88	79	81	84	101	119
(%)	(14)	(17)	(21)	(17)	(24)	(24)	(24)	(18)	(18)	(19)
Other	461	423	314	320	282	246	255	376	461	511
(%)	(86)	(83)	(79)	(83)	(76)	(76)	(76)	(82)	(82)	(81)
Alberta	**2,810**	**2,872**	**2,803**	**3,006**	**2,727**	**2,443**	**2,732**	**3,116**	**3,903**	**5,034**
Calgary	958	953	844	885	804	793	918	1,029	1,161	1,363
(%)	(34)	(33)	(30)	(29)	(29)	(32)	(34)	(33)	(30)	(27)
Edmonton	670	688	726	748	638	540	592	532	570	773
(%)	(24)	(24)	(26)	(25)	(23)	(22)	(22)	(17)	(15)	(15)
Other	1,182	1,231	1,233	1,373	1,285	1,110	1,222	1,555	2,172	2,898
(%)	(42)	(43)	(44)	(46)	(47)	(45)	(45)	(50)	(56)	(58)
Total	**4,292**	**4,338**	**4,201**	**4,342**	**3,923**	**3,372**	**3,724**	**4,208**	**5,316**	**6,720**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008b).

limitations made it impossible to separate those arriving as PNs from other classes in the IMDB at the time of preparing the report, it would be interesting from a policy and practical standpoint to see if these programs really encourage migrants to stay, particularly those destined to smaller third-tier centres. It is also instructive to see if the PNP is being used as a "backdoor" mode of entry that encourages significant outmigration, particularly in the rural areas. It may be that provinces, such as Manitoba, may need to rethink their efforts in attracting PNs to their province if significant numbers subsequently leave. Similarly, once data on the Canadian Experience Class becomes available, it is important to track the secondary migration figures.

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Due to a dropping birth rate and an ageing population, growth in the labour pool was slowing to a halt. It was also clear that this shift would have a great impact on the Prairie Provinces. This naturally led to an increased focus on immigration issues at the community level, and at the municipal and provincial government levels as well.

Integration and Settlement on the Canadian Prairies

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The experience of immigration and settlement on the Prairies has been dynamic and different from that experienced elsewhere in Canada. If it was initially a massive and radical departure from Canadian immigration history, it was followed by a prolonged period of smaller numbers as well as decreased services and interest. In recent years, immigration and settlement has grown in importance, impact and capacity, contributing to a compelling, important and unique story.

The pre-war period

The story of immigration and settlement in the Prairies opens with the great influx of immigration that Canada experienced at the turn of the century. The "Last Best West" was a period of massive immigration and settlement in the Canadian Prairies. Table 1 shows that between 1901 and 1921, the Prairie population grew by over 1.5 million, with many of these individuals arriving from abroad. The Prairie Provinces went from representing 8% to 22% of the Canadian population – a growth of 370%. In today's terms, that would amount to adding more than 2 million people to the Prairies over the next 20 years, or more than 100,000 each year (it is useful to note that between 1967 and 1997, Prairie immigration has held very consistently between 18,000 and 19,000 each year).

Block settlements

The early settlement of Western Canada represented a major historical shift. The majority of immigrants were not from the British Isles, but rather from Eastern Europe and Scandinavia. The initial settlement was primarily a rural phenomenon, with few organized services; however, much of it appeared in the form of organized group migration. Leo Tolstoy, for example, organized and provided significant funding for the movement of the Russian Doukhobor population.

This massive influx of culturally diverse, non-English speaking newcomers set off a debate that continues to this day. Indeed, the issue remains: should immigrants be scattered and mixed in order to speed the integration process into the larger Canadian culture (as the U.S. model was thought to do), or should they be allowed to form (as many wished) supportive ethnic enclaves – an option that was supported by many established "Anglo-Saxons" who did not favour proximity to these newcomers? The enclave model was natural to a bilingual/bicultural nation, but the situation faced in this period was something new for Canada.

To resolve this issue, a unique Canadian compromise was developed – the Block Settlement system. Under this model, individual communities, towns and rural districts became strongly dominated by one ethnic/religious community; however, these blocks were carefully intermingled to prevent great swathes of the country from becoming distinctly dominated by particular groups. In retrospect, and perhaps surprisingly, this compromise worked out rather well. The blocks proved large enough to provide the mutual support that made the settlement

TABLE 1
Immigration to the Prairies, 1891–2007

Year	Prairie population as a percentage of Canada	Prairie share of immigration to Canada	Immigration rate: Canada	Immigration rate: Prairies	Canadian population	Prairie population	Immigration to Canada	Immigration to Prairies
1891	1%				4,832,239	43,000		
1901	8%	51.7%	0.92%	6.14%	5,371,315	414,000	49,149	25,414
1902		58.8%					67,379	39,616
1903		65.0%					128,364	83,433
1904		57.8%					130,331	75,308
1905		51.1%					146,268	74,676
1906		47.9%					189,064	90,553
1907		42.7%					124,667	53,244
1908		36.9%					262,469	96,856
1909		47.3%					146,908	69,499
1910		44.4%					208,794	92,776
1911	18%	38.6%	4.32%	9.05%	7,206,643	1,328,000	311,084	120,203
1912		37.7%					359,237	135,592
1913		33.5%					402,482	134,860
1914		41.5%					304,878	126,380
1921	22%	29.5%	1.69%	2.24%	8,788,483	1,956,082	148,477	43,822
1956	17%				16,080,791	2,742,121		
1967	16%	9,6%	0.97%	0.57%	20,015,000	3,268,000	194,743	18,650
1977	16%	9.0%	0.95%	0.54%	23,450,000	3,718,000	222,876	19,983
1987	17%	12.4%	0.58%	0.42%	26,101,000	4,447,000	152,098	18,893
1997	16%	8.5%	0.73%	0.38%	29,611,000	4,801,000	216,038	18,269
2007	17%	18.3%	0.72%	0.79%	32,988,000	5,474,000	236,758	43,329

Source: Compiled from CIC and Statistics Canada data.

successful, but small enough to provide the isolation from the larger society that would permit them to continue as enclaves. As well, the ongoing depopulation of rural areas forced the majority of the second generation into larger centres where intermingling and integration were unavoidable. By the 1950s, the West was generally better integrated than the rest of the country and had developed a vibrant identity and active political culture.

The post-war period

The post-war period brought considerable changes to the picture of immigration. The Depression cut immigration to a trickle, resulting in virtually no new immigrants arriving in the West. Indeed, there was substantial inter-provincial emigration out of Western Canada; the population of Saskatchewan actually shrunk. For the next 50 years, a large majority of immigrants to Canada settled in Eastern Canada (and to a degree in British Columbia), as many were industrial workers and were able to secure low-skilled positions in industrial occupations, a pattern that was to continue up to the late 1990s. Because of a rural/resource-extraction based economy, the Prairie Provinces during this period received an average of about 9% of total immigration to Canada, into an existing population representing about 16% of Canada.

In the 1990s, things started to change. A significantly tighter labour market was developing and smaller communities were struggling within the Prairie Provinces, particularly Manitoba and Alberta. At the same time, academic and Statistics Canada research was pointing out that Canada was developing a critical demographic problem. Due to a dropping birth rate and an ageing population, growth in the labour pool was slowing to a halt. It was also clear that this shift would have a great impact on the Prairie Provinces. This naturally led to an increased focus on immigration issues at the community level, and at the municipal and provincial government levels as well.

Under-funded settlement services

With the majority of Canadian immigrants settling in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, these cities developed large, vibrant immigrant

Community attitudes towards immigration have become increasingly more positive, with immigrants seen as a solution to both skilled and unskilled labour demands that continue to confound businesses, government and society as a whole.

communities, greater levels of local community support and significantly higher levels of federal government funding for settlement agencies (under what came to be known as the Settlement Allocation Model). The settlement sector in the West was relatively weaker than elsewhere in Canada and consequently was less able to promote discussion, debate and to develop resources and supportive communities.

Most settlement agencies in the Prairies addressed resource deficiencies by developing strong relationships with regional and local funding sources, as well as mainstream service providers. Funding deficiencies resulted in fewer, but larger agencies in the region.

In the 1990s, immigration issues were no longer the sole concern of academic researchers and settlement services agencies. Faced with mounting labour market issues and a rapidly growing economy, business leaders across the Prairies identified immigration issues as being among their top priorities. This development persuaded the three Prairie provincial governments and several municipal governments to develop more aggressive policies and direct involvement in order to attract and retain a larger share of newcomers to Canada.

Between 1997 and today, all three provinces developed and implemented a variety of strategies designed to promote their respective regions. Alberta, for example, announced its Immigration Framework in 2005, setting the goal of raising Alberta's share of immigration from about 6.5% to 10% or higher of the total immigration to Canada. These strategies have achieved some level of success, but not enough to fully address the escalating labour shortage Western Canada is currently experiencing. A move towards addressing this shortage has been the massive expansion of the Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) program, which has started to produce a whole new set of settlement and integration challenges.

Today

Immigration as an issue remains very much alive in the Prairie Provinces today. It is difficult to attend any community forum, conference, or event, without having key speakers make reference to the economic, social, demographic and cultural importance of immigration. Community attitudes towards immigration have become increasingly more positive, with immigrants seen as a solution to both skilled and unskilled labour demands that continue to confound businesses, government and society as a whole.

Prairie governments, in order to attract and retain more immigrants, have initiated many innovative approaches in collaboration with the federal government in an attempt to expedite the immigration process to the Prairie region. They are also developing "Made-in-the-Prairies" immigration solutions to try and tackle the problem directly. Although all three provinces have approached the issue differently, each has experienced similar outcomes resulting in increased awareness, within the community, of the importance of immigration. As a result, we see more immigrants choosing the Prairies as their destination of choice. From the 9% share of immigration that held steady for five decades, the Prairie share had doubled to 18% by 2007.

Provincial support and the growth of the settlement sector

Growth of the settlement sector started to take off when the Prairie provincial governments took the initiative of investing more resources to enhance federally funded settlement and integration programs. At the same time and in order to reflect increasing numbers and better data on secondary migration to the Prairies, the federal government also increased its support. As a result the settlement sector, which primarily consists of community based, not-for-profit organizations, is expanding and rapidly developing capacity. The input from the sector into government policy and business advocacy has increased dramatically. As well, increased resources have drawn new players into the field, such as for-profit organizations, private providers and major institutions.

Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs)

Another major development has been the massive expansion of the TFW program. In 2006, over 23,000 TFWs arrived in Alberta; this number exceeded the total number of permanent residents. In 2007, the number of TFWs almost doubled, reaching over 41,000. Early indications are that 2008 numbers will show another significant increase. Although TFWs are a partial, very short-term solution to the West's labour market woes, they bring with them a unique set of challenges that are not yet fully understood and on which more research and analysis must be done.

If governments and businesses see TFWs as an answer to labour market demands, the majority of TFWs see the program as a quick entry into Canada with the opportunity to remain permanently. Because of the very high volumes of TFWs whose ultimate goal is permanent residence, the policies used in the past do not provide effective or efficient tools to deal with this challenge. Recently, the Government of Alberta started funding pilot programs to address the settlement needs of TFWs. In addition, the Government of Canada is proposing a new Canadian Experience Class for inland applications for permanent resident status in an attempt to address this issue.

As for settlement and integration services in the Prairies, approximately 30 organizations (20 in Alberta, 5 in Saskatchewan and 5 in Manitoba) are mandated to help immigrants and work with the community to create a hospitable environment. These agencies are community-based and have acquired over 30 years of experience. They offer a wide range of initial and longer-term settlement services and, historically, have acted as cultural brokers in the Prairies. These organizations have taken it upon themselves to advocate on behalf of immigrants and refugees.

Current positive situation for settlement agencies

The Prairie region has successfully developed – mostly in urban centres – services that facilitate the settlement and integration of newcomers. In the past, the settlement sector in this region suffered from a lack of resources and a lack of attention from both federal and provincial governments. In the last decade, however, the situation has become more positive. There are more federal resources available, as well as keen interest within our provincial governments. We are also in the process of making immigration more "local" in the Prairies by encouraging increased involvement from our municipal governments and local institutions.

Major challenges to settlement

The sector celebrates the great improvements that were made to every aspect of settlement and integration in the Prairie region; however, major challenges continue to make this process a harsh and painful experience for many newcomers. These challenges are not new, but sometimes seem harder to overcome due to the complexity of our society and higher cost of living. The following challenges require community discussion, development of workable policies and adequate resources:

- Housing;
- Integration into the labour market;
- Lack of preparation of public institutions to serve diverse populations;
- Social, economic and political integration;
- Lack of long-term planning and investment;
- Absence of meaningful community dialogue on immigration, settlement and integration;
- Better strategies to encourage immigrants to settle in smaller centres (about 95% of immigrants settle in major cities in the Prairies);
- The involvement of smaller centres in attracting and retaining newcomers.

The future

The evolving nature of immigration in the Prairie region of Canada creates many opportunities to improve the immigration, settlement and integration experience of all newcomers to our region. We continue to learn from experiences from other parts of the world, from elsewhere in Canada, as well as from our own history. We can learn from mistakes as well as best practices in order to develop a clear vision and to bring the entire community together.

In this, the Prairie region has some significant advantages:

- An economy that is robust and very likely to remain so, due to resource extraction industries and an increasingly industrial economy developing in the major cities;
- The job market, in particular, will continue to grow. Alberta predicts a labour shortage of 110,000 workers by 2017;

- Because of historically low immigration levels and a very diverse stream of arrivals (the top ten countries of origin make up less than 20% of the total number of arrivals; most years, each province receives immigrants from approximately 100 different countries), ethnic enclaves and isolation are minimal, facilitating the integration process. In fact, the lack of affordable housing in most Prairie urban centres has forced most immigrant communities to distribute themselves widely across the community as housing is made available;
- The community and the government recognize the importance of accessible, efficient settlement services that are delivered by larger, more professional agencies with rapidly expanding capacity;
- Due to high levels of interest, the region is in a strong position to suggest changes to immigration policy and to define settlement and integration systems and efforts in a way that addresses the region's unique needs and opportunities;
- We live in a prosperous but volatile global economic situation that impacts all regions, including the Prairies. Unfortunately, during times of economic downturns, investments in settlement and integration services, as well as resources for diversity work, tend to become lesser priorities. We must look at the attraction, retention and full participation of immigrants as a long-term endeavor and ensure that immigration remains high on social and government agendas.

Based on our history and our current situation, it appears that the future of immigration and settlement in the Prairie Provinces will be dynamic, unique and very interesting.

About the authors

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The Worker Recruitment and Protection Act *provides a framework for a positive, sustainable recruitment process that will provide businesses with access to reliable skilled temporary foreign labour as well as respond to issues of temporary foreign worker vulnerability.*

Foreign Worker Recruitment and Protection

The Role of Manitoba's *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act*

THE HONOURABLE NANCY ALLAN
Government of Manitoba

Immigration has become one of the major policy responses for population and labour force growth in Manitoba. In the third quarter of 2008, for example, Manitoba's population was estimated at 1,212,000 people, with the increase in growth attributed mainly to international immigration (Manitoba Bureau of Statistics 2008). From 2000 to 2007, Manitoba received a total of 56,815 immigrants. This record-high immigration level is significant beyond Manitoba. Nationally, Manitoba's 2007 immigration of 10,955 newcomers represented 4.6% of Canada's total immigration. This contrasts with the mid- to late 1990s when Manitoba received less than 2% of immigrants to Canada (Table 1).

In addition to permanent residents, temporary residents are becoming a significant component of Manitoba's immigration and population mix as temporary foreign workers (TFWs) and students are eligible to apply for permanent residence through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) after having worked for six months or graduated from a post-secondary education program in Manitoba. For example, in 2007, Manitoba received 4,288 temporary residents compared to 3,626 in 2006, representing an increase of 18.2%.

The hiring of TFWs in particular has become quite significant as employers are increasingly using this option to address labour and skills needs. The increased flow of TFWs to the province, however, has also heightened the need to protect them from unscrupulous recruiters and employers. Manitoba policy priority is to strengthen ethical and planned recruitment initiatives of TFWs and has responded to this growing problem through the enactment of the *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act.*[1] This article provides an overview of this legislation and how it seeks to assist in the recruitment and protection of foreign workers in Manitoba.

Policy and program context

Manitoba's immigration policy is rooted in the Manitoba government's Action Strategy for Economic Growth (Action Strategy). The Action Strategy established *Growing Through Immigration* as one of seven growth pillars for the province, and set a target of receiving 10,000 immigrants in 2006. This target was achieved and has subsequently been renewed to 20,000 newcomers annually by 2016. The Action Strategy also emphasizes enhanced settlement services and English as an Additional Language training programs, effective labour market integration strategies, and the importance of welcoming communities.[2]

[1] The content of the Act can be found at the following address: <web2.gov.mb.ca/bills/sess/b022f.php>.

TABLE 1
Manitoba immigration levels, 1998–2007

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Economic class	1,410	1,906	2,615	2,331	2,689	4,072	5,000	5,725	7,375	8,330
Family class	945	1,025	952	1,097	949	1,119	1,116	1,192	1,332	1,343
Refugees	659	771	1,017	1,160	983	1,235	1,252	1,094	1,241	1,170
Other	-	-	-	-	-	66	59	86	103	112
Manitoba – Total (% of Canada)	3,014 (1.7)	3,702 (1.9)	4,584 (2.0 %)	4,588 (1.8)	4,621 (2.0)	6,492 (2.9)	7,427 (3.1)	8,097 (3.0)	10,051 (4.0)	10,955 (4.6)
Canada – Total	174,169	189,835	227,346	250,484	229,091	221,352	235,824	262,236	251,649	236,758

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (prepared by Manitoba Labour and Immigration).

Manitoba's most dynamic tool in its immigration program is the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. Established in 1998 through the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement (CMIA), it defines the respective roles of the Province and Canada.[3] Manitoba selects and nominates skilled worker applicants with the strongest potential to settle permanently and successfully in the province. Applicants must demonstrate strong connections to the province through employment, education, family and friends.[4] Manitoba also has the authority to design and deliver its own settlement programs to meet the changing needs of immigrants and refugees coming to the province.

As shown in Figure 1, the MPNP has been Manitoba's main tool for immigration, accounting for more than half of the province's annual total immigration since 2004. Provincial nominees accounted for 33% of Manitoba's overall immigration in 2002 and their numbers more than doubled by 2007, reaching 70%. Nationally, Manitoba received more than half of all provincial nominees in 2006 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2008).

Going forward, Manitoba will continue to work in partnership with key stakeholders to increase immigration to the province to 20,000 annual arrivals by 2016, continue implementation of the province's dynamic settlement and welcoming communities' initiatives, improve recognition of international qualifications, expand regionalization efforts outside of Winnipeg, and enhance the recruitment and protection of foreign workers. The following sections of this article concentrate on Manitoba's innovative approach to enhance the recruitment and protection of foreign workers to the province through the *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act*.

Manitoba's temporary foreign worker flows

Over the past decade, TFW flows to Manitoba have continued to increase as a result of employers' need for off-shore workers. In 2007, the flows to the province doubled compared to the previous four years, rising from 1,426 in 2003 to 2,878 in 2007. Manitoba's 2007 TFW numbers accounted for 1.74% of Canada's total for the year (Table 2).

Two pathways exist to facilitate the recruitment of TFWs to the province, and in all cases the recruitment is driven by a legitimate job offer by a Manitoba employer. Firstly, TFWs come to Manitoba through the federal government's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP), which is jointly managed by the departments of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). Eligible foreign workers can work in Canada for an authorized period of time if employers can demonstrate that they are unable to find suitable Canadians or permanent residents to fill the jobs and that the entry of these workers will not have a negative impact on the Canadian labour market. Some of the factors considered before Service Canada issues a Labour Market Opinion include:

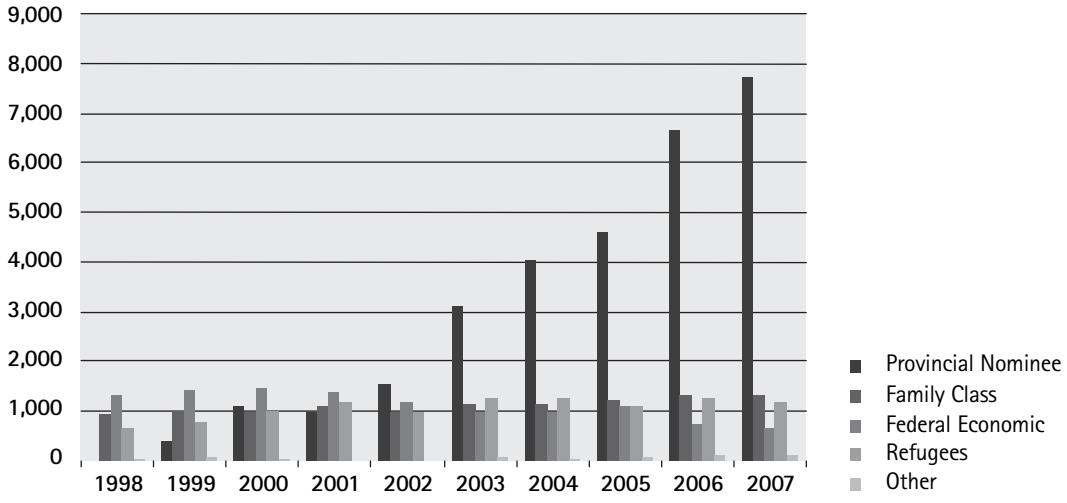
- The occupation in which the foreign worker will be employed;
- The wage and working conditions offered;

[2] Manitoba's Action Strategy for Economic Growth: <www.gov.mb.ca/finance/budget07/economic_strategy/index.html?index.html>.

[3] Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement: <www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/laws-policy/agreements/manitoba/can-man-2003.asp>.

[4] Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program: <www2.immigratemanitoba.com/browse/howtoimmigrate/pnp>.

FIGURE 1
Manitoba immigration levels, 1998–2007



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (prepared by Manitoba Labour and Immigration).

- The employer's advertisement and recruitment efforts;
- The labour market benefits related to the entry of the foreign worker; and
- Consultations, if any, with the appropriate union.[5]

The second pathway for TFWs' recruitment to Manitoba is through the MPNP Employer Direct Stream, a priority assessment stream that helps employers recruit and retain workers for permanent residence in order for them to work in permanent fulltime positions that cannot be filled by a permanent resident or Canadian citizen. Once approved through the Employer Direct Stream, Manitoba Labour and Immigration may issue a letter of support to the recruited candidates, to facilitate their work permit processing without first requiring a positive Labour Market Opinion through the federal TFWP.

Measures to address worker vulnerability

To maximize the economic and social benefits of TFW flows to the province, Manitoba has developed approaches to facilitate their retention. As noted before, TFWs can apply to the MPNP after working for six months and if they have a full-time job offer from their employer. While offering pathways to permanent immigration is one factor in a sustainable immigration strategy, Manitoba also recognizes that TFW movements are enhanced by offering greater protections to ensure their experiences in the province are positive.

As TFW movements increase in Manitoba, as well as across Canada, situations highlighting their vulnerability have been increasingly publicized by the media. Some of these situations include (Alberta Federation of Labour 2007):

- Exorbitant fees being charged to TFWs for employment placement;
- Contract requirements not being upheld;
- Immigration status being used to coerce TFWs;
- Inaccurate information regarding the Provincial Nominee Program and eligibility for permanent status; and
- Inaccurate information regarding labour and workplace safety and health legislation.

These scenarios have made increasingly clear the importance of expanding labour legislation and, more importantly, of protecting all workers under this legislation.

To address these challenges, Manitoba passed the *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act* in June 2008 to regulate foreign worker recruitment activities, place the provincial government at the front-end of foreign worker recruitment and reaffirm the Province's commitment to

[5] For more information, see the Human Resources and Skills Development Canada Website: <www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/workplaceskills/foreign_workers/temp_assessment.shtml>.

TABLE 2
Manitoba temporary foreign worker flows, 1997–2007

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Winnipeg	994	1,136	1,438	1,295	1,309	1,083	916	1,008	1,072	1,268	1,579
Other Manitoba	592	636	546	656	638	659	510	627	831	896	1,299
Total	**1,586**	**1,772**	**1,984**	**1,951**	**1,947**	**1,742**	**1,426**	**1,635**	**1,903**	**2,164**	**2,878**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (prepared by Manitoba Labour and Immigration).

ensuring that workers are not charged for finding employment.

Prior to the *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act*, the *Employment Services Act* had governed the activities of third-party placement agencies in Manitoba. The *Employment Services Act*, however, had not been reviewed or amended since 1987 and pre-dated the increase in numbers of talent, acting and modeling agencies recruiting women and children, the growth of the human trafficking industry, and the significant increase in off-shore recruitment activities by third-party representatives. Based on consultations with employers and other affected parties, Manitoba modernized the *Employment Services Act* to reflect the dramatic changes that have taken place in the worker recruitment business.

The *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act*: An overview

The *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act* (WRAPA) provides a framework for a positive and sustainable recruitment process that will provide businesses with access to reliable skilled temporary foreign labour and will respond to issues of TFW vulnerability.

The WRAPA expands employment standards coverage to encompass the protection of foreign workers from unscrupulous recruiters and employers. Under the WRAPA, all employers are required to register with the Province before the recruitment of foreign workers begins. The registration would ensure that employers are using a licensed recruiter and have a good history of compliance with labour legislation. Additionally, recruiters must be licensed and are prohibited from charging workers, directly or indirectly, any fee whatsoever for recruitment.

The objectives of the WRAPA are:

- To modernize the existing employment services legislation and clarify the fundamental concept that employers, not workers, are responsible for the costs of recruitment.
  - Improve the enforcement mechanisms to ensure a level playing field for employers who use employment agencies for their recruitment activities.
- To establish a clear role for the Province at the initial stages of the foreign worker recruitment process to ensure a simplified and sustainable process to meet the needs of both employers and foreign workers.
  - Employers bringing foreign workers to Manitoba will be required to register with the Province through a single-window access point for TFW and permanent immigrant recruitment.
  - To obtain a registration certificate, employers must have a good compliance history with provincial employment standards and with workplace safety and health requirements.
  - Employers contracting with a foreign worker recruiter must provide the name of the licensed recruiter as part of the registration process.
- To regulate the activities of recruiters of foreign workers.
  - Individuals and agencies recruiting foreign workers are required to hold a licence. To obtain a licence, a recruiter of foreign workers must be a member of the Canadian Society of Immigration Consultants or a law society of Canada and provide a $10,000 irrevocable letter of credit.
  - Any recruiter who is regulated through international agreements entered into with the Province of Manitoba would be exempt from the licensing requirements.
  - Recruiters of foreign workers will be prohibited from charging workers fees for recruitment. Canadian recruiters will be held liable for any fee or charge made to a foreign worker by the recruiter or anyone with whom the recruiter subcontracts.

Over the past decade, temporary foreign worker flows to Manitoba have continued to increase as a result of employers' need for off-shore workers. In 2007, the flows to the province doubled compared to the previous four years, rising from 1,426 in 2003 to 2,878 in 2007.

- To expand compliance measures to protect workers from non-compliant employers and unscrupulous and unregulated employment agencies.
  - Manitoba's Employment Standards Division will have the authority to refuse or revoke a licence, to investigate, and to recover money, on behalf of the worker, from employers and recruiters who attempt to charge employees the costs of recruitment.
  - To protect foreign workers from changes to the promised job conditions, the terms of employment that were agreed upon as part of the foreign worker being allowed to enter Canada will become the minimum standard and enforced by the Employment Standards Division.
  - If a foreign worker does not fulfill his or her contract and terminates employment without cause, the employer will be allowed to recover the costs of recruitment on a pro-rated basis.

Information exchange related to temporary foreign workers

While Manitoba anticipates that the WRAPA will address the problems encountered by TFWs following the introduction of necessary provisions related to licensing, registration and enforcement, one of the significant challenges the regulatory framework does not address is the lack of information Manitoba currently receives related to TFWs' movements into the province. To address this issue, Manitoba and Canada, in April 2008, announced the development of an agreement, through a Letter of Understanding (LOU), to exchange information and strengthen protections for TFWs. Under the terms of the LOU, where a direct link and purpose can be demonstrated to Manitoba's legislation, Canada and Manitoba will exchange information.

This information exchange regarding TFWs is critical to Manitoba's ability to provide protection to this vulnerable group of workers through the monitoring and enforcement of employment standards, workplace safety and health, construction industry wages and current employment services legislation. It will also aid Manitoba in undertaking education and awareness campaigns about labour and workplace safety, health rights and responsibilities to temporary residents and their employers.

In addition, Manitoba will be better able to assess applications from TFWs for the MPNP and to provide earlier information to TFWs and their employers so that options for permanent residence are made clear. Manitoba will also provide information to Human Resources and Skills Development Canada about those employers and employment agencies that violate provincial laws for the purposes of accepting or rejecting an employer's Labour Market Opinion application.

Conclusion

TFWs are vulnerable to exploitation from third-party recruiters and placement agencies that take advantage of their desire to start a new life and career. Through the *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act*, Manitoba has taken steps to protect foreign workers who come to the province. The legislation will also create a positive, sustainable recruitment process that will provide business with access to skilled labour and respond to issues of worker vulnerability. Through co-ordination of services and legislation the Province intends to increase overall compliance with employment standards and workplace safety and health legislation, raise the standards of professionalism and conduct among recruitment agencies, and provide a level playing field for legitimate recruitment agencies.

About the author

NANCY ALLAN is Manitoba's Minister of Labour and Immigration with responsibility also for Multiculturalism. Minister Allan was elected to the Manitoba Legislature in 1999, and has served in Cabinet since 2003. She was a member of Manitoba's Legislative Assembly Management Committee and Legislative Assistant to the Minister of Education and Youth, and to the Minister of Culture, Heritage and Tourism.

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Saskatchewan's Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour estimates the provincial labour market shortage will reach 13,000 to 15,500 workers annually by 2012. The convergence of these labour market factors has culminated in a strategic and balanced labour market approach that focuses on training and educating youth…; attracting back those individuals who have moved to other provinces and skilled workers from other provinces…; and increasing the number of skilled international immigrants coming to the province.

Saskatchewan: Sustaining Economic Momentum Through Immigration

ARLA CAMERON
Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour, Saskatchewan

As in the rest of Canada, the province of Saskatchewan is founded on the hard work of its First Nations and Métis people and immigrants. And, it is through the diversity of this dynamic population that Saskatchewan has built a strong and growing economy.

However, Saskatchewan's demographics have changed over time, as have those in much of the Western world. While Saskatchewan has long been known as the "bread basket" of Canada for its large and long-time contribution to the Canadian production of wheat and other grains, this image no longer reflects the true nature of Saskatchewan's booming economy.

The province is home to large deposits of oil, natural gas, potash, uranium and even diamonds. The entire province is moving towards more specialized forms of production and, with this, the economy has seen a rapid shift from dependence on primary production exports to a more diversified economy that includes vibrant manufacturing, technology and service industries.

Saskatchewan's economy is now recognized as one of the strongest in the country. The Conference Board of Canada is forecasting 4.7% real GDP growth in 2008 and 3.2% in 2009. The projected employment growth over the next five years is 0.8% annually (Conference Board of Canada 2008).

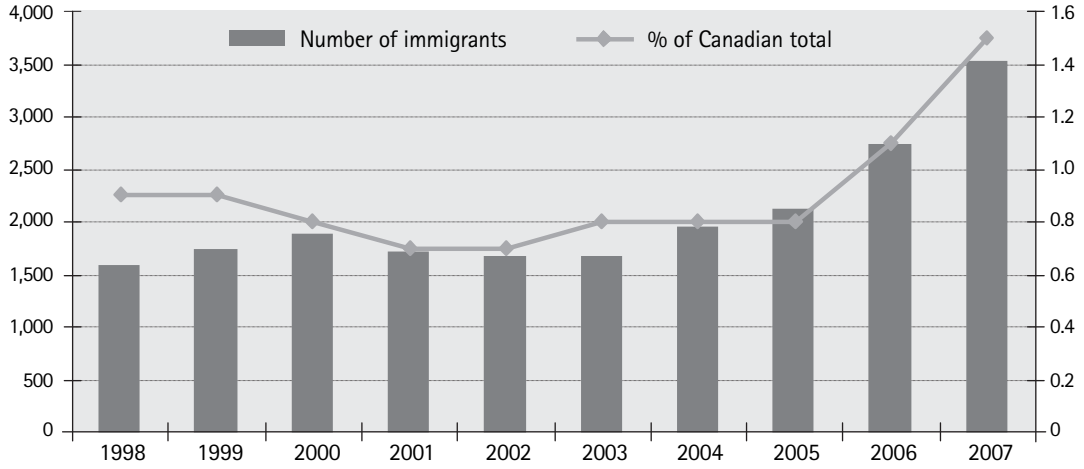
Clearly, the strength of the economy is evident in employment increases. Between October 2007 and October 2008, 10,500 full-time jobs and 6,600 part-time jobs have been added to the labour market. As well, Saskatchewan posted the lowest unemployment rate in Canada at 3.3% in October 2008 (Statistics Canada 2008).

However, in conjunction with a strong economy, Saskatchewan is experiencing an unprecedented labour market need. Saskatchewan's population is ageing, birth rates are declining, retirements are rising with fewer young people to fill job vacancies, and competition for workers among jurisdictions is increasing.

Saskatchewan's Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour estimates the provincial labour market shortage will reach 13,000 to 15,500 workers annually by 2012. The convergence of these labour market factors has culminated in a strategic and balanced labour market approach that focuses on:

- Training and educating youth, with an emphasis on First Nations and Métis communities;
- Attracting back those individuals who have moved to other provinces, as well as skilled workers from other provinces interested in working and living in Saskatchewan;

FIGURE 1
Saskatchewan immigrant landings, 1998–2007



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007).

- Increasing the number of skilled international immigrants coming to the province.

While the first two initiatives are crucial to sustaining Saskatchewan's social and economic well-being, local populations are still not large enough to meet the province's long-term labour needs and, as such, the province's immigration strategy will play a critical role in the province's future success.

Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program

During the eight years preceding the signing of the first Canada-Saskatchewan Immigration Agreement in 1998, Saskatchewan's immigration levels had fallen by 30% to a low of 1,500 immigrants arriving in the province in 1998. The federal agreement (renewed in 2005) provided the terms for Saskatchewan to establish a Provincial Nominee Program to select the types of immigrants that it needs to meet its labour market and demographic needs.

The Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP) has completely turned around the province's ability to attract and retain new immigrants. Immigration levels have more than doubled since the program's inception in 1998. In 2007, approximately 3,500 new immigrants were destined for Saskatchewan, with provincial nominees accounting for more than half of the new arrivals (CIC 2008).

The SINP comprises eight categories: Skilled Worker, Family Member, International Student, Health Professional, Entrepreneur, Farm Owner/Operator, Long-Haul Truck Driver and Hotel and Hospitality Sector Projects.

The Skilled Worker category provides the means for skilled foreign nationals with a permanent job offer from a Saskatchewan employer to arrive in the province with their families as permanent residents in order to fill skilled job vacancies. The Family Members category attracts skilled foreign nationals who have a close family connection in Saskatchewan. This category allows for family reunification while ensuring new immigrants to the province have a pre-established support system in place to assist them with their immediate settlement needs upon arrival. The Skilled Worker and Family Members categories account for over 85% of all SINP nominees.

SINP also has several categories that fit individuals who are currently residing in Canada on temporary resident permits, including a student category designed for international students who have recently graduated from a recognized post-secondary institution in Canada. Other temporary resident categories target those people who are currently working on temporary work permits in the province, including physicians, nurses and other health care professionals, long-haul truck drivers, skilled workers and people working in certain occupations within the hotel and hospitality sectors.

The Entrepreneur category attracts immigrants who have the resources and expertise to invest in and operate a business or purchase and operate a farm in Saskatchewan. Since the category was redesigned in 2006, there has been

The Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP) has completely turned around the province's ability to attract and retain new immigrants. Immigration levels have more than doubled since the program's inception in 1998.

a significant increase in uptake. The province is currently reviewing the Entrepreneur category to further increase its flexibility and improve processing times.

Promotion of the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program

While the SINP has had a significant impact on increasing immigration to Saskatchewan, continued growth of the program will depend on the province's ability to promote Saskatchewan as an attractive destination in Canada for potential international students, temporary workers and immigrants.

The province is enhancing its recruitment efforts through increased investments in marketing and promotion and overseas missions. Within the province, efforts will focus on improving and expanding relationships with ethnocultural communities, community-based organizations, industry, labour, municipalities and other stakeholders to promote the benefits of immigration.

Internationally, the province coordinates overseas missions to identify sources of skilled workers, assist employers in recruiting foreign workers and enhance strong working relationships with Canadian visa posts and with local and national governments.

The province piloted an Overseas Assessment Process with employers on recruitment missions in 2007-2008. This approach significantly decreases application processing times as program officers accompanying employers overseas interview applicants with job offers and review their documents and applications on site.

The successful promotion of the province will lead to a significant increase in the number of permanent and temporary residents making Saskatchewan their home. As a result, the province is developing a proactive plan to ensure that with this influx of foreign workers comes an increased awareness of the rights and responsibilities of both the foreign workers and the employers who hire them.

A joint initiative with the provincial and federal government will help to ensure that workers and employers are well informed of their rights and responsibilities and will establish a clear line of contact to report and investigate any form of violation or obtain information on occupational health and safety regulations and labour standards. As the SINP continues to generate momentum, the province will implement measures designed to ensure that the integrity of the program is not compromised.

Settlement and retention

Once immigrants arrive in Saskatchewan, it is imperative to ensure they have access to quality settlement support programs and services. With approximately 18% of new immigrants in Saskatchewan destined to smaller communities, the province is providing significant resources and is working with community and immigrant groups, employers, and educational institutions to facilitate the timely and effective delivery of settlement support, such as employment and language services to immigrants. The province is developing a new service delivery model that will ensure that mainstream service providers are prepared to meet the needs of the growing immigrant population.

Immigrants play a key role in building our workforce, not only by increasing our population, but, more importantly, by improving our capacity for innovation through the skills, new ideas and global perspectives they contribute. The long-term success of immigration depends on the ability to improve the recognition of international training and experience in order to give immigrants a better chance of offering the full scope of their skills and abilities to their new communities and workplaces.

To this end, Saskatchewan is working collaboratively with professional licensing and credentialing organizations, governments, institutions and employers to facilitate foreign credential recognition and develop a provincial capacity designed to assess, recognize and harness the knowledge and skills obtained outside of Canada.

Soon, the province will unveil a new multi-faceted immigration strategy that will focus on

increased immigration levels, enhanced partnerships, effective engagement, settlement and retention, economic growth, entrepreneurship and program integrity.

Maintaining an immigration program that attracts new immigrants to Saskatchewan and provides them with opportunities to build their future in the province is pivotal to sustaining the economic momentum that the province is experiencing. The province's immigration programs will continue to adapt and respond to the changing needs of its communities and economy and ensure that immigrants feel welcome in their new home, Saskatchewan.

About the author

ARLA CAMERON holds a B.A. in International Development Studies from the University of Regina. She currently works with the Immigration Services Division of the Province of Saskatchewan's Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour.

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At a time when parts of Canada were experiencing a population decline or were dissatisfied with stagnant or minimum growth, others were experiencing remarkable growth and were attracting most of Canada's immigrants. It was apparent that it would be desirable for the benefits of immigration to be spread more evenly.

Attracting and Retaining Immigrants: A Tool Box of Ideas for Smaller Centres*

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Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Prairies and Northern Territories Region

JEAN McRAE
The Inter-Cultural Association of Greater Victoria

The dispersion pattern of immigrants across Canada is an issue that has increasingly gained the attention of government, service providers and immigrant service organizations. In 2001, the National Working Group on the Attraction and Retention of Immigrants to Smaller Communities formed through the Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI), began to examine various models for and approaches to shifting the traditional pattern. In 2005, the Working Group shared what it had learned in "Attracting and Retaining Immigrants – A Tool Box of Ideas for Smaller Centres." A second edition printed in 2008 included many more examples of the varied approaches communities had been taking across the country. In the latest phase of the initiative, the exploration continues as the working group engages small centres in the development and implementation of strategies to attract and retain immigrants.

The VSI resulted from an accord signed between the Government of Canada and the Voluntary Sector in June 2000. It was a joint undertaking with long-term objectives of:

- Strengthening the volunteer sector's capacity to meet the challenges of the future;
- Enhancing the relationship between the sector and the federal government;
- Increasing the sector's ability to serve Canadians;
- Improving the sector's access to the benefits of technology;
- Increasing recognition of the sector among the public and government;
- Developing new knowledge, skills, and means for volunteer organizations to respond to Canadian needs;
- Proposing a new approach to financing the volunteer sector that is long-term and sustainable;
- Promoting the role of volunteers as a legacy of the United Nations International Year of Volunteers, 2001;
- Enhancing policy development in federal government departments by creating opportunities for input by volunteer sector organizations through the Sectoral Involvement in Department Policy Development (SIDPD)[1].

* The opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Citizenship and Immigration Canada or the Government of Canada.

[1] More information on the Voluntary Sector Initiative can be found at <www.vsi-isbc.org/eng/index.cfm>.

One recommendation that emerged from the Small Centre Strategy workshop was the development of a "Tool Box of Ideas for Small Centres" for centres that wanted to attract and retain immigrants and wished to include immigration as part of their population strategy.

As a result, all interested departments, such as Canadian Heritage and Health Canada, signed an individual accord with the Voluntary Sector. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) signed its own agreement with the Voluntary Sector in 1999. The goal of the agreement was to strengthen the volunteer sector's capacity regarding immigrant settlement.

The project was divided into three phases. The first phase was completed with the National Settlement Conference I in Kingston in 2001. This conference was a working forum designed to provide meaningful dialogue on settlement policy in Canada, enhance overall service delivery capacity in the volunteer sector and facilitate learning within the sector. A key outcome of the conference was the establishment of four national VSI policy working groups to examine specific settlement issues. These working groups consisted of representatives from different levels of government and the sector. Each group was co-chaired by a representative from CIC and the volunteer sector.

One of the working groups focused on the Small Centre Strategy. During the second phase of the agreement, the working groups developed draft reports and made recommendations on various settlement issues. One of the topics was immigration to smaller centres since the regionalization of immigration was, and continues to be, a current topic of interest in Canada. At a time when parts of the country were experiencing a population decline or were dissatisfied with stagnant or minimum growth, other places were experiencing remarkable growth and were attracting most of Canada's immigrants. It had become apparent that it would be desirable for the benefits of immigration to be spread more evenly across Canada. This sentiment had been voiced unanimously by Canada's federal, provincial and territorial ministers of immigration. The creation of a small-centre working group was a response to this reality.

At the National Settlement Conference II in October 2003, papers were presented at workshops for discussion, recommendation and ratification. This conference completed the third phase of the agreement. One recommendation that emerged from the Small Centre Strategy workshop was the development of a "Tool Box of Ideas for Small Centres" for centres that wanted to attract and retain immigrants and wished to include immigration as part of their population strategy. In 2004, the working group received $40,987 in funding from CIC to develop this Tool Box[2].

The first Tool Box was launched in 2005. It provided ideas, resources, strategies and tools for small centres to grow by attracting immigrants. It contained information on national and global immigration trends, details of Canada's immigrant and refugee processes as well as ideas on how to create a population growth strategy. It provided tools to assess a community's ability to welcome newcomers and ideas on how to develop an action plan and create a "Welcoming Community" strategy for building support in the host community. It also included a list of government and community resources and services.

The Tool Box consists of five chapters:

- Chapter 1 is an introduction to the Tool Box. It outlines the purpose of the Tool Box, what constitutes a small centre, background information on the Tool Box, how to use it and immigration realities.
- Chapter 2 deals with building the foundation of a welcoming community, including how to get organized and formulate strategies for building community support.
- Chapter 3 deals with key factors of a welcoming community, such as family ties, employment, housing and the importance of managing barriers.
- Chapter 4 deals with how to attract migrants and includes a section on identifying and

[2] Copies of the Tool Box can be downloaded and printed from <www.icavictoria.org/toolbox.htm> or <http://cic.gc.ca/english/department/partner/menu-partners.asp>. CDs and paper copies of the Tool Box are available in English and French and can be ordered directly from the Inter-Cultural Association of Greater Victoria at <www.icavictoria.org>.

making the most of existing opportunities as well as how to enhance the possibilities of a community.

- Chapter 5 deals with other aspects of a welcoming community, factors creating hospitable communities, initial arrangements to be made to welcome newcomers and early settlement support.

The Tool Box also includes checklists, helpful immigration statistics as well as community, provincial and federal websites.

The working group has continued its activities and received $52,140 of funding in 2007-2008 for a second edition of the Tool Box. This new edition is updated and now has a section called "Welcoming Communities." The updated Tool Box was launched in Lethbridge, Alberta, in 2008.

The next phases of the Tool Box, funded by CIC in the amount of $174,558 in 2008-2009 and $54,258 for 2009-2010, will support capacity-building and community-welcoming activities through the dissemination of promotional materials to small communities in several provinces. These next phases will allow the group to work with provincial governments and local contacts to identify communities and bring together key stakeholders in small centres across Canada. Facilitators in each of the provinces listed below will be trained in the use of the Tool Box and to deliver at least three workshops to two communities in each of the participating provinces. This initiative is being funded by CIC with "Innovation Funds," which are mainly to support projects that are national in scope. The provinces participating in this project are British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland and Labrador. The province of Manitoba will be assisting with curriculum development for the training.

The participating provinces will recommend at least two small centres that could benefit from training in the use of the Tool Box. Trainers will organize three meetings in each community. A needs assessment will be done, a strategic action plan developed and training in the use of the Tool Box will be provided. The trainers will work with the communities to help them become more welcoming and thus increase their ability to attract and retain newcomers into their communities.

Another important component to this project, an evaluation component, will also be developed.

About the authors

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JEAN McRAE is the Executive Director of the Inter-Cultural Association of Greater Victoria. Jean has worked in the field of immigrant services since 1982 and serves on several provincial and national boards and committees concerned with issues of immigrant integration. She is currently co-Chair of the Small Centre Strategy national working group.

The experience with immigration of mid-sized cities in the Prairie Provinces is under-explored and is expected to differ from the experience of Canada's three largest metropolises in a variety of ways and for a variety of reasons. Local contextual features for each city influence locational decisions and provide a preliminary analysis of gaps to be addressed in local planning and policy decisions. Factors that appear to be significantly related to relocation decisions include the diversity of the population in the host community, income and poverty rates. This research explores how individual municipalities are responding to these issues and highlights the services they provide to both newcomers and established immigrant populations in these communities.

An Analysis of Immigrant Attraction and Retention Patterns Among Western Canadian CMAs*

VALERIE PRUEGGER
University of Calgary and City of Calgary

DEREK COOK
City of Calgary

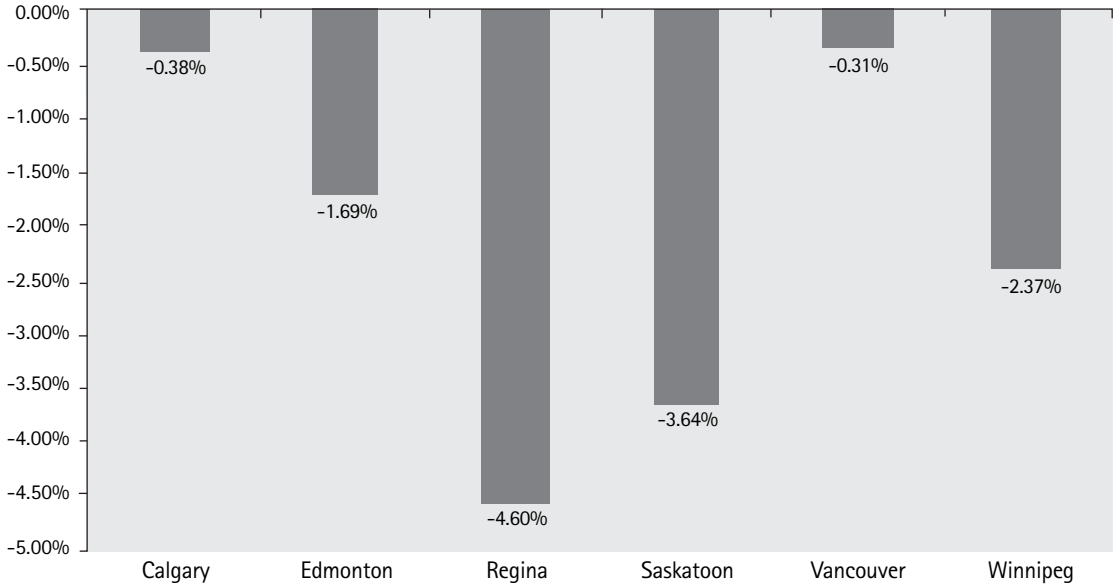
Over the past decade (1991-2000), the five western Canadian cities of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton received a total of 184,632 immigrants, accounting for only 8.3% of all immigrants to Canada. Over the course of this decade, the share of Canada's immigrants landing in the western cities ranged from a low of 7.4% in 1996 to a high of 9.5% in 1991 and 1994.

It is projected that important labour shortages that have begun to emerge in the Canadian labour market will continue to worsen over the next 25 years due to the ageing of the workforce. To the extent that immigration is expected to account for labour force growth, the ability of cities, and the western region, to attract and retain immigrant labour will be critical for economic growth, and will be even more critical for smaller centres as intra-regional competition for labour may grow. Not only will western cities be competing against more established immigrant centres in central Canada, they will be increasingly competitive among themselves for a share of the immigrant population destined for western Canada. Consequently, the attraction and retention of immigrants will be a pressing and growing challenge.

In order to be prepared to address these challenges and to do a better job of retaining immigrants, it is imperative that municipalities are able to measure emerging population trends and understand the experiences of newcomers who arrive in their communities. However, there is currently no effective measure that provides a clear picture of how internal migratory trends change the ethnic diversity of these populations. In order to better understand these trends and their potential impacts on western Canadian cities, a research tool was developed to elucidate

* The authors would like to acknowledge their municipal and community partners in the five cities who greatly contributed to all aspects of this research, as well as Sibylle Richter-Salomons, who assisted with data analysis and provided helpful comments on research drafts. We would also like to thank the Prairie Metropolis Centre for the funding that made this research possible, and staff at Citizenship and Immigration Canada who provided the data that was critical for this report.

FIGURE 1
Annual retention rate, total immigrants



the migratory patterns among various immigrant groups. In addition, representatives from each of the major cities in Western Canada completed questionnaires relating to the efforts being made at the municipal level to welcome and address the integration needs of immigrants. The intention was to use the data collected to better inform municipal policy and program planning in order to better address the particular needs of these emerging populations.

Methodology

This research employed both quantitative and qualitative analyses and examined the period from 1991 to 2000. A quantitative analysis was conducted using federal Census and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) immigrant landings data to establish retention rates among six western cities. The results of this analysis were presented to a regional forum in April 2007 where representatives from these cities discussed the results and provided local contextual data. These qualitative data were then used for further quantitative analyses to assess the impact of the issues identified by stakeholders on local retention rates (for the full report and details of the model, see Pruegger and Cook 2007).

Results: Regional overview

The results showed different historical immigration patterns and current retention patterns among the five prairie cities. While the western region as a whole exhibited a relatively stable immigrant population, significant shifts and differences between cities in the region were not evident. Among cities in the Prairie Provinces in 1991, Edmonton had the highest immigrant population (152,830) followed by Calgary (151,760), Winnipeg (113,755), Saskatoon (17,150) and Regina (15,885).[1]

Between 1991 and 2001, the cities of Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina all experienced a net loss of immigrants, while the cities of Calgary and Edmonton experienced a net gain in the number of immigrants. The greatest loss of immigrants was reported in Regina, where immigrant population declined by 11.8%, followed by Winnipeg with a 3.8% decline and Saskatoon with a 1.7% decline. By contrast, the immigrant population grew in Calgary, with a 30.1% increase, and in Edmonton, with an 8.1% increase.

Notwithstanding robust growth of the immigrant population in the three largest western cities, the immigrant population of the western cities, including those that gained population, fell below what would have been

[1] The original research included Vancouver but these data were not included due to this issue's focus on the Prairie Provinces (although they do remain in the graphs). Researchers interested in the full analysis can contact Valerie Pruegger at vpruegger@calgary.ca for a copy of the final report.

To the extent that immigration is expected to account for labour force growth, the ability of cities, and the western region, to attract and retain immigrant labour will be critical for economic growth, and will be even more critical for smaller centres as intra-regional competition for labour may grow.

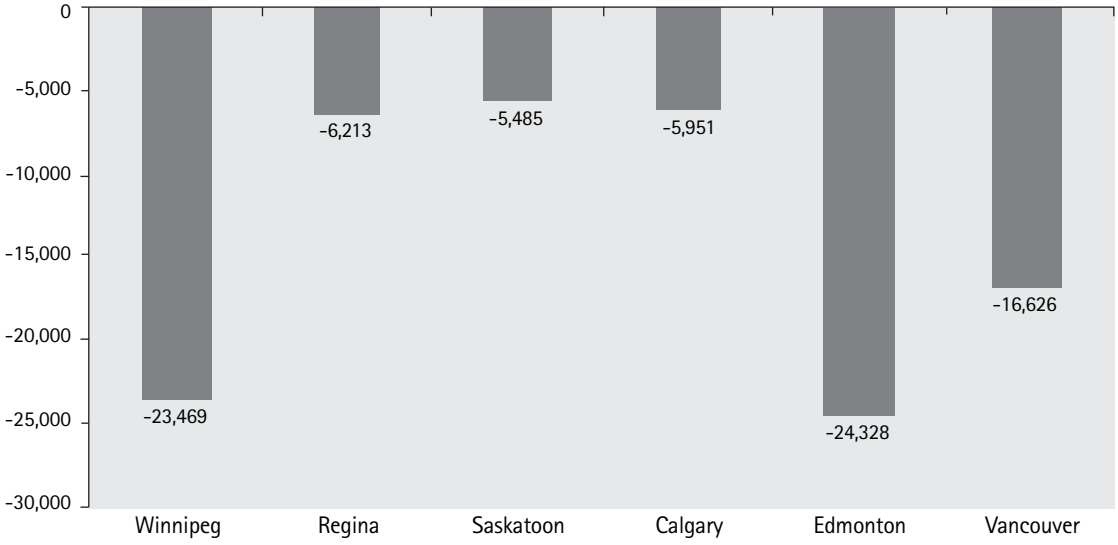
projected assuming 100% retention. Therefore, among western cities, all major CMAs experienced negative retention rates, indicating secondary out-migration of varying degrees. The lowest retention rate was experienced by the CMA of Regina (95.4%), followed by Saskatoon (96.4%), Winnipeg (97.6%), Edmonton (98.3%) and Calgary (99.6%), as shown in Figure 1. In terms of actual population, the greatest net population loss was experienced by the CMA of Edmonton (-24,328), followed by Winnipeg (-23,469), Regina (-6,213), Calgary (-5,951) and Saskatoon (-5,485), as shown in Figure 2.

Retention rates also varied considerably by the source region of immigration. Immigrants from Asia tended to have the lowest retention rates in all cities, while the highest retention rates tended to be among immigrants from Europe. The low retention rate of Asian immigrants is problematic due to the importance of Asia to overall immigration in Western Canada. The low retention is resulting in a significant loss of labour force potential in some cities.

Finally, retention rates varied significantly by immigration period. Retention rates were positive among all cities for immigrants who arrived between 1961 and 1980 and lowest among immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1990. However, the CMAs of Regina and Saskatoon reported significantly lower retention rates among recent immigrants (1991-2000), with Regina posting a retention rate of only 87.7%. At the same time, the CMA of Calgary reported a positive retention rate for recent immigrants, suggesting some movement of recent immigrants from other CMAs to Calgary.

Cities present at the roundtable identified a range of factors that they considered to affect local retention rates. Attractors included the bilingual (English and French) nature of the community (e.g., Winnipeg) as well as the degree of diversity of the population. Detractors included a lack of affordable housing, racism/discrimination, underemployment/unemployment, inadequate public transportation and inadequate levels of ESL and settlement services. It was also suggested that low retention rates could be attributed to general patterns of population decline in some cities, not unique to the immigrant population in particular.

FIGURE 2
Net immigrant population change, actual vs. projected, Western Canada, 1991-2000



In order to test these factors, where possible, indicators for each factor were selected. Poverty was also tested. These indicators were then used for a correlation analysis between the factor and the retention rate for each specific immigrant group in each city. Results showed a number of factors related to migration decisions, including the level of diversity of the host community, higher levels of population diversity as measured by the immigrant and visible minority populations in those cities and economic security. Employment opportunities and affordable housing did not appear to be significantly related to migration decisions. In fact, average housing cost was positively correlated with retention. This may suggest that larger cities are more effective at attracting immigrants for a variety of reasons, such as their greater level of diversity, and that these benefits may offset factors such as higher housing costs. From these findings, it is evident that a qualitative study that discusses these issues with immigrants themselves would provide an important addition to our understanding of these findings.

Local challenges

Each municipality identified a number of local challenges to attracting and retaining immigrants. While some of these were unique, there were many commonalities. The first set of challenges was the capacity of public agencies to address the barriers facing local communities in a coordinated manner. There appears to be uncertainty over roles and responsibilities and a lack of leadership and coordination of services in the various orders of government involved in immigration and settlement. At the same time, governments and government agencies are seen to lack the organizational and resource capacity to effectively address immigration issues.

Municipalities are facing growing demands for services to address immigration and settlement issues but lack the resources to address these demands, which lie outside of their mandates. This has led to a growing concern about the lack of inclusion of municipalities in discussions around immigration policy and settlement.

A lack of affordable housing and adequate public transportation were also identified as local challenges, as were economic challenges like the problems of underemployment and unemployment facing recent immigrants. It was suggested that this pattern of labour market disadvantage was contributing to a widening income gap in urban areas and highlighted the need for resources for municipalities to develop long-range economic development strategies for newcomer communities.

Another challenge identified by stakeholders was the lack of cultural diversity in the smaller urban centres. It was felt that this poses barriers to creating welcoming environments for newcomers and may contribute to their subsequent decision to leave the community. At the same time, Winnipeg identified its cultural diversity as an asset that may help attract and retain immigrants. However, most cities expressed a concern about racism and discrimination in their communities and viewed this as a significant obstacle to creating welcoming environments that could effectively attract and retain immigrants.

A number of emerging issues were identified, including lack of representation from immigrant or racialized populations on local government councils, commissions and boards; the need for more integration of health and education systems into policy and strategy planning; the need for more regional collaboration and better communication between cities and within communities; and recognition of the funding imbalances, which restrict action in smaller urban centres.

Supports and services

To meet these challenges, all of the municipalities participating in the study had a range of support services from community to not-for-profit to government-sponsored services. However, the partners recognized that an increasing immigrant population with increasingly complex and diverse needs is straining this infrastructure, one that is loosely coordinated at best. There has been a range of responses by the municipal governments to meet this demand for services and supports. While some municipal governments, particularly in areas that are actively working to attract immigrants to their communities, have recognized the importance of specifically addressing immigrants and immigration in business plans, policy and practice (e.g., Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton), others see it as the responsibility of other orders of government and are reluctant to take on a costly and complicated issue outside their mandates.

Policy recommendations

There needs to be more inter-governmental cooperation and coordination of services. Bi- or tri-lateral immigration agreements can offer an

Housing is one of the critical issues related to effective settlement among immigrants. Housing policy needs to recognize that decent, secure housing is a precondition for many other outcomes, such as success in school and stable employment.

opportunity to create more holistic and integrated approaches by providing a lever to bundle services and policies that assist efforts to improve immigrant economic and social integration outcomes (Cappe 2007). Many of the partners in this study highlighted the importance of creating tri-lateral agreements to ensure local governments have a voice in immigration policy and programs. All agreed that municipal governments have key roles to play in terms of creating welcoming communities and fostering integration of newcomers into their communities.

We also need to think of immigration over the lifespan and how settlement factors differentially impact different groups. Currently, we are seeing a growing diaspora of immigrants and their Canadian-born children due to lack of opportunities in this country (see Mandel-Campbell 2007). A recent study has noted that about four in ten newcomers who arrived in the business and skilled worker classes left within ten years after arrival (Statistics Canada 2006). This represents an important draining of needed resources and community capital. How can we stem this tide and understand what is required to keep people in Canada? Many cite the lack of opportunities for racialized individuals, which speaks to a need to address the foreign credential recognition issue in a meaningful way, and to put teeth into Canada's Action Plan Against Racism.

Exploitation of temporary foreign workers (TFW) is also an issue. There is evidence that some employers are using TFW programs in an exploitive manner, contributing to worker vulnerability at the job site and in the broader community. There is also evidence of growing resentment among established immigrant populations who perceive employers as using the TFW program to access vulnerable and cheap labour from overseas while overlooking qualified immigrant job-seekers already here in Canada. As these programs expand, provincial and federal authorities must allocate resources for monitoring employers and responding effectively to worker complaints. Every effort should be made to ensure that TFW practices occur within the parameters set out in human rights legislation and employment standards law at both the provincial and federal levels. For a thorough discussion of some of the issues and recommendations for Alberta, see Alberta Federation of Labour (2007). We also have to examine the exploitation of live-in care workers and how long-term issues such as de-skilling and high poverty rates impact local communities.

Housing is one of the critical issues related to effective settlement among immigrants. Housing policy needs to recognize that decent, secure housing is a precondition for many other outcomes, such as success in school and stable employment. We need to ensure that relevant ministries are working together to create successful integration outcomes for newcomers.

Greater sharing of information and coordination of action between ministries is also required in order to address intersecting needs in areas such as employment, housing, health, justice and childcare. The federal government needs to ensure that municipal governments and settlement agencies receive adequate funding in order to address immigration and integration. The competition for a small pool of dollars prevents many settlement agencies from being able to respond to the demand for services, especially in smaller immigrant-receiving communities. There is also evidence that internal migration trends increasingly represent the movement of secondary migrants. A more concerted effort is needed to identify these movements, consider these populations at a policy level and distribute resources in a flexible manner that will best meet changing needs within given municipalities and regions. Governments and service providers should develop a one-window service support model to connect immigrants to what they need on arrival to allow them to fully participate in the community – a wrap-around approach (Cappe 2007).

Conclusion

The extent to which integration is successful and allows our communities to benefit from the enormous social and economic capital newcomers bring with them will depend on our

ability to work more effectively with other orders of government and community agencies in a coordinated fashion. This study has demonstrated the utility of the model in helping local governments identify patterns in their communities that can lead to targeted solutions and regional cooperation strategies. While municipalities, individually, largely lack the jurisdiction and resources to affect many of the factors that contribute to migration decisions, the development of a collective regional strategy may provide municipalities with the opportunity to collectively address such issues.

Immigration will continue to be a challenge and opportunity for municipal governments and communities into the foreseeable future. We need to be aware of the unique needs and challenges in different areas so that we do not try to develop a one-size-fits-all model for integration and services. We have seen that the cities in this study have unique attractors and retention issues, which will require creative solutions. We have also seen the value of looking at regional patterns as a way to learn effective practices and approaches from each other.

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A central organization that functions autonomously without political barriers has to "lead the charge." Success in immigration settlement in a rural community comes as a result of community preparedness and investment in the process. A common error is that immigration is added on to an economic development officer's already full portfolio.

Planning for Immigration to the Prairies

A Community Practitioner's Experience

KIM SHUKLA
Prairie Global Management

One would be hard-pressed to find a community in Canada's Prairie Provinces that isn't looking to increase its population. This being said, many communities either have no population growth strategy or grapple with the concept of immigration as a component of their population growth strategy.

In rural Manitoba there are three types of situations relating to immigration and rural communities and planning, which are described in the following sections. These three situations have been identified as a result of the work and experience of the author.

- There is no plan and it just happens;
- There is a plan and nothing happens;
- There is a plan and it is implemented.

There is no plan and it just happens

This situation need not be a disaster for a community but it does result in significant challenges both for the immigrant and the host community.

The key challenge for immigrants is the inability to access services to begin the settlement process. This can result in emotional stress for the immigrant and the community being unable to retain the immigrant. As well, community-based social services, particularly health and education, are the first to experience the initial impact of immigration, with no forewarning.

Being unprepared, these social services may be unable to meet the specific needs of the immigrant, unable to provide services due to inadequate staffing, both in terms of numbers and expertise. They might also simply be unaware of the need that exists within the immigrant community.

This might not be news but what *is* news is the key to being successful, in terms of immigrant settlement and retention, when no plan exists.

The communities that have been successful in managing a "no plan" situation have been quick to find or identify a central contact. The identification can occur purposefully or it could simply be a citizen or organization that recognizes the need and takes action. In order to be successful, the contact assuming this role needs to be multifaceted, have an understanding of community dynamics and politics, knowledgeable about community services and informal community networks and be able to serve the immediate needs of the immigrant as well as the needs of the host community.

Regardless of how often it has been said, communication is central. Growing the community as immigration numbers grow is paramount. In this context, community growth is defined as creating an understanding of "why immigration," creating cultural awareness, creating and improving services and working collaboratively. The question of "why immigration" is not simple nor has it been answered in a way that creates

a greater understanding amongst those who are not academics, policy-makers and researchers. In general, the average citizen absorbed with his or her own daily challenges has no time to delve into the rationale for immigration and has not heard or seen that resonating 15-second "why immigration" message.

The "no plan" situation is not the ideal model but it can, with focus, be successful. What is required by all those involved is flexibility, collaboration and key individuals who are resourceful, understand communications and the informal power structure of a community.

An example of a community that fits into this category is Steinbach, Manitoba – a community that has a very successful immigration track record. There was no plan for immigration but within two years of the most recent flow of immigration it was recognized by a few that a process needed to be put in place to more efficiently work with newcomers. Today the community has a very successful settlement and retention program. It does not have a recruitment and attraction plan.

There is a plan and nothing happens

A few communities have spent significant resources, both in dollars and in time, in developing a plan. There are usually two underlying factors that lead to inertia: the plan is flawed and the formal and/or informal power structure of the community has not "bought in" to the plan.

Often communities see the success of like-sized communities relative to immigration and believe they can follow the same model, not taking into consideration elements of their community that can have a profound effect on the outcome. These elements include the business base of the community, community readiness, social services and community cultural diversity. Often, attraction and recruitment plans are not developed as all energy has been focused on community preparation. Also, attraction and recruitment can be daunting tasks that generally require money, reaching outside of the community for assistance and communication and marketing expertise. Fortunately, useful resources are available. For example, the regional immigration planning cycle that can be found on the Manitoba Labour and Immigration Website is an excellent tool for rural communities looking to attract and retain immigrants.[1]

Planning paralysis can also occur when so much time and effort has been expended in planning that execution becomes too daunting a task or when those individuals who have the responsibility of execution were not involved in the planning process, creating an environment for resistance and lack of "buy-in."

A plan without execution can be very destructive to a community. It can lead to a lack of credibility of those involved in the process, a reluctance to becoming involved in future work and the creation of false expectations for the community.

Although some immigrants may come to a community in spite of a lack of enticement or effort expended on behalf of the community, the chances of the community retaining the immigrant are marginal.

There is a plan and it is implemented

Of all these situations, this one is probably quite rare. The good news is that some excellent tools have been developed to support the elaboration of an immigration strategy for a community, as well as tools to assist with its implementation. The challenge is finding those tools, sharing them and finding the "right" individuals to assist the community in adopting these tools in order to create their own strategy, and in using the guidelines to create their own specific model. No paint-by-numbers model exists for communities that are looking at immigration as a population growth strategy. A lot of hard work and dedication is required. Being realistic and open about the advantages and limitations of a community, the timeframe that is involved in the planning process, the execution of the plan and evidence of results are all important. A two-year planning window is not unrealistic.

Being realistic truly means looking at all aspects of a community with unclouded judgment – this is easier said than done. Factors to be considered are the economic outlook for the region, infrastructure, employment, housing and social services.

It is crucial to review infrastructure projects being planned within the region in which the community is located, investments being made by businesses and homeowners. This involves reviewing the type of work available and creating an inventory of businesses and employment opportunities, and qualifying those opportunities.

[1] Manitoba Labour and Immigration Website: <www2.immigratemanitoba.com/browse/regionalcommunities/plan_guide/community-index.html>.

Being realistic and open about the advantages and limitations of a community, the timeframe that is involved in the planning process, the execution of the plan and evidence of results are all important. A two-year planning window is not unrealistic.

For example, are employment opportunities for entry-level production, trades or administrative jobs? Housing also needs to be inventoried in terms of availability, types of housing and proximity to core business districts. Housing options and their proximity to employment opportunities are often overlooked at the rural level as there is often an assumption that everyone has transportation. The added challenge in these regions is the lack of public transportation. Given the fact that the majority of immigrants do not have private transportation and that public transportation is not available, housing options and the proximity to work is a crucial factor. Another critical step is to inventory existing health care services in terms of numbers, facilities, language abilities and cultural diversity. These are just a few examples of community offerings that need to be inventoried and measured as part of a successful plan.

As the plan is being developed, it is imperative to draw upon community expertise and to involve a variety of community members from a variety of sectors. This stakeholder engagement represents one of the most difficult tasks for community practitioners. Typical questions that arise include the following:

- How do I engage already very busy people? (It is quite typical for key stakeholders to already be engaged in numerous community activities.)
- How do I determine who to engage? (This is a difficult question and is community-specific.)

Stakeholder engagement, regardless of how it is done or who is involved, creates awareness amongst the community and can garner valuable insight and perspectives.

Communities that have been successful have included social services, government and business in planning and discussions – led by the community and supported by government. A central organization that functions autonomously without political barriers has to "lead the charge." Success in immigration settlement in a rural community comes as a result of community preparedness and investment in the process. A common error is that immigration is added on to an economic development officer's already full portfolio. When this occurs it may inadvertently send the message that immigration is not a priority area for research and planning.

Manitoba's Parkland region stands out as a community that is making progress in this area. The Parkland Region is a group of communities that, working together with government, has successfully developed a plan that is in the process of implementation. They continue to test and seek ways of engaging communities and seizing opportunities. They have reviewed the resources that are available to them and have begun the process of tailoring them to meet their specific community dynamics. They also recognized early on the importance of having an autonomous central organization that isn't affiliated with the largest community in the region.

More tips for immigration practitioners

Community immigration catalysts

In rural communities that were observed in Manitoba, the immigration catalyst has been *survival* and the push has come from the business community, the general community or both, working together. In a number of communities, immigrant consultants have been the ones to drive immigration – entrepreneurs who see an opportunity and make the connection between host communities and immigrant communities. This has created the "there is no plan and it happens" situation described previously.

English language training

English language training often evolves in a community as immigrants begin to arrive. The business community and the community as a whole need to become involved in language training, including the development and delivery of training opportunities. A close working relationship is required between those providing employment services, and settlement and

language training, to ensure that challenges and opportunities are addressed collaboratively.

Lack of English language skills has and will continue to be the most significant barrier to the economic and social integration of immigrants. For example, in rural Manitoba there are many among one immigrant population who steadfastly refuse to learn the English language. Their lack of English language skills has severely limited their career opportunities yet it is not unusual to see them time and time again working with an employment councilor and voicing their frustration concerning the lack of employment opportunities that are available to them. This group, although not socially integrated with the host community, has become socially integrated amongst their own faith community, building churches and providing private schooling. They have the critical mass for this to occur although this was first seen with as little as three families. School-aged children of this group are also facing challenges, in terms of their social integration with their peers from the host community. However, with respect to sports-minded children, some barriers have been overcome through soccer, particularly in situations where parents and coaches have recognized the opportunity to use the game to build bridges.

Be prepared for failure

In rural communities, news travels fast, and even faster if the news is bad. Consequently communities have to be prepared to counter bad news as regards the planning process. Examples that have been recounted include employers investing time and effort in an immigrant employee only to have that employee leave the moment he or she receives permanent residence status or an immigrant investing and opening a small business in a community amidst great fanfare only to have that business close and the family move back to their country of origin within months. These examples, although certainly not atypical, leave scars on the host community and are seldom further scrutinized to determine the reasons behind these failures, what could be improved upon in the future and what was learned as a result of these experiences. These situations need to be examined and the findings shared with the community at large.

Conclusion

Immigration to rural Canada will continue to happen in a number of different ways, as a result of employment opportunities, access to land, existing ethnic hubs or aggressive promotion. Some communities will have plans, others will not. Competition between communities and provinces to attract newcomers will increase. There is no magic elixir for success; it takes hard work, a critical understanding of the community in which you live and work, and partnerships. You will continue to encounter "the good, the bad, and the ugly" as you work through the process of developing and implementing a population growth strategy for immigration. The key is to learn from others, to tailor strategies to your community's needs and to be realistic about what is achievable.

About the author

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Most of the research conducted in Canada on the topic of minorities concerns cities in general and Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver in particular. However, a greater share of Canada's newcomers are now choosing to settle in the Prairie Provinces.

A Socio-Economic Profile of Visible Minorities in the Prairies

Multiculturalism Research Themes*

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The Canadian Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta display specific socio-demographic characteristics, compared to other regions of Canada. These characteristics include a higher percentage of the Aboriginal population compared to other provinces, a sparsely populated land expanse, improved economic conditions, and a growing intake of immigrants, especially in the case of Alberta. An additional special feature of the Prairies is the declining feature of linguistic dualism, exemplified by the tiny and disappearing French-speaking population.

This article provides an overview of socio-economic conditions of visible minorities in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[1] The research themes discussed below were developed by our consultants who determined them after conducting an analysis of socio-economic conditions and consulting with academic and public policy individuals in these provinces. It is hoped that this article will encourage researchers and academics in the Prairies to focus on the themes listed in this article, in the context of fostering research on Canadian multiculturalism.[2]

Socio-economic conditions in the Prairies

The Prairie Provinces represent a vital region of Canada both in terms of population size and economy. In 2006, the combined population of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta was 5.3 million, representing 17% of the total population of Canada, and their combined provincial GDP represented 23% of the Canadian GDP in 2007. Alberta stands out among the three as accounting for almost two thirds of the population and two thirds of their combined economic output, as it also wealthy in natural resources (oil reserves).

As elsewhere in Canada, the visible minority population is growing in the Prairies. According to 2006 Census data, the visible minority population in Manitoba makes up 10% of the total provincial count, with 94% of this group concentrated in Winnipeg alone. In Saskatchewan, visible minorities make up only 4% of the

* The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Citizenship and Immigration Canada or the Government of Canada.

1 This article is a synthesis of research reports commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage (Multiculturalism and Human Rights Branch) to Dr. Paul Bramadat and Dr. Lauren Hunter on the socio-economic conditions of minorities in the Prairies and suggested research themes. It is an abridged version of a larger text. For more details, please contact the authors.

2 The focus in this article is on the ten largest visible minority groups identified in the Ethnic Diversity Survey: namely, Black, Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Japanese, Korean, Latin American, West Asian and Arab. This does not exclude mixed-race or sub-groups such as Pakistani, Tamil and Nepalese South Asians, for example. There also six major non-Christian traditions: Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, "other minority Asian traditions," the largest non-mainstream Christian groups, the Mormons and Mennonites, since these communities (especially on the Prairies) are both large enough and sufficiently different from the dominant Christian denominations to justify their inclusion here. Information is also provided on the two largest Christian denominations in each province – the United Church of Canada and the Roman Catholic Church.

TABLE 1
Prairie Provinces population and gross domestic product (GDP)

	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	Total
Population	1.1 million	0.95 million	3.2 million	5.3 million
GDP	$37.5 billion	$36.7 billion	$170.1 billion	$244.3 billion

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada.

TABLE 2
Visible minority population data, Manitoba[a]

	Winnipeg			Manitoba		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total population	686,040	334,060	351,975	1,133,515	556,925	576,595
Total visible minority population	102,940	51,240	51,700	109,100	54,335	54,760
Chinese	12,810	6,455	6,355	13,705	6,955	6,750
South Asian	15,290	7,850	7,445	16,565	8,535	8,030
Black	14,470	7,545	6,925	15,660	8,135	7,525
Filipino	36,935	17,550	19,385	37,785	17,885	19,905
Latin American	5,480	2,745	2,730	6,275	3,145	3,130
Southeast Asian	5,340	2,730	2,605	5,670	2,900	2,765
Visible minority, n.i.e.[b]	1,595	810	780	1,690	850	840
Multiple visible minority	3,080	1,605	1,475	3,265	1,705	1,560
Not a visible minority	583,100	282,825	300,280	1,024,415	502,585	521,830

[a] Only the top six visible minority groups have been included in this table.
[b] n.i.e. = not identified elsewhere.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada.

population with 44% of these living in Saskatoon, and 37% in Regina. In Alberta, 42% of the population belongs to a visible minority group and 52% of these are concentrated in Calgary.

People of Aboriginal origins make up 16% of the population both in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and only 8% in Alberta. The French speaking population only numbers 4% in Manitoba, and 2% both in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Manitoba

The 2006 Census data provides us with visible minority population characteristics for Manitoba. In this province, the average income of visible minority communities ranges from between roughly $14,000 for Koreans to roughly $25,000 for Japanese, with Latin Americans ($20,000) also earning relatively little, and Blacks ($24,000) and South Asians ($24,000) earning amounts more in line with the Japanese averages. Unemployment rates show some variation from the average (6%) found in the non-visible minority communities in Manitoba. Filipinos (5%) were below this rate, while all other groups were above.

The rate of university completion is highest for Arab and West Asian (both 34%) Manitobans and lowest for Southeast Asians (8%), with the South Asians (29%) closest to the highly educated end of this spectrum and Blacks (13%) and Filipinos (12%) closest to the least educated end of the spectrum. Rates of high school incompletion are highest for Southeast Asians (45%) and lowest for Arabs (17%).

Table 2 presents visible minority population data for Manitoba and its largest city, Winnipeg. The overwhelming majority of members of visible minority communities are first generation immigrants to Canada. The only group of the ten visible minority groups considered with a first generation immigrant status below 50% is the Japanese, with only 11% of their members belonging to this category.

French is spoken by a very small percentage of the population in Manitoba (4%). Non-official mother tongues are indicated by large numbers of people in the visible minority category, and here the range is considerable: from a high of 62% (Koreans) to a low of 7% (Japanese), with several other groups (Chinese, Southeast Asian, Latin Americans and Arabs and West Asians) also including large numbers of non-official language speakers. English is the mother tongue of the vast majority of Blacks (85%) and Japanese Canadians (91%), rates that closely approximate the level of

English usage among non-visible minority residents. Rates of English as a first language are lowest among West Asian (29%) and Southeast Asian (33%) populations, though these are fairly predictable rates given that these communities are relatively new to Canada.

Statistics on marital patterns indicate that most visible minority Manitobans live similarly to the dominant society.

Saskatchewan

The 2006 Census data provides us with visible minority population characteristics for Saskatchewan. In this province, there is a range of average incomes between Southeast Asians ($18,000) and South Asians ($33,000), with Chinese ($19,000), and Filipinos ($20,000) earning nearly as little as Southeast Asians, whereas West Asians ($27,000) are on the South Asian end of the earnings spectrum. Unemployment rates show some variation from the average (6.3%) found in the non-visible minority community in Saskatchewan. Chinese, Southeast Asian, Latin American, and Filipino were slightly below this rate, and Blacks, South Asians, Arabs and West Asians were above this rate.

Levels of university completion in Saskatchewan were highest for South Asians (48%) and lowest for Southeast Asians (8%), with West Asians (41%) and Arabs (32%) being closest to the higher end of the spectrum and Latin Americans (14%) and Blacks (18%) closest to the lower end. High school incompletion rates were highest for Southeast Asians (47%) and lowest for South Asians (11%).

Table 3 presents visible minority population data for Saskatchewan and its largest city, Saskatoon. A majority of members of visible minority communities in Saskatchewan are first generation immigrants to Canada. The only group of the largest ten visible minority groups with a first generation immigrant status below 50% is the Japanese, with only 19% of their members belonging to this category.

French is the mother tongue of a very small number of visible minority Canadians in Saskatchewan. The percentage of people in the non-visible minority population in these two provinces whose mother tongue is French is also low (1.8%). Non-official mother tongues are shared by large numbers of people in the visible minority category, ranging from a high of 85% (Latin Americans) to a low of 24% (Black Canadians). English is the first language of the vast majority (72%) of Blacks and Japanese (53%); these rates are lower than the non-visible minority community's English mother tongue (86%) but higher than the other visible minority categories.

Statistics on marital patterns indicate that most visible minority people in Saskatchewan live similarly to the dominant society.

Alberta

Table 4 presents visible minority population data for Alberta and its two largest cities, Calgary and Edmonton. Alberta has seen a dramatic increase in the number of residents over the past five years, due to a combination of immigration from overseas and inter-provincial migration, driven

TABLE 3
Visible minority population data, Saskatchewan[a]

	Saskatoon			Saskatchewan		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total population	230,850	112,375	118,480	953,850	469,400	484,445
Total visible minority population	14,870	7,670	7,200	33,895	17,220	16,675
Chinese	4,245	2,235	2,010	9,505	4,920	4,585
South Asian	2,230	1,230	1,000	5,130	2,760	2,370
Black	1,900	1,090	805	5,090	2,635	2,455
Filipino	1,920	815	1,100	3,770	1,685	2,085
Latin American	1,050	505	550	2,520	1,270	1,250
Southeast Asian	1,010	565	445	2,555	1,280	1,270
Visible minority, n.i.e.[b]	115	50	65	405	185	220
Multiple visible minority	345	180	165	810	465	340
Not a visible minority	215,985	104,705	111,280	919,950	452,185	467,765

[a] Only the top six visible minority groups have been included in this table.
[b] n.i.e = not identified elsewhere.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada.

TABLE 4
Visible minority population data, Alberta[a]

	Edmonton			Calgary			Alberta		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total population	1,024,820	509,295	515,530	1,070,295	533,760	536,530	3,256,360	1,630,870	1,625,485
Total visible minority population	175,295	85,675	89,675	237,895	117,665	120,230	454,200	223,740	230,465
Chinese	47,195	22,865	24,335	66,375	32,670	33,705	120,270	58,840	61,430
South Asian	40,205	19,810	20,390	57,700	28,865	28,835	103,885	51,740	52,150
Black	20,380	10,260	10,115	21,060	11,255	9,805	47,075	24,845	22,230
Filipino	19,625	8,515	11,110	25,565	11,050	14,515	51,090	21,805	29,285
Latin American	9,210	4,645	4,565	13,410	6,490	6,920	27,265	13,410	13,855
Southeast Asian	11,030	5,270	5,755	15,755	7,800	7,950	28,610	13,910	14,700
Other visible minority[b]	27,655	14,255	13,390	38,020	19,535	18,495	76,000	39,195	36,805
Not a visible minority	849,525	423,675	425,850	832,405	416,095	416,305	2,802,155	1,407,130	1,395,025

[a] Only the top six visible minority groups have been included in this table.
[b] Other visible minorities include Arabs, West Asians, Korean, Japanese, visible minorities not identified elsewhere (n.i.e.) and multiple visible minorities.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada.

by job opportunities. One third of Alberta's new residents in that period were from visible minority groups. Between 2001 and 2006, the percentage of visible minorities grew from 11% of Alberta's population to 14%, according to Statistics Canada Census data. The growth of visible and religious minority groups has been significant in Alberta's major urban centers. The 2006 Census reveals that Calgary is Canada's fourth most diverse city, after Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. Visible minority people make up 22% of the population of Calgary and 17% of the population of Edmonton.

Statistics Canada 2006 and 2007 reports on labour force indicators show that immigrants fared very well in recent years in Alberta due to the high demand for labour, and enjoyed high levels of access to full-time work. Past studies have indicated broad gaps in labour market access for visible minorities, particularly for women. More analysis on the 2006 Census data is needed to determine whether or not the economic boom in Alberta has alleviated this situation of inequality, and to determine the level of job security that visible and religious minority workers are likely to enjoy if the economy slows down.

The economic success of the Western provinces in recent years has resulted in very low unemployment rates but high demand for housing. In Alberta, this trend has driven costs upward dramatically in Calgary and Edmonton. The visible minority population faces a difficult situation, created by the convergence of persistent inequalities in labour market participation and access, and the rising costs of housing. High levels of immigration and inter-provincial migration in recent years has also led to a strain on the social resources available to the general population, such as community centres, public pools, health care and education infrastructure. While there do not appear to be any studies indicating that this trend is disproportionately impacting visible and religious minorities, it is a situation that bears further scrutiny.

Earlier in 2008, Calgary was host to a neo-Nazi protest, and while relatively few individuals were involved, and a number of anti-racism protesters voiced opposition, the fact that it occurred was a low point in Alberta's recent history of working towards multicultural inclusion. Similar incidents bring to the foreground the liberal society conundrum of human rights versus human freedom, and the lack of public information on Islam, and on hate speech in general.

Research themes for Manitoba and Saskatchewan

1) Visible minority and religious minority community relations with Aboriginal Peoples

One does not need to spend more than an hour in downtown Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, or Saskatoon to realize the importance of Aboriginal issues in these communities. Religious and visible minorities – especially those who are newcomers – are moving into areas of these cities characterized by significant First Nations populations. Newcomers, including refugees, are suddenly schoolmates, neighbours and co-workers of people who belong to communities that are plagued by enormous socio-economic problems

and that are still just beginning to come to terms with generations of marginalization and racism in Canadian society.

2) Visible and religious minorities in rural and northern communities

Most of the research conducted in Canada on the topic of minorities concerns cities in general and Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver in particular.[3] However, a greater share of Canada's newcomers are now choosing to settle in the Prairie Provinces, and programs such as Manitoba's Provincial Nominee Program continue to draw large numbers of (often visible minority) immigrants to this province. It is therefore important to understand how visible minority and religious minority communities located outside of the major cities are faring.

3) Francophone visible minorities

As the community of French-speaking visible minorities (mostly from countries once colonized by France) continues to grow on the Prairies, it becomes clear that scholars and policy-makers need to reflect upon whether or not existing policies adequately meet their needs. Members of this community are non-European, non-White, non-English-speaking, and sometimes non-Christian, and yet they now live on the Prairies, a region that is predominately English-speaking, Christian, White and European.[4]

4) Protecting and promoting Canada's heritage

Canada has been ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse for over a century now. Yet, one of the most dramatic changes we have witnessed in the past century is the "de-Europeanization" of Canadian Christianity. Indeed, many Canadians would likely over-estimate the size of the non-Christian population of Canada because they may mistakenly assume that the newcomer Africans and Asians they see in such great numbers in Canada's urban settings are not Christians when in many cases these new citizens come from families which have been Christian for many centuries.

5) Gender and minority status

Within academia, it is now far more common for scholars to factor gender into their research. In any case, a great many of the central debates in the Canadian public discourse about visible and religious minorities revolve around questions of women's rights in minority communities. As such, gender clearly belongs among the key research priorities related to the study of visible and religious minorities in Canada and on the Prairies.

6) Public performances of identity (food, festivals, holidays and holy days in visible and religious minority communities)

It is often the case that members of the cultural elite deride ethnocultural festivals as cheap, unauthentic, commodified and "Disneyfied." If particular communities choose to represent themselves in a certain way, those choices not only deserve our respect – they may also merit scholarly reflection and policy reconsideration. Regardless of whether one likes or dislikes the aesthetic style and commercialized mode of communication common in many of these festivals, they nevertheless provide outsiders with an extremely useful and often utterly irreplaceable window onto the current self-understanding of a given community.

Research themes for Alberta

1) Strategies for tackling racism and discrimination

Alberta has had some of the most heated public debates between anti-racist and anti-immigrant groups of any Canadian province in recent years (possibly overshadowed in this area only by Quebec). Furthering anti-racism programming and policy should be a priority in the province. There is a strong foundation of community-based anti-racism in Alberta, which unfortunately is regularly relied upon to speak out against discrimination and the exclusion of visible and religious minorities.

2) Religion and inclusion

The issue of religion and inclusion is closely tied to the topic of anti-racism. Anti-Muslim sentiment in Alberta is particularly strong, despite the comparatively low levels of immigration of Arab and Muslim groups to the province. The issue of media

[3] See: "Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas" (2005), available at <http://cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/2001-canada.pdf> and "Regionalization of Immigration" (2003), available at <http://canada.metropolis.net/research-policy/conversation/conversation_9.pdf>.

[4] For more information on other government initiatives that address the question of Francophone minority communities, see Citizenship and Immigration Canada's "Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities" (2006), available at <http://cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/settlement/plan-minorities.asp>.

involvement and racial profiling needs to be explored in connection with religious inclusion.

3) Economic participation and standard of living
The industry boom in Alberta has brought low unemployment to Alberta, along with high housing costs, strains on community resources and significant disposable income for much of the population. However, Alberta's economic situation could change over the next few years. Already ranking below average in labour market participation, visible and religious minorities still require policy intervention to grant them equal access to work and benefits. In addition, the current social services crunch in Alberta raises questions about fair and equal access to public spaces and social services for visible and religious minorities. This issue requires further research.

4) Francophone and Aboriginal populations
While acknowledging that Aboriginal communities fall under the mandate of Indian and Northern Affairs, some examination of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in a multicultural environment is useful. Additionally, the Francophone population of Alberta also suggests the need for some attention in this area.

5) The future of Canadian multiculturalism policy
In recent years, several interesting ideas have emerged that could impact future directions for Canadian multiculturalism policy. Scholars have questioned whether the *Multiculturalism Act* in its current manifestation is strong enough to create genuine protection for equal freedom of cultural practice. This research theme brings together the most significant theories currently commenting on the question of multiculturalism's future, in hopes that policy-makers can be guided more confidently knowing what avenues potentially lie ahead.

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During the years of struggle for our linguistic rights…we had become an insular group, on the defensive towards others, and… our relationship with our own language was often difficult.

Rethinking Canada

Canadian Values as a New Framework for Development*

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Before attempting to understand the positioning and the challenges of Alberta's Francophone communities, it is useful to consider the evolution of citizenship values in Canada. Indeed this understanding appears as a necessary step in studying any group in Canada. The framework that most adequately contributes to this understanding is, in my opinion, the Canadian values approach developed in the 1980s.

Let us first go over the origins of this approach. In 1999, the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) launched its Dialogue project, a Canada-wide consultative process involving public hearings and targeted meetings. The four commissioners of the Dialogue task force were to inventory the strengths and challenges of Francophone minority communities and to analyze the links between them and other components of Canadian society, notably native peoples (First Nations, Inuit, and Métis), Quebec Francophones from whom they had distanced themselves during successive constitutional episodes, ethnocultural communities (French or English speaking, according to the official language they used the most), as well as the Anglophone population in all of its complexity.

As is often the case when one takes steps to get to know others better, we discovered things about ourselves. The first finding was that during the years of struggle for our linguistic rights, that we had become an insular group, on the defensive towards others, and that our relationship with our own language was often difficult. This is what had emerged from the Canada of old, the country of my youth where we were not permitted to learn our own language in the public school system (until 1957 in Manitoba and even later in Alberta), where Aboriginal people were considered less capable and uncivilized, where the only language tolerated was the one spoken by the English-speaking majority group. This Canada produced many casualties. Couture (2008) calls this impact "a profound insecurity that undermines efforts towards development."

This observation led us to a second finding: that we were not alone in our feelings of isolation and marginalization; that we were not the only ones who suffered from a "minority complex." We also realized that the various groups did not share any ties, nor were they linked by any common vision. We therefore felt strongly that it was necessary to rethink the basis of our participation along unifying and inclusive concepts whereby all could identify themselves with dignity, both within their own group and in society. On this topic, it is useful to quote from the Dialogue report (FCFA 2002: 38), which currently inspires the work of the Canadian Foundation for Cross-Cultural Dialogue, who is responsible for the Rendez-vous de la Francophonie and the Francophone participation at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic

* Most of this article is based on a keynote address delivered by the author at an event organized by the Canadian Council for Learning in Newfoundland in June 2008.

Games. The report presents our approach under the heading "Towards a Vision of Canadian Society":

> Citizenship, an essential element of solidarity, can be defined in different ways. It is influenced by many realities: historical, linguistic, geographic, socio-political, legal, economic, and others.
>
> In light of the findings of its national tour, the task force proposes a vision of Canadian society based on three interdependent principles: equity, diversity, and community.
>
> Respecting the principle of equity means offering Canadian citizens, no matter what their circumstances, all possible opportunities to reach their goals.
>
> Supporting the principle of diversity means recognizing that interaction between the different groups within a society brings about better results. It also means encouraging the idea that different perspectives can result in more just and enlightened decisions with regard to specific racial, linguistic, cultural, religious, regional or other situations. In Canada, diversity is enshrined in the Constitution, in particular by the articles dealing with official languages, multiculturalism, and native peoples.
>
> Community is the coexistence of diversity and equity. It means that citizens adhere to common social values and assume collective and individual responsibilities in contributing to the development of Canadian society. The principle of community is constantly being redefined.
>
> For us in the national Francophone community, being a Canadian citizen means living our Francophone identity to the fullest while respecting and being open to others, and remaining aware that the official languages are an integral part of the Canadian identity.

This interpretation was not new: it had, in fact, been developed during the 1980s by the Department of the Secretary of State when David Crombie was Minister. During his tenure as Secretary of State, Minister Crombie took the legacy of Trudeau's just society and the myriad of social action programs that it had produced – housed mainly in the Department of the Secretary of State – and integrated all of their components into a simple, understandable vision of Canadian values that stood the old model of majority conformity on its head. Minister Crombie's model was adopted ten years later by the Dialogue working group.

In 1988, Minister Crombie was in Edmonton to present the first citizenship awards and, as usual, he couldn't read the "the fine speech prepared by my staff because I forgot my reading glasses." We were ready for this, and we recorded his comments on that day. I will now quote excerpts from those remarks, so that you may hear the approach described in his own words:

> Every time this country has tried to explain itself to itself, it has been able to do so in two ways only: through an understanding of the land and its impact on us, and through an understanding of its values.
>
> We are [in 1988] in the midst of developing legislation in three areas: multiculturalism, official languages, and citizenship. Those are three very important and very complicated and significant acts that will in large measure develop the framework for Canadians' understanding of themselves in the 21st century. The laws themselves may be complicated, but at the root of all three of those acts you will not find anything that is very complicated because all three – multiculturalism, official languages and citizenship – have at their root the very same three fundamental principles: equality, diversity and community.
>
> Equality: Everybody, everybody has a right to be in the Canadian circle. No one as an individual, excluded. Everybody has a right to be here whether at seven generations, 107 generations or seven years. Equality is a fundamental principle of the country.
>
> Diversity: Lord knows we have diversity in this country. If anyone says to you that there is some difference between multiculturalism and two official languages, let me tell you that they are nurtured at the same wellspring, make no mistake about it. And that is diversity. If we do not respect one another's diversity, then our ability to be able to live with some kind of harmony will be diminished around the world.
>
> Community: I cannot think of a principle, in some ways, that is in the long run more important than that of community. Human beings need to belong. It does not matter who you are. Community is the context; it is the material within which human personalities are developed.[1] But nothing comes free. We need

[1] A member of the Dialogue group from Quebec, Germain Desbiens, preferred to call this « solidarité ».

Although the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms *has been a great contributor to advancing this vision, I believe it to be incomplete, in that it is does not recognize the predominantly French linguistic character of Quebec as warranting minority status.*

> people to remember that equality and diversity and community have to be bought with effort and hard work: that there are people in all of our communities who are willing to do that. There is no citizenship like Canada's in the world. There is no country in the world that offers the values where freedom is based on equality and diversity and community.

These words were an inspiration for Dialogue and they continue to inspire the work of several Francophone organizations and institutions. Before looking at concrete applications, let's explore the concept of Canadian values a little further.

Although the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms has been a great contributor to advancing this vision, I believe it to be incomplete, in that it is does not recognize the predominantly French linguistic character of Quebec as warranting minority status, i.e. requiring special measures to maintain and enhance this linguistic feature, in the North American context. Québec has refused to sign the Charter, justifiably I think. The recent recognition of Québec as a nation is a step but it does not bring Québec into the Constitution. Notwithstanding, Section 15, the equality clause, and Section 1, the moderating clause, gives us insight into equality or equity. No rights are absolute and it is possible to use asymmetrical means to achieve equitable outcomes. Section 1 very much respects the understanding of freedom that many of us were taught in the "cours classique" as the "voluntary acceptance of reasonable constraints or limits in the public good." Diversity is enshrined through clauses on linguistic duality, cultural pluralism, and Aboriginal rights. These three recognitions are the founding essence of our commitment to diversity. While there is a human dignity aspect to diversity, there is also a learning dimension.

A dynamic model like ours is both simple in regards to each of its component parts, and complex in its overall functioning. It is undoubtedly easier to understand clear and immutable reference points, such as is the case in most countries, than to live with principles that generate a constant re-evaluation and reconfiguration. We do, of course, have absolute principles, although they are not set out as such: representative democracy and non-violence are examples. Justice Michel Bastarache, formerly of the Supreme Court of Canada pointed out an important distinction while he was discussing the evolution of linguistic rights in Canada. He distinguished an assumed value from one that is accommodated. According to Justice Bastarache, when a value is assumed, it is integrated into the very fabric of the integrating entity and its application is no longer problematic. When referring to his recent judgment on services in French offered by the RCMP in New Brunswick, he said: "I was happy to assert the right to service in French, but sad to have to do it once again." Paul Dubé, a professor at the University of Alberta, spoke recently of inclusion and transculturality: "When we talk of inclusion, we aim to construct an appropriate, regulated relationship between cultures that will allow access to a new level: a harmonious whole formation that transcends differences without doing away with them." It is no longer a matter of assimilation, or even of accommodation.

At this point, you will have understood that such an outlook represents an important change in the role of minorities in society. Indeed, these elements of otherness stimulate discussion and the evolution of our society. Viewing them as simply a problem requiring accommodation is reductionist and not in line with this understanding of Canadian values. Regrettably, many minority groups in Canada have been socialized into these reductionist perceptions of themselves.

In the society we wish to create, diversity is seen as high-grade social capital that can place Canada at the forefront in the increasingly globalized world in which we are living. Diversity creates new sources of ideas, attitudes, visions, perspectives, challenges, and opportunities. Cultural practices and dialogues about them are not just ways of protecting old meanings but also a way of introducing new meanings. This brings to mind a statement by Paul Chartrand at a recent conference on Métis-French relations at the

University of Regina. "History," said professor Chartrand, "is a great teacher but it is a lousy master." The conditions for our national dialogue are cultural openness, appropriate social institutions, and a collective capacity for democratic dialogue and debate. Our vision of Canada is one of a culturally networked society, a culturally diverse society wherein intercultural learning is a basic human skill and human goal.

Let us now turn to the Francophone community in Alberta. The last census identified 67,000 mother tongue Francophones, roughly 2% of the population and 225,000 French speakers, roughly 7% of Albertans. At present there are over 33,000 students in French immersion, 5,000 in Francophone schools and 700 at Campus Saint-Jean (of which 65% are of English mother tongue). Rates of exogamous marriages, where one partner is not a mother-tongue Francophone, are well over 80%. Recent migrations from Québec of former refugees from Africa, supplemented by some direct immigration, have changed the racial and religious profile of Francophone communities. In one Francophone school in Edmonton, the vast majority of students are "new arrivals," many of African origin, and a whole Francophone community has sprung up in Brooks where none existed before.

These demographic realities have challenged traditional self-perceptions of Alberta's Francophone community as largely white, Catholic, and born and raised in Alberta of two Francophone parents, so much so that Francophones meeting this definition are becoming a very small minority. Also challenged are traditional notions of identity and community parameters. For example, if one of our students at Campus Saint-Jean writes a poem in French should we first verify his or her genealogy before including the poem in the corpus of cultural productions of the Francophone community? This question is mainly rhetorical. Also being challenged is the notion of a unidimensional identity, an absurdity in today's context. I am married to a woman of Punjabi origin and our children have decided that they are French-Canadians. Our eldest speaks French, English and Japanese and he defines himself as being French-Canadian, Indo-Canadian and part Japanese, although neither of his parents has even a remote connection to Japanese language or culture. He is Hindu and he espouses that faith's openness towards other religions including his father's Catholicism.

The idea that one group can define the cultural norm of an official linguistic community is unthinkable according to the Canadian values approach. While addressing a group of seniors at Campus Saint-Jean in 2006, the Ambassador from France said: "You deserve much credit for having kept French alive through very difficult circumstances. Today it is a vibrant language around the world, and although it was developed in France for the most part, it has taken on different accents and it no longer belongs to France but to anyone who speaks it and feels an attachment to it."

An important distinction appears to me to be between cultural heritage and cultural development. Horst Schmidt, former Minister of Culture in the Lougheed era, used to say that rather than speak of multiculturalism, we should speak of cultural heritage because "everyone has one," or several. Francophone communities are wrestling with this transition from heritage to development. Exogamous couples – especially where the differences are significant – are perhaps naturally more open by virtue of not being able to expect that their children will be exactly like themselves.

In any event, it is heartening to see the evolution in our communities towards more openness and inclusiveness and also towards a greater willingness to develop partnerships with other groups in society who are promoting Canadian values in their own way.

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This article presents community experiences related to influxes of temporary foreign workers hired to work at a hog processing facility in Brandon, Manitoba. Since temporary foreign workers in Manitoba can apply to the Provincial Nominee Program, local service providers are dealing with the impact of a more-permanent-than-intended population of newcomers.

Temporary May Not Always Be Temporary

The Impact of "Transitional" Foreign Workers and Increasing Diversity in Brandon, Manitoba

JILL BUCKLASCHUK, ALISON MOSS AND ROBERT C. ANNIS
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As a mechanism to address labour shortages across Canada and in various sectors, federally regulated temporary migration programs[1] offer employers the opportunity to hire foreign workers. This temporary solution to widespread shortages is a contentious issue as the total number of temporary foreign workers (TFWs) arriving in Canada dramatically increased to 115,470 in 2007, up 19% from the previous year (CIC 2008). Discussions about temporary migration often focus on the dangers of and reliance on such programs as well as the vulnerability of those recruited and hired to work temporarily in Canada (Gibb 2007, Hennebry 2001). This article takes a different approach and presents community impacts of industry's labour needs and the implications of hiring and settling TFWs in non-metropolitan regions. It focuses on those TFWs arriving through the Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training (referred to as the NOC C and D program).[2] Jointly regulated and managed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), the NOC C and D program offers employers an expedited process to address labour shortages, albeit on a temporary basis.

This article presents community experiences and impacts related to influxes of TFWs in Brandon, a small city in rural, southwestern Manitoba. Economic growth, expanding operations at industries such as Maple Leaf Foods, and associated labour shortages in lower-skilled jobs (NOC C and D) have prompted employers to re-evaluate recruitment and hiring practices, extending employee searches beyond the local, provincial, and national labour pools to other countries. The growth in Brandon's population and economy has resulted in local challenges, including housing shortages, language translation challenges, and stresses on public infrastructure and schools. The arrival of large numbers of TFWs to Brandon is a relatively recent phenomenon and its full impact on the community has yet to be fully observed. Local government and community stakeholders must act proactively and collaboratively to identify strategies and plans to address present and future struggles.

Background

The Province of Manitoba is often saluted for its successful immigration attraction and settlement strategies. With 10,955 immigrants arriving in 2007, Manitoba receives 4.6% of all immigrants

[1] For information on Canada's temporary migration programs, see <www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/workplaceskills/foreign_workers/index.shtml>.

[2] This program includes those with skill levels classified as National Occupational Classification C and D or, at most, a high-school diploma or on-the-job-training.

to Canada. As the first province to adopt and use a Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), Manitoba has successfully promoted this program as an effective mechanism to attract immigrants. Approximately 70% of all immigrants who land in Manitoba do so through the PNP.

Provincial nominees may constitute the majority of immigrants to the province, but Manitoba has recently seen an increase in the number of TFWs. In 2007, TFW arrivals more than doubled over the previous four years, with 2,878 arriving in 2007 and 1,426 in 2003. Notably, 45% of all TFWs arriving to the province went to communities other than Winnipeg (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2008). Temporary foreign workers are offered the opportunity to apply for provincial nominee status after working in the province for six months, which fundamentally alters the foundational principles of a "temporary" migration program. In Manitoba, TFWs are considered a source of permanent immigrants, thus contributing to the province's annual immigration targets.

As Manitoba's second largest city and a service hub for the surrounding agro-rural region, Brandon is experiencing population growth. According to census data, the city's population increased from 39,716 to 41,511 since 2001. Brandon's population is, on the whole, ethnically homogenous, with the vast majority of residents claiming to be of British (48%) or European (36%) origin. Most of Brandon's residents are not recent immigrants; the 2006 Census showed that 2,695 residents claimed first generation status while 25,355 indicated third generation or more. Few residents claim visible minority status, however, there has been a relative increase since the last census: 2% of Brandon's population claimed visible minority status in 2001 compared to 4% in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007). In addition to population growth, Brandon is also becoming ethnically diverse.

Historically, immigration to the city has been low; however, this is also changing. In 2007, Brandon had the highest rate of immigration growth in Manitoba, tripling the 2006 level, from 172 to 642 newcomers. According to Brandon's sole immigrant service provider organization, recent year-end reporting indicated that 205 new files representing immigrants from 33 countries were opened between April 2006 and March 2007. This increase now puts Brandon as the third highest destination community for immigrants to Manitoba, behind Winnipeg and Winkler (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2008).

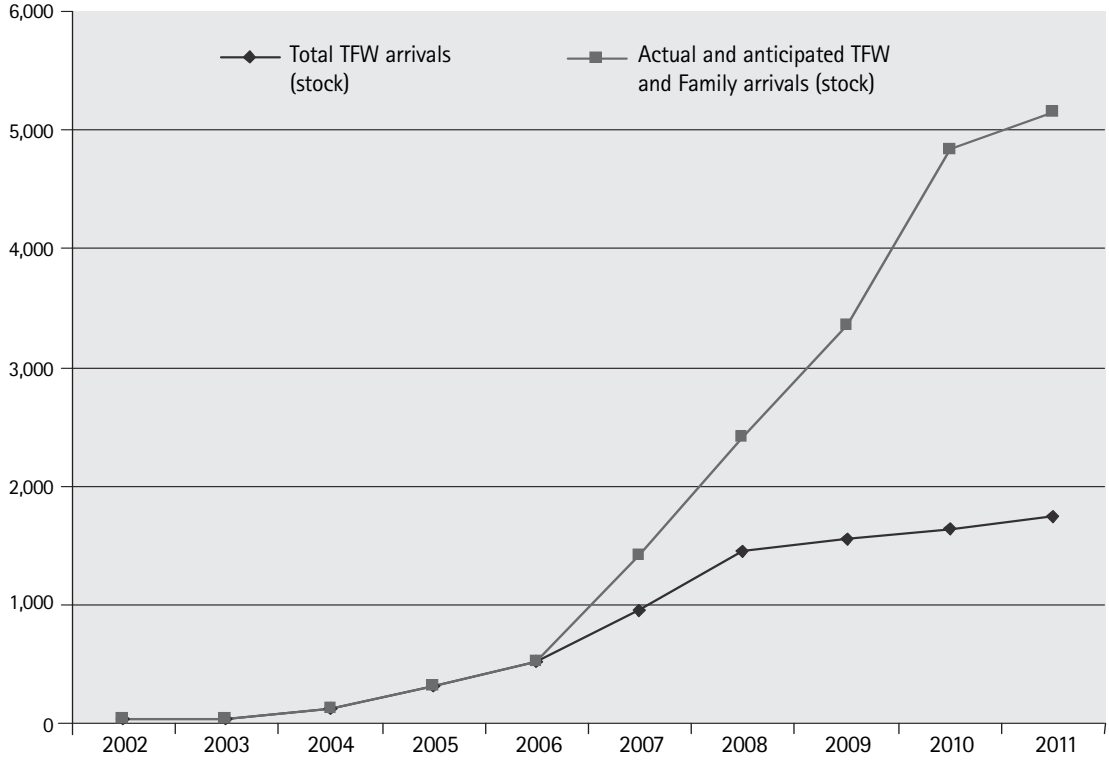
One of the major contributors to these demographic changes is the arrival of TFWs hired to work at Maple Leaf Foods, a hog processing facility located in Brandon. After initial attempts to recruit and hire local residents, Maple Leaf Foods' high labour needs required alternative recruitment procedures. In 2001, Maple Leaf Foods began their first foreign recruitment campaign for workers from Mexico and have continued hiring workers from overseas through the NOC C and D program. TFW recruitment efforts have resulted in the arrival of approximately 1,000 newcomers. Of the 1,700 employees at the Brandon plant, 60% are international recruits (Boeve and Annis 2008). There are currently 939 international recruits employed at the plant, originating from Mexico, El Salvador, Ukraine, China, Colombia, and Mauritius.

It is estimated that more than half of the TFWs employed with Maple Leaf Foods have been approved for provincial nominee status while the other half are in the process of applying. Upon receiving provincial nominee status, which occurs from 12 to 18 months after their arrival, TFWs can bring family members to Canada. More than 2,100 family members are anticipated to arrive in Brandon over the next year and it is estimated that 3,953 family members (children and spouses) will arrive by 2011 (Economic Development Brandon 2008). In light of these estimates, Brandon can anticipate a staggering addition of 5,692 new residents by 2011 (see Figure 1), which represents nearly 14% of the current total population. This will have a widespread impact on the community and its demographic profile, increasing diversity and introducing new challenges.

Challenges of increasing diversity

Despite Maple Leaf Foods' six years of experience with international recruitment and their standardized pre-arrival and settlement processes, there are still many challenges surrounding the settlement and integration of TFWs. It is anticipated that in the coming months and years, as large numbers of family members arrive in the community, additional challenges will become apparent. Family members will have very different needs and service requirements, and more pressure and demand will be placed on the school system, on the health care and housing sectors, and on day-care services. Temporary foreign workers may not be considered

FIGURE 1
Temporary foreign worker (TFW) arrivals and estimated family arrivals, 2002–2011



immigrants *per se*; however, within the context of Manitoba they can be considered "transitional" foreign workers as their temporary status is but the first step along the path to permanent immigrant status. Their families, on the other hand, do arrive as immigrants. So discussions about immigrant settlement and retention can be helpful and insightful when considering the concerns associated with settling TFWs and their families. The challenges that Brandon is facing are reminiscent of those experienced by other non-traditional immigrant receiving communities (Bruce and Lister 2005, Silvius and Annis 2005).

Immigrant service provision

Within communities that receive TFWs, there are often knowledge gaps regarding who is or should be providing services to these newcomers. This often results in service and program delivery gaps and redundancies. Also, in rural areas, few opportunities exist for service provision as immigration organizations are limited or non-existent and established ethnocultural communities remain few. Brandon has one immigrant service provider organization and, until recently, this organization was only mandated and funded to provide services to those with permanent resident status. Influenced by the need to support newcomers outside typical immigration streams, provincial policy and programming changes now include service provision to TFWs, except for English as an Additional Language (EAL) classes and employment counselling. As Canada receives more TFWs, federal and provincial policy-makers are working towards designing more effective programs, strategies, and policies to ensure the well-being of TFWs, their families, and communities.[3]

Housing

Under the NOC C and D program, it is the responsibility of employers to ensure the availability of affordable housing for TFWs. Maple Leaf Foods secures housing prior to the

[3] With increases in the number of TFW arrivals to the province, Manitoba has been proactive in establishing a Worker Protection Act to protect vulnerable workers from questionable recruiters and employers. For more information, see <http://news.gov.mb.ca/news/index.html?archive=&item=3532>.

Acknowledging and preparing for the associated social changes is the responsibility of both local governments and communities; they must work together, otherwise widespread benefits would not occur.

arrival of its new workers, according to a formula that budgets how much individuals can reasonably pay for rent. So, fortunately, TFWs are not responsible for finding their own accommodations in Brandon's tight rental market. Because of the high housing demand and little new supply, Brandon had the lowest vacancy rate (0.2%) in the province in 2007 (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2007). Homelessness is becoming an increasing concern and demand for food banks and other charitable services are on the rise. Limited availability and rising rental rates are negatively impacting Brandon residents, including university students and others moving to the city in search of employment. Brandon is at a crisis point with regards to available affordable housing, and this situation will likely worsen as TFWs reunite with their families and require larger, more family-oriented housing.

Schooling

After years of declining enrollment, the Brandon School Division is now experiencing growth. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the unprecedented enrollment of EAL students. Historically, the school division received an average of 50 EAL students per year; most often, these children come from families whose parents work in higher-skilled positions, and therefore have a better command of English. Since 2005, the school division has been in a period of adjustment and transition as more EAL students arrive, displaying lower levels of English language proficiency. The number of schools offering EAL supports has increased from two to eight, with more schools adding programs to meet this increased demand. To date, the school division, which counts approximately 7,000 students, has enrolled 425 EAL students, 42% of whom show basic to limited proficiency in English. Pre-registration and a centralized registration process have been implemented and extra efforts have been made to establish communication with parents who may require further assistance. The structure of provincial funding formulas has resulted in staffing and resource shortages in the school division, which is further exacerbated by a limited supply of EAL educators in Brandon. In the coming years, more EAL students are expected to arrive, putting further pressure on resources.

Language supports

An important and potentially crippling barrier to education, service provision, and social integration is that of language support. While TFWs receive some EAL supports through their employer, their families do not have the same language learning opportunities. For newcomers, making appointments with doctors or bankers through a translator can be fraught with difficulty, miscommunication, and uneasiness. As an ethnically and linguistically homogenous community, Brandon has little access to translation services and is struggling to meet the demands of multilingual communication. In many cases, settlement workers act as translators, placing further and more intimate responsibilities on already overburdened staff. However, changes can be observed as service providers in a number of sectors seek Spanish and Mandarin language training and adopt unique, innovative technologies and techniques to communicate with newcomers.

Rewards of increasing diversity

The city of Brandon is facing a number of growing pains. However, there are positive aspects associated with the influx of newcomers and population growth. With the changing demographics has come greater awareness of, and interest in, cultural diversity. For example, in a community where family and steakhouse restaurants have been the norm, diners can now enjoy Japanese, Indian, and Mexican cuisine. At-home cooks can enjoy new and exotic ingredients found in Brandon's two ethnic grocery stores – one specializing in Latin American food and one in Asian food. Also, the school division is working with the community to improve cultural awareness through cultural

Since temporary foreign worker programs are officially considered temporary *programs, it can be difficult for community stakeholders and local government to fully understand the need to plan for the future and that "temporary" is not always temporary.*

fairs, events, and celebrations. Residents of Brandon are being introduced to and embracing new cultures, ethnicities, and traditions that had not previously existed in the community.

An example of Brandon's broadening cultural awareness and increasing diversity is the annual multicultural Lieutenant Governor's Winter Festival, which originated in 2003. The Winter Festival has been a success since its inception and continues to increase in popularity. A number of different pavilions showcasing cultural traditions are organized by ethnocultural groups in venues throughout the city. The Winter Festival has had a profound impact on the community as a whole and on the ethnocultural groups that participate and organize pavilions. Organizations and communities have experienced a heightened sense of pride as they witness increasing numbers of participants who are interested in learning about their cultural traditions. Following each Winter Festival, ethnocultural communities become more organized and often continue to participate in the larger community of Brandon through charitable activities and cultural celebrations.

Importance of community collaboration and communication

Having the Maple Leaf Foods plant in Brandon has been and will continue to be both a challenge for and a benefit to the city. Industry's main goal is to ensure that their labour needs are met and that production continues; they do not have the responsibility of ensuring that the community is ready for the pains associated with economic development and high demands for labour. Fortunately, Maple Leaf Foods Brandon has made efforts to engage with the community and establish effective communication with the municipal government through stakeholder consultations. This engagement helps to prepare the city for new phases of recruitment and familiarizes other organizations with the standardized settlement processes established by Maple Leaf Foods. Continued and strengthened communication between industry, service providers, and local government will help alleviate some of the difficulties tied to, and enhance the benefits of, economic and population growth.

Ultimately, it is the community that is directly impacted by the nature of the recruiting and hiring practices of industry. Acknowledging and preparing for the associated social changes is the responsibility of both local governments and communities; they must work together, otherwise widespread benefits would not occur (Broadway 2000). Since TFWs become permanent immigrants, it is useful for communities in Manitoba to view these newcomers as "transitional" foreign workers, on a path to becoming permanent residents. Communities need to organize in preparation of the arrival of newcomers, by establishing multi-stakeholder community or regional groups mandated to identify immigration possibilities and to develop an immigration plan that identifies opportunities, strategies, and challenges. In addition, community leaders and community-based organizations require training and supports to foster community capacity building, partnerships, conflict resolution, and decision-making processes. The settlement and integration of newcomers is a responsibility that must be shared by all orders of government and by the community (Carter, Morrish and Amoyaw 2008).

As an example of multi-stakeholder, community-based consultation and engagement, the Rural Development Institute at Brandon University identified a need to bring together representatives from all levels of government, community, academia, and industry to address community challenges and knowledge gaps related to the arrival and settlement of TFWs and their families. The TFW Dialogue Group meets regularly and serves as a mechanism to better understand the TFW process while developing an open atmosphere to share information amongst service providers, policy-makers, industry, and researchers. The group chooses and discusses

pertinent topics, often engaging guest speakers to target discussion and inform policy, programming, and research. This dialogue group continues to grow in interest and popularity as the value of such meetings is recognized by all involved stakeholders.

Throughout Brandon, stakeholders are increasingly recognizing the importance of combining resources, sharing responsibility, and avoiding redundancy in service provision. It is critical that stakeholders work together in partnership to create and deliver a community orientation and settlement strategy. For example, Brandon's public health access centre works closely with the local immigrant service provider organization to co-facilitate and assist service and program delivery. Also, a coalition of stakeholders, including industry, has been established to address community-wide EAL concerns. Ensuring collaboration, communication, and awareness among involved stakeholders is crucial when attempting to address the challenges of newcomer settlement and integration. Through teamwork and cooperation, information sharing and group programming will assist in service delivery. A welcoming community that works together to make newcomers feel comfortable and that encourages them to take part in community life will reap the rewards of population and economic growth as well as increased diversity.

Conclusions

The phenomenon of TFWs further challenges the ability of rural communities to provide requisite services to newcomers. Since TFW programs are officially considered *temporary* programs, it can be difficult for community stakeholders and local government to fully understand the need to plan for the future and that "temporary" is not always temporary. As Brandon's experience reveals, it is becoming increasingly evident that TFWs arrive with the intention of remaining in Canada and having their families join them. The "transitional" nature of the temporary foreign worker program is resulting in a more-permanent-than-intended population of newcomers in Brandon. Stakeholders have begun to realize that recent population influxes and associated diversity are not temporary trends and, as family members begin to arrive, it is becoming more apparent that service providers must develop strategies to cope with the burgeoning population. What Brandon does in the next few years will determine whether the city is seen as an example of what to do or, conversely, what not to do. If managed effectively and appropriately, the rewards of increased immigration and diversity will likely outweigh the struggles.

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In 2006, The City of Calgary commissioned a comprehensive assessment of the issues and needs of Calgarians. According to this survey, recent immigrants and visible minority persons face significantly greater economic challenges than the rest of the population. They are more likely to be concerned about not having enough money for food or housing, not saving enough, or having too much debt.

The Face of the New West: An Emerging Identity Crisis in Stampede City

DEREK COOK
City of Calgary

The West is changing. Over the past 30 years, population growth in the four western provinces has greatly exceeded that of Canada, to the extent that these provinces are now home to close to one third of Canada's population – and more than three quarters of their population is urban. A thriving economy continues to attract people from across Canada and around the world to vibrant and growing western cities.

As the West grows, its face is changing. It has always been a multicultural milieu, built on the strength of immigrants from diverse places such as Ukraine, Scandinavia, China and other regions of the world. Recent changes in immigration have added to this rich cultural heritage by welcoming new citizens from new areas. As cultural communities continue to establish themselves and develop in cities such as Calgary, the face of the West grows increasingly diverse.

Calgary proudly proclaims itself to be the "Heart of the New West." More and more, however, it is also the "Face of the New West." Over the past two decades, immigration to Calgary has steadily increased while the source countries of immigration have shifted. As in the rest of Canada, immigration to Calgary from western regions of the world has declined while immigration from non-western regions, such as Asia, has grown. This has contributed to increasing cultural diversity in Calgary as approximately half of new immigrants are members of a visible minority. By 2001, Calgary had become the fourth most ethnically diverse urban area in Canada. According to the 2006 Census, approximately one in four Calgary residents are now visible minorities, and roughly the same percentage are immigrants.

Growing cultural diversity brings to cities like Calgary tremendous opportunities to build on the rich traditions, skills and resources of our many cultural communities. As Calgary establishes itself as a global centre of influence, capitalizing on this cultural heritage is even more important. At the same time, there are very real challenges to realizing this potential.

Multiculturalism and exclusion in Canadian cities

As the Canadian population becomes more and more diverse, there is rising concern about the potential exclusion of immigrants and racialized groups from the social, economic and cultural life of the community. This is of particular interest in Canada's large urban centres, where the possible emergence of entrenched patterns of exclusion is a source of concern. This is fuelled in part by the increasing importance of immigration for Canada's social and economic prosperity, with immigration being one of the key factors accounting for the growing multicultural character of Canadian society.

Canada's multiculturalism policy was enacted to avoid the risk of social exclusion by facilitating the coexistence of multiple identities within society. Recently, however, this policy has been the object of criticism, as some suggest that it is detrimental to social cohesion, since it fails to establish common values and goals for society as a whole. This criticism stems from the observation of increasing patterns of marginalization and exclusion.

Economic exclusion is one of the most significant dimensions of exclusion. Whereas previously, immigrants faced challenges with settlement, they were able to "catch up" on an economic level to their Canadian-born counterparts within a matter of years. There is growing concern, however, that more recent immigrants are not advancing as had previous generations. Poverty rates for immigrants and visible minorities remain persistently high, while income and employment rates remain low.

As patterns of disadvantage become entrenched, there is concern that patterns of cultural segregation and exclusion are also becoming entrenched. While Canadian cities do not yet exhibit racial segregation to the extent witnessed in the United States, there is evidence of the emergence of neighbourhoods where race and poverty converge. This may result in entrenched exclusion where the opportunities for advancement are limited by the mutually reinforcing factors of race, class and geography.

FIGURE 1
Population of 18 years and older reporting basic needs challenges, by immigrant status, Calgary, 2006

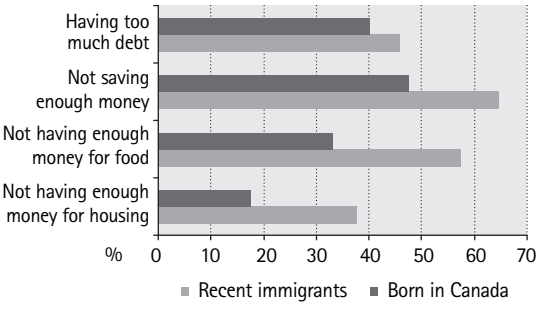
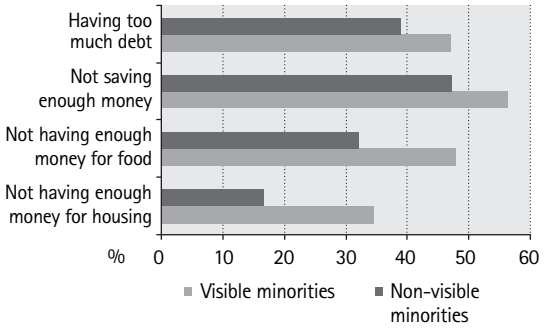


FIGURE 2
Population of 18 years and older reporting basic needs challenges, by visible minority status, Calgary, 2006



The socio-economic conditions of Calgary's diverse communities

Despite a robust local economy, immigrants and visible minority persons continue to face significant economic challenges. In 2005, the median income of immigrant families in Calgary was only 87% that of the rest of the total population, down from 89% in 2000. The income of recent immigrants was even lower, at only 67% of the total population. Labour market outcomes are similarly weaker for recent immigrants. In 2006, the unemployment rate for recent immigrants was 7%, almost double the Calgary rate of 4%. Participation and employment rates were also roughly 5% lower (Statistics Canada 2008). Although 2006 data are not yet available, recent immigrants and visible minority persons have historically reported poverty rates significantly higher than the average.

In 2006, the City of Calgary commissioned a comprehensive assessment of the issues and needs of Calgarians (Calgary 2008). According to this survey, titled *Signposts*, recent immigrants and visible minority persons face significantly greater economic challenges than the rest of the population. Immigrants and visible minority persons were significantly more likely to be concerned about not having enough money for food or housing, not saving enough, or having too much debt. In fact, approximately half of visible minority persons and recent immigrants were somewhat or very concerned about not having enough money for food.

Financial pressures can result in high levels of stress. While stress levels among immigrants and visible minority persons are comparable to the rest of the population, their ability to access recreation and leisure opportunities to manage such stressors appear to be significantly more constrained. Over 40% of visible minority persons and almost 50% of recent immigrants reported concern that they did not have recreation or leisure time.

FIGURE 3
Population of 18 years and older reporting stress concerns, by immigrant status, Calgary, 2006

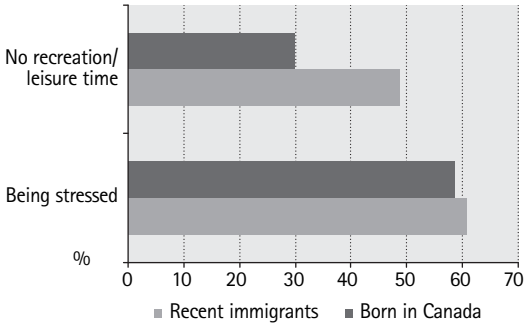
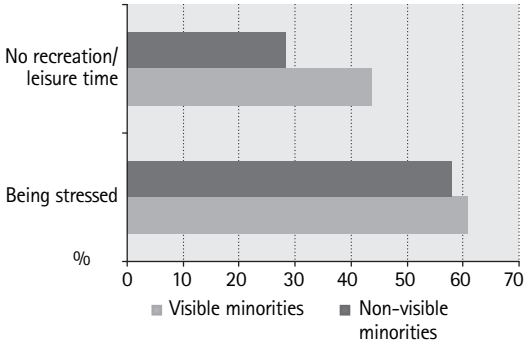


FIGURE 4
Population of 18 years and older reporting stress concerns, by visible minority status, Calgary, 2006



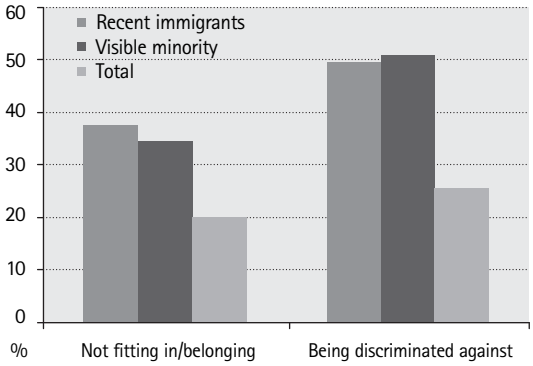
A city for all? Social inclusion in Calgary

In light of the important issues of economic marginalization facing immigrants and racialized persons in Calgary, concern arises about the extent of social and cultural exclusion as well. The 2006 *Signposts* survey revealed that immigrants and visible minority persons were no less likely than other Calgarians to report that Calgary is a good place to live, that they trust others, that they feel like they belong, and that others accept them. This suggests that immigrants and visible minorities do not feel particularly excluded from community life.

With respect to issues of participation, however, immigrants and visible minorities were less likely than the total population to report participating in the community. Only 57% of recent immigrants reported that they participate in community activities and events, compared to 65.9% of visible minorities and 68.2% of the total population. Similarly, only 54.2% of recent immigrants indicated that they volunteer for organizations, compared to 58.0% of visible minorities and 59.3% of the total population. Recent immigrants and visible minorities were also significantly less likely to report that they vote than the total population, although this may reflect eligibility to vote.

In addition to beliefs and measures of participation, the survey also asked respondents about issues of concern to them. Here, there were significant differences between the immigrant and visible minority populations and the total population. Despite originally stating that they agreed that they "belong" in Calgary, when asked specifically about their concern with not fitting in or belonging, 37.6% of recent immigrants and 34.6% of visible minorities were concerned, compared to only 20% of the total population. Further, when asked about concerns regarding racism and discrimination, half of recent immigrants (49.7%) and visible minorities (51%) expressed concerned, compared to only 25.7% of the total population.

FIGURE 5
Population of 18 years and older expressing concerns regarding belonging, by immigrant and visibility minority status, Calgary, 2006



According to the survey, therefore, while recent immigrants and visible minorities tend to feel that Calgary is a good place to live and that others accept them, one third also remain concerned about not fitting in or belonging. At the same time, there is strong concern about racism and discrimination. Both recent immigrants and visible minorities also tend to report lower levels of participation in community activities, volunteering, voting and membership in a community association.

Stampede city: An identity in need of a crisis

In a Calgary grocery chain, stores include an "ethnic food" aisle containing items such as rice,

TABLE 1
Indicators of social inclusion and civic participation, Calgary, 2006

	Percentage "somewhat" or "strongly" agreeing with statements		
	Recent immigrants	Visible minorities	All Calgarians
Is Calgary a good place to live?	96.7%	96.2%	97.2%
Do you socialize with other Calgarians?	91.2%	93.2%	95.2%
Do you volunteer for organizations?	54.2%	58.0%	59.3%
Do you participate in community activities and events?	57,0%	65.9%	68.2%
Are you able to influence what goes on?	65.5%	56.0%	58.3%
Do you feel like you belong in Calgary?	92.3%	93.0%	91.9%
Do you have a lot in common with others?	83.9%	87.6%	90.1%
Do Calgarians accept you?	95.5%	91.1%	94.9%
Do you trust other Calgarians?	94.5%	87.7%	93.5%
Do you vote?	47.9%	80.4%	88.1%
Are you a member of your Community Association?	18.1%	25.7%	31.3%

curry paste and other such foods. The concept of "ethnic food" is instructive as its corollary is "non-ethnic" food which, by default, includes all the other food in the store. However, there is of course no food that is non-ethnic by nature. The singular categorization of rice and curry as "ethnic" to the exclusion of everything else speaks to the deeply rooted idea that non-western cultural traditions are "other." By extension, this reflects the equally deep-seated notion that persons of non-European heritage are not "from here" and gives rise to the much despised question "Where are you from?" that persistently greets visible minority persons regardless of their citizenship. The assumption that those of non-European origin are not "from here" gets to the heart of Calgary's self-identity, which is rooted in cultural traditions such as the Calgary Stampede, which is based on a celebration of western cultural heritage.

In fact, Calgary's "cowboy" persona, while strong, has never been an entirely accurate fit. This identity does not account for the critical role of numerous cultures in the development of the city, including prominent Sikh and Chinese settlers and communities that have been part of the city from its foundation. The ongoing assumption of non-Europeans and non-Caucasians as being "other" further belies the fact that fully one third of Calgary's visible minority population was born in Canada. Nor does the cowboy persona accurately reflect the extremely global nature of Calgary's economy, which is largely based on energy. As a key player in global energy markets, there is a strong international business connection which sees the regular interchange of professional and skilled workers between Calgary and countries in the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia.

As Calgary's cultural composition becomes ever more complex, its self-definition is being challenged. Over the coming years, Calgary will need to reconcile its public identity as Stampede City with the reality of a diverse multi-ethnic and internationally engaged citizenry and business community. Recent events suggest that this redefinition will not be without stress. According to Statistics Canada (2008), in 2006 Calgary had the highest rate of hate crime among major Canadian cities, roughly three times above the national average, and in 2007, Calgary accounted for 19 of Alberta's 28 anti-Semitic incidents (Klein and Bromberg 2008). In early 2007, a White supremacist organization, the Aryan Guard, was formed in Calgary after unsuccessful attempts to establish itself in Edmonton and Kitchener, Ontario. Since then, the Aryan Guard has staged a number of public demonstrations that were met with strong counter-protests by anti-racism activists.

The challenge to respond to ever greater cultural complexity is also being posed to Calgary's public and voluntary sectors. In 2007, a community forum was organized in Calgary by the United Nations Association in Canada (UNAC). Participants raised a variety of concerns regarding diversity, notably that diverse groups and visible minority persons are not well-connected in the community and are consequently excluded from power and decision making. The lack of public role models who are members of a visible minority group was also seen as a challenge, particularly for youth. While it was acknowledged that public and community organizations are striving to respond to the needs of an increasingly diverse community, participants felt that they were not well-equipped to do so, nor did they

know how to respond to people from diverse backgrounds who wish to participate (UNAC 2008).

Responding to this challenge will be critical for the future well-being of Calgary's social as well as economic environment. Recent research indicates that while new immigrants are increasingly drawn to Calgary, there is a net outflow of more established immigrants (Pruegger and Cook 2008). As the local labour force increasingly relies on and competes for immigration to meet employment needs, making Calgary a community of choice will be necessary to enhance Calgary's national competitiveness as a city.

Forging ahead: Through the looking glass darkly

As Calgary, as a community, collectively grapples with its emerging identity, several policy initiatives are worthy of note. The City of Calgary has, over the past several years, developed a number of policy initiatives aimed at enhancing the social sustainability of the city. In 2003, the City adopted a Triple Bottom Line approach to planning and decision making, which requires all decisions to take account of their social, economic and environmental impacts. One of the key policy goals embedded in this policy is the creation of an "Inclusive City." In 2007, the City of Calgary further adopted the Fair Calgary policy, which aims to ensure that City programs and facilities are accessible to citizens regardless of cultural and other characteristics. Finally, the City's Sustainable Ethical and Environmental Purchasing Policy also gives special consideration to suppliers that have corporate diversity strategies.

On September 11, 2006, the City of Calgary publicly signed a declaration to join the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination (CCMARD). In doing so, the City committed to sharing initiatives with other municipalities and developing an action plan to eliminate racism and discrimination towards all marginalized groups defined in human rights legislation including Aboriginal peoples, visible minority persons, and persons with disabilities. In 2008, an action plan was completed and passed by Council, and is currently awaiting Council approval for funding allocation.

The City of Calgary also seeks to further the understanding of issues of diversity through the support of research in partnership with the University of Calgary. The Urban Alliance is a unique City-university partnership that seeks to connect university researchers with City business units that have operationally focused research needs. In 2008, the Urban Alliance defined immigrant integration as one of its highest priorities for research and innovation.

If Calgary is truly emerging as not only the heart, but also the face of the new West, it will need to continue to look closely in the mirror to discern what that face is. Undoubtedly, Calgary's western heritage tradition will always figure prominently in the city's identity, so the face in the mirror will most likely continue to wear a cowboy hat for some time to come. However, the challenge now presenting itself to the community is how to reconcile that identity in a productive way that makes room for multiple identities and allows everyone to see themselves in the public face of the city. In the end, the city's long-term social and economic viability may depend on it.

About the author

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A survey of immigrant and native-born young people assessed their identity and strategies to maintain ethnic identity. Participants were asked to assess the "value" of ethnicity in a number of different activities. The results show that there is considerable similarity between the two groups although they employ different strategies to maintain their ethnic identity. The results support the model of "segmented integration" for young immigrants.

The New Ethnic Identity? Young People on the Prairies*

JIM FRIDERES
University of Calgary

Over the past half century, the demographic and social character of Canadian society has been changed through immigration, and projections indicate that it will continue to exert tremendous pressures on the ethnic makeup of Canadian society. This article will assess differences between immigrant and native-born youth living on the Prairies with regard to ethnic identity and their assessment of the value of ethnicity.

Immigration has always been an important component in the demography of Canada. Table 1 illustrates the overall immigrant contribution to Canada's population growth over the last 150 years as well as projections for the future. The data show that the impact of immigration on Canada's social, cultural and economic institutions has become increasingly important and will be more pronounced in the near future. Immigration has had an equally important impact on the Prairies over the last 25 years. While Ontario has historically been the choice destination for immigrants, the increase in immigration to the Prairies and the increased ethnic diversity of the Prairies population in the recent past has been remarkable. Lamba, Mulder and Wilkinson (2000) have pointed out that, over the last 50 years, immigrant settlement in the Prairie Provinces ranged from a high of 20,000 people per year in Alberta (1957) to a low of 1,582 people in Saskatchewan (1998). As noted by Mulder and Korenic (2005), the Prairie Provinces took in a high proportion of immigrants at the beginning of the 20th century but experienced major declines after that. However, over the last 25 years, this decline has reversed itself, and, as a result, the Prairie's immigration intake has increased substantially. Statistics Canada (2008) shows that today nearly 13% of the total immigrant population in Canada resides in the Prairie Provinces. While all Prairie Provinces have experienced an increase in the number of immigrants, Alberta has been the preferred destination – nearly 75% of immigrants arriving in the Prairie Provinces in the last decade chose to reside in Alberta.

TABLE 1
Immigrant contribution to population growth of Canada, 1851-2036

Year	Contribution to population growth
1851-1861	23%
1891-1901	-24%
1941-1951	8%
1991-2001	59%
2036[a]	92%

[a] Projections are based on birth/death rates similar to rates in 2001, a fertility assumption of 1.7 births per woman and an immigration inflow of 230,000 people per year.

* The research reported in this article was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Prairie Metropolis Centre and Canadian Heritage.

Profile of immigrants living on the Prairies

The 19th- and early 20th-century ethnic diversity in the Prairies consisted of "old time" traditional

TABLE 2
Place of birth by Prairie province, 2006

	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta
Total foreign-born	**151,230**	**48,160**	**527,030**
United States	4.7%	11.3%	5.4%
Latin America[a]	11.7%	5.3%	5.9%
Caribbean and Bermuda	2.7%	1.5%	2.0%
Europe	41.4%	44.9%	35.6%
Africa	5.1%	7.4%	6.7%
Asia and Middle East	34.0%	28.8%	42.8%
Other	0.4%	0.8%	0.6%

[a] Includes Central and South America.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Census Snapshot-Immigration in Canada: Portrait of the Foreign-Born Population," 2008a; Statistics Canada, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*, 2008b; Milan and Martel, "Current Demographic Situation in Canada, 2005 and 2006," 2008; Dion and Coulombe, "Portrait of the Mobility of Canadians in 2006: Trajectories and Characteristics of Migrants," 2008.

European immigrants and their descendants, e.g., from Western Europe and the United States. However, more recent immigration has changed the social- and colour-scape of the Prairies, and as the 20th century came to a close, nearly 80% of immigrants that came to the Prairies were from Asia, Central/South America and Africa.

By the end of the 20th century, the five major cities in the Prairies found their residents to be more and more ethnically diverse. Today, over 8% of the population in Regina and Saskatoon are immigrants while in Winnipeg 17.4% are immigrants. The number of immigrants residing in Edmonton and Calgary is even higher (19.7% and 21.6%, respectively). Smaller Prairie communities, e.g., Brandon, Grand Prairie, Swift Current, also have significant immigrant populations (6 to 8%). These immigrant communities now include substantial visible minority members.

Who are these new immigrants residing on the Prairies and what are their socio-demographic attributes? The data show that most are economic-class immigrants (48% skilled/business workers) while 29% are family-class immigrants. The remainder are refugees (16%) and provincial nominees or other (7%). In the Prairie Provinces, the majority of immigrants are 45 years or older (54%) with an additional 33% between the ages of 25 and 44. With regards to sex, males and females are equally represented. Table 2 shows the origin of immigrants now living on the Prairies and that there are still large numbers of immigrants of various European origins. However, Table 2 also shows that the number of immigrants from Latin America, Africa and Asia now make up a substantial percentage of the Prairie population.

As noted above, visible minority groups settling in the Prairie Provinces have increased in size and number. In 1980, less than one third of the immigrants residing on the Prairies were visible minorities. Twenty-five years later, nearly half of the immigrants were visible minorities and three out of four recent immigrants coming to the Prairies belonged to visible minority groups. Language patterns have also changed over time. Prior to 1961, just over 1% of the immigrants arriving in the Prairie Provinces did not speak one of the two official languages. However, by 2001, this had increased to nearly 8%. Finally, when we look at the educational achievements of immigrants living on the Prairies, we find that the most recent arrivals are the most educated. As Mulder and Korenic (2005) point out, for those who arrived between 1996 and 2001, 40% of the men and 32% of the women held post-secondary education degrees.

This profile reveals a changing demography of immigrants living on the Prairies and suggests that old strategies and policies for enhancing integration may no longer be appropriate. This article focuses on whether this is the case. Are young immigrants similar to their native-born counterparts or do gaps exist in terms of values, norms and identity? Do governments and NGOs need to develop new policies and programs to deal with immigrant communities in order to meet the changing needs and aspirations of recent immigrant communities?

Immigrant views of the world

Recent literature suggests that the meaning of ethnicity and national identity has undergone fundamental changes over the past quarter century (DaCosta 2007, Dhingra 2007). Nevertheless, differing theoretical and political camps have argued their cases. The first camp emerged

from a primordial view of ethnicity as fixed identities. Ethnic identities are seen as exclusive, and fixed, and a person can only have one (Novak 1971, Huntingdon 2004). This position argues that immigrants consider themselves "ethnic," and maintenance of icons and remnants of ethnic affiliation are routinely made public and handled with reverence in an attempt to retain their ethnicity. As such, these individuals argue that there are major differences between immigrants and the native-born.

Other scholars have argued that people can have multiple identities, e.g., they can be both Canadian and Chinese (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002). Moreover, they can create new identities that merge with others, e.g., Chinese-Canadian, which is neither "Canadian" nor "Chinese" but rather a hybrid ethnic identity (Gans 1979, Gallant 2008). Young immigrants pick up the host language, adopt the latest fads and fashions and reflect a lifestyle that is indistinguishable from "mainstream" Canadian society, yet may still feel linked to their ethnicity. They argue that immigrants quickly learn that distinctive ethnic traits, e.g., languages and "cultural ways", are a source of potential disadvantage for the individual to socially and/or economically integrate and thus will selectively abandon some of their "old" ethnic traits. This is not to suggest that there is a linear progression of assimilation.

These scholars go on to argue that there are major differences among immigrant groups with regards to how they integrate into their host society. Taking a more "segmented" approach, they claim that a variety of social factors determine the outcome of immigrant/ethnic integration. As such, some immigrant groups retain their ethnic identity and values, resist integration and maintain cultural distinctiveness for some time while, at the same time, other immigrant groups integrate into the host society soon after they arrive (Cohen 2007, Gregg 2006).

Our research comments on these perspectives. There is no doubt that continued immigration has led to a transformation of Canadian society and to the commensurate emergence of new complex ethnic communities and identities. Given these fundamental demographic and structural changes in Canadian society, have there been commensurate changes in the ethnic identity of young people living on the Prairies? What perceptions do these young people have of Canada? And how do they assess the "value" of ethnicity in today's world?

Methodology

This article is drawn from a larger study involving a sample of university students from across the country (and Australia). The article focuses only on Canadian students between the ages of 18 and 24 who live in one of the Prairie Provinces. Students attending eight Prairie post-secondary educational institutions were contacted through a local faculty member to solicit participation in the study during the year. By focusing on just the Prairies and limiting the age cohort, we have included 474 students in the present analysis. Of these, 268 were Canadian-born while the remainder was foreign-born. The resulting sample represents students from different socio-economic backgrounds and ethnic groups, a variety of university disciplines (e.g., engineering, humanities, social sciences, science, education) and differing religious backgrounds. Each participant completed a self-administered questionnaire (both qualitative and quantitative); the actual time required to fill out the questionnaire ranged from 30 to 45 minutes.

Results

We begin our analysis by assessing how the participants responded to a general question: "How important are your ethnic ties?" The results show little difference between immigrant and native-born youth. Nearly two thirds of the respondents (both immigrant and native-born) felt they have maintained "very close" or "moderately close" ties with their parents' ethnic ancestry. In addition, nearly three quarters of the young people felt that it was "very important" to maintain those ties. A similar percentage felt their parents' cultural/ethnic background was important to them.

We then asked each individual how they "usually think of themselves" in terms of ethnicity. For example, Gallant (2008) found that in her study, fewer than half of the respondents mentioned a group connected with their parents' country of origin. Table 3 identifies the distribution. This table shows that substantial differences exist between Canadian-born and foreign-born youth in terms of their self-identification. Nearly one quarter of immigrant youth saw themselves in terms of their "ethnic" identity and one third in terms of a hyphenated identity. For the Canadian-born, three quarters of them saw themselves as Canadian only (See Jedwab, 2008, for further discussion on this issue).

Immigration has had an important impact on the Prairies over the last 25 years. While Ontario has historically been the choice of destination for immigrants, the increase in immigration to the Prairies and the increased ethnic diversity of the Prairies population in the recent past has been remarkable.

TABLE 3
Self-identification of Canadian youth

	Canadian	Specific ethnic group	Hyphenated Canadian
Canadian-born	75%	12%	13%
Immigrant	45%	23%	32%

In summary, a surprising number of immigrant youth indicated that ethnic ancestry was an important dimension of their lives. On the other hand, Canadian-born youth were more likely to see themselves as "Canadian." To explore this relationship further, we developed an index of ethnic identity comprising five questions about ethnic identity. Our results found a correlation of -.35 with nativity, depicting a modest relationship between the two – higher ethnic identity for foreign-born youth, lower ethnic identity for native-born youth.

Participants were then provided with a picture showing seven concentric circles and were told that the centre represented the core activities of their "ethnic group" within the city or area in which they lived. They were asked to identify how close to the centre they felt, with a score of 1 being the centre and representing the closest they could identify and a score of seven being distant. The overall mean was 4.1, with less than 10% in each of the first two circles. Comparing the two groups, immigrants scored 3.9 while native-born scored 4.2 (not statistically significant). A surprising number of participants (37%) identified with circles 6 and 7. These scores reveal that while there is some attachment to their respective ethnic group, the attachment these youth feel is not all encompassing. A detailed analysis, controlling for a variety of factors such as sex, ethnic group and parents' social/economic status, remains to be done in order to more fully understand these results.

We followed up our evaluation of identity by asking these youth what behavioural activities they undertook to maintain their linkage to their ethnic ancestry, e.g., read non-English language newspapers/magazines, have friends of the same ethnic ancestry, attend ethnic group functions. While 40% of the immigrant youth noted that they read non-English materials, less than 8% of native-born youth indicated that they did so. In addition, 60% of the immigrant youth listened to radio/TV programs in their ancestral language while less than 10% of native-born youth did this. Nearly half of the immigrant youth claimed to have three or more "close" friends who were of the same ethnic background while less than one quarter of native-born youth made such a claim. On the other hand, with regards to attending ethnic group functions, we found no statistical differences between the two groups. Overall, half of all these youth attend ethnic dances/parties or visit vacation sites/resorts where there are similar ethnic group members. The results reveal not only that different techniques are used by youth in an attempt to maintain their ethnic identity but also that there are great differences within the immigrant youth cohort.

We also developed an index of social integration. Our measure focused on the extent to which youth are involved or have an interest in Canadian issues. Table 4 identifies the responses of participants with regards to a variety of activities. The results show that there is little differentiation between native-born and immigrant youth on a range of issues. However, the pattern does reveal that immigrants consistently have slightly less interest in Canadian events or issues than do their native-born counterparts.

Finally, we asked each student for his or her perception of the "value" of ethnicity in Canada. Table 5 presents the results for their evaluations of both social and economic transactions. The results reveal similar "calculations" by both immigrant and native-born youth on a number of levels. Few youth see ethnicity as a disadvantage in living their lives in Canada. However, a substantial proportion of the participants felt that ethnicity was an important factor (an advantage) in determining the outcome of a variety of daily life transactions. We found that the data also reveal that "getting a job" is qualitatively different from other types of transactions, and both groups

TABLE 4
Interest in Canadian events and issues by Canadian youth

	Very much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
Canadian politics				
Native-born	22%	31%	24%	23%
Immigrant	17%	33%	26%	24%
Canadian sports				
Native-born	34%	29%	20%	17%
Immigrant	29%	26%	24%	21%
Canadian authors				
Native-born	13%	31%	27%	19%
Immigrant	10%	27%	33%	30%
Canadian singers				
Native-born	15%	18%	37%	30%
Immigrant	13%	19%	38%	30%
Canadian food				
Native-born	25%	42%	27%	6%
Immigrant	24%	41%	25%	11%

TABLE 5
Distribution of students' perception of the value of ethnicity

	Advantage	Neutral	Disadvantage
Getting a job			
Native-born	33%	59%	8%
Immigrant	30%	60%	10%
Getting into university			
Native-born	19%	77%	4%
Immigrant	18%	78%	4%
Dating			
Native-born	23%	74%	3%
Immigrant	21%	75%	4%
Marriage			
Native-born	20%	77%	3%
Immigrant	20%	78%	2%
Buying a house			
Native-born	20%	76%	4%
Immigrant	20%	77%	3%
Buying a car			
Native-born	21%	77%	2%
Immigrant	20%	78%	2%
Making friends			
Native-born	22%	77%	1%
Immigrant	21%	76%	3%

recognize the importance of ethnicity (both positive and negative) in obtaining a job.

Conclusion

The argument that immigrant children tend to assimilate in a straight-line path is a framework that is rejected in the present research. Our results reveal that the "segmented" approach to understanding the identity of immigrant youth is more appropriate. As Gallant (2008) and Khanlou (2008) point out, ethnicity is not necessarily an important dimension of the identity of young immigrants. Overall, our research shows that while ethnic identity is important, immigrant youth are not so different from their Canadian-born peers.

The results seem to support the concept of "integration" as outlined by previous scholars whereby immigrant youth have an interest in maintaining their ethnic culture but, at the same time, realize that they must carry out daily interactions with other ethnic group members. As Berry (2008: 51) states, "there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained while the person seeks at the same time, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network." Our findings support his conclusion that immigrant youth seem to seek a balance in their relationships and in their developed competencies in both their heritage cultures and in Canadian culture. Youth were clear in noting that the "value" of ethnicity has both negative and positive consequences. While a majority felt that with respect to many daily transactions ethnicity was "neutral," they also recognized that in some situations ethnicity was either an advantage or a disadvantage.

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Studies of youth attachment to urban spaces are germane to the general policy issue of the absorption capacities of cities and states to shape the construction of identities and affiliations as part of urban and human development. They also provide insight on how urban neighbourhoods and landscapes are transformed, in theory and in practice, by immigrant youth.

Youth and Urban Places as Forms of Attachment: A Calgary Study

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There is currently an increasing interest in the notions of identity and place, especially as this pertains to youth and in their construction of self, culture and knowledge as they become citizens of pluralist democratic countries. Of critical interest to countries seeking to incorporate immigrants and refugees within their bounded but porous territories, are youth's processes of attachment and identification; these are central to recurring issues of social cohesion and shared values. The intersection between youth's emerging cultures and the social relations that constitute space, as well as their significance to citizenship, will be the focus of this article.

Cities, neighbourhoods and youth

Cities work by policing their territory, producing their people, constructing their citizens, defining their monuments and services, and constructing places of memory and commemoration (Osborne 2001). Neighbourhoods receive immigrants and introduce people to spaces, thereby modifying existing forms of neighbourhoods and public places and creating new ones (Appadurai 1996). Just as affinities with friends and families may be of variable strength and durability, so too are the ties to neighbourhoods. These help to give newcomers local bearings as they offer familiar and familiarizing streets, thoroughfares, shops, means of transportation, and institutions such as schools, hospitals, courts, and places of worship. Moreover, conceptualizations of culture have changed from roots to routes, as posited by Massey (1998), so that young people's roots/routes in urban settings assume a considerable importance for integration.

While public controversies, according to several Australian studies, tend to centre on youth activities in public spaces, the fact remains that the primary place of social interaction for youth is in the private setting of the home. Youth in Melbourne spend most of their time at home or at a friend's place (White et al. 1997, as cited in White and Wyn 2004). For youth in Melton, the criteria that make a place youth-friendly or unfriendly include: type of people, acceptance, friendly people, environment, good entertainment, no violence or threats to safety, and cheap food and drinks. Unfriendly places were characterized by bad service and location, being treated badly by staff, fights and feeling unsafe, drugs and alcohol, police presence, and being alone as a teenager in such a place (Wooden 1997). Although neighbourhood ties and allegiances can co-exist with racist practices and views, shared residence and locality are foundational to the establishment and maintenance of interethnic friendships and street territoriality (Hewitt 1986, Wulff 1995).

Calgary, methodology and participants

Calgary is situated on a vast, oil-rich prairie near the foothills east of the Rocky Mountains. The

city's population is rapidly growing and was established by the 2006 Census at 988,193, a significant increase of 12.4% over the previous census, when compared to the 5.4% increase of the Canadian population for that same time period. The city is divided into four quadrants: Northwest (NW), Northeast (NE), Southwest (SW) and Southeast (SE) – all including a mix of residential types – in addition to the downtown area. Generally speaking, the NW and SW quadrants are the more affluent areas of the city whereas the two eastern quadrants offer the highest concentration of heterogeneity.

Three hundred and ninety students enrolled in 11 senior high schools as well as one heritage language Saturday school participated in a study on the preferential use of urban spaces, involving an urban mapping exercise with 14 follow-up interviews.[1] Participants were asked to provide the name of their neighbourhood, the length of residence there; then, for each quadrant and beyond city limits, to identify their two preferred places and to provide written reasons for their preference, on each of five city maps of reduced scale.[2]

At the time of data collection, the majority of the participating students (74.1%) were in Grade 11, 20% of students were in Grade 12, with the remainder in Grade 10. One hundred sixteen (29.7%) were first generation immigrants, whereas 105 (26.9%) were second generation immigrants; the remainder were native-born.[3] Of the 390 youth, 41.3% were male and 58.7% were female. In response to a query about their ancestry,[4] participants specified their ethnic backgrounds as being 20.8% East/Southeast Asian, 11.5% British, 10% Continental European, 5.6% Canadian, 9% Arab/West/South Asian, 4.1% Latin American, and 13.6% reporting multiple origins. Nearly 19% of participants did not indicate their ethnicity.

Parents of participants living in the NW quadrant have a much higher level of educational achievement than in other quadrants. In the NW, 73.7% of the fathers have one or more university degrees, as compared to 27.2% in the NE and 33.3% in the SE, where the percentage of parents who have completed high school is the highest. The educational levels of participants' mothers show a similar pattern.

Malls are the most preferred urban places

The top six choices of places in Calgary that are preferred by participants are shopping areas, homes, sports facilities, institutional and non-institutional meeting places, and the outdoors (nature), all of which are spaces that are specific or friendly to youth.[5] The majority of participants who explore the downtown area and the SW quadrant are drawn to the large shopping malls that predominate in these Calgary areas; however, participants who explore the SE area have a different pattern of preferred places, and are drawn to homes more than they are to malls, as shown in Table 2.

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1 The data discussed in this paper are drawn from the *Identity Formation of Immigrant Youth: Strategic Competence* project, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Multiculturalism Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Prairie Metropolis Centre, 1998-2001 (Yvonne Hébert, principal investigator). Research assistants were Wen-shya Jennifer Lee, who coded and analyzed the statistical data, and Christine Racicot, Chiara Berti and Xiaohong Shirley Sun who, along with Wen-shya Jennifer Lee, interviewed participants. A colleague, Jim Frideres, helped with some statistical analyses.

2 All quotations in this paper make use of a case number or a pseudonym (code name), the latter voluntarily selected by the youth themselves upon completion of the questionnaire, followed by markers for gender, school, grade, age, and immigrant origins.

3 The "first generation" category includes youth and their parents, all born in a country other than Canada, while the "second generation" category includes, for this analysis, youth born in Canada who have one or both parents of immigrant origin. The "youth of non-immigrant origin" category refers to those youth and parents who were born in Canada.

4 Grouped to facilitate the statistical analysis of aggregated data, the categories of ethnicity used in this analysis include the following groupings. The East/Southeast Asian category includes, for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Cambodian, Vietnamese and Indonesian groups of origin. The British category includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh groups. The Continental European category includes, for example, Austrian, Dutch, German, Swiss, French, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian groups of origin. The Canadian category includes Québécois, Acadians, French-Canadians and those who self-report Canadian as their ethnicity. The Arab/West/South Asian category includes Egyptian, Iraqi, Lebanese, Moroccan, Palestinian, Arab, Afghan, Iranian, Turkish, Persian, Bengali, Punjabi, Bangladeshi, East Indian and Kashmiri groups of origin. The Latin American category includes Chilean, Guatemalan, Hispanic, Salvadorean and Venezuelan, among others.

5 Shopping areas include malls, strip malls, as well as small neighbourhood shops. Sports facilities include playing fields, courts, rinks, leisure centres, YMCA, and parks if used for sports. Home includes the adolescent's home, a friend's, boy/girlfriend's home, a relative's home, and a private teacher's home (e.g., music lessons). Institutional meeting places include youth and community centres, school/university campus, and churches. Non-institutional meeting places include arcades, pool, bowling clubs, and restaurants. The outdoors (nature) includes public parks, off-leash areas, waterways, beaches and forests.

TABLE 1
Generation of immigration by quadrant of residence in Calgary (N=379)

	Northwest	Northeast	Southwest	Southeast
First generation youth	24.5%	32.6%	44.4%	42.5%
Second generation youth	26.9%	27.4%	27.8%	32.5%
Youth of non-immigrant origins	48.6%	40.0%	27.8%	25.0%
Total	(208)	(95)	(36)	(40)

* χ^2 = 13.1; p< .05

TABLE 2
Exploration of city quadrants by most preferred types of urban places (N=360)

	Shopping malls	Home	Sports facilities	Institutional meeting places	Non-institutional meeting places	Outdoors (nature)
Downtown	72.2%	2.2%	6.9%	3.3%	4.1%	4.1%
Northwest	40.6%	18.4%	9.8%	9.5%	–	8.4%
Northeast	46.2%	16.1%	12.4%	–	6.8%	–
Southwest	52.7%	10.3%	16.4%	5.5%	–	4.1%
Southeast	27.1%	30.5%	15.3%	–	6.8%	11.9%

Thus, youth living in three quadrants (NW, NE and SW) – 49.2% of whom are of non-immigrant origins – prefer malls over homes, whereas youth in the SE quadrant, 75% of whom are of immigrant origin, have a greater preference for homes, probably due to strong cultural influences and familial attachments.

In response to the three questions for each of two preferred locations on the urban mapping exercise (Why do you go to this place? What is it that you like there? Why do you prefer this place?), a participant wrote about the Eau Claire market area near the Bow River in the SW quadrant:

> To play games and the arcades and to walk around and shop...All of our friends enjoy playing games and shopping; also to get away from the older Lebanese people, because they will talk if you're out late. (Tony Montana, #287, F, School J, gr. 11, age 17, Lebanese, self and father born in Lebanon, mother born in Syria, 12 yrs in Canada)

Follow-up interviews provided an additional explanation to this strong preference for home:

> I like being home...My sister's there, my younger sister, we talk, you know, about the day when each other has a problem, just for fun. I like home, I don't like going to the mall, hanging out, you know. I don't go to a nightclub, anything like that, it's just home, a place because it's familiar...Home is called a place I like... (Il Trumpetor, #350, F, School M, gr. 12, age 17, British/American/Irish ethnicity, born in Canada, father born in U.K., mother born in U.S., 17 yrs in Canada)

Roots are important...

Analyses of the possible influence of the educational level of parents, generation of immigration, and gender revealed no statistically significant differences with regard to the type and nature of urban exploration by participants. Ethnicity, however, intersects in interesting ways with participants' exploration of and attachment to urban spaces in Calgary. Among the Arab/West/South Asian youth, the preference for their home quadrant is influenced by strong family and ethnocultural attachments. This grouping and the British are the only ones who chose sports facilities among the most frequently chosen places within their home quadrant.

The frequency of the top three reasons given by the East/Southeast Asian adolescents for their attachment to the Downtown quadrant are, in order of importance, functionality (49.1%), appreciation (19.8%), and friends (12.8%). The top three reasons cited by Arab/West/South Asians are functionality (52.1%), appreciation (18.8%) and friends (10.4%), whereas those provided by Canadian adolescents are functionality (50.8%) and appreciation (29.2%). Illustrating these patterns, a participant provides reasons linked to functionality, appreciation, and family:

> I go to the NE Sportsplex to play soccer and use the big gym. My uncle's team practices

TABLE 3
Youth's preferential exploration of Calgary and beyond by ethnic group

	Arab/West/ South Asian	Canadian	Latin American	East/Southeast Asian	British	European
Exploration in Calgary						
Without home quadrant	2.9%	0.0%	18.8%	10.3%	9.1%	2.6%
Only home quadrant	48.6%	23.8%	31.3%	11.5%	29.5%	21.1%
Downtown and other quadrants	34.3%	33.3%	37.5%	59.0%	38.6%	36.8%
Exploration outside Calgary	14.3%	42.9%	12.5%	19.2%	22.7%	39.5%
Total number of responses	**(35)**	**(21)**	**(16)**	**(78)**	**(44)**	**(38)**

*χ^2 = 50.8; p< .05

there. My second choice is the Leisure Centre, to play B-Ball; there are always people to play with. (Big Bow Wow, #296, M, School J, gr. 11, age 16, Punjabi, self born in Canada, parents born in India, 16 yrs in Canada)

The location of Chinatown in downtown Calgary motivates a high level of exploration of the area among East/Southeast Asian adolescents, as illustrated by a teenager of Chinese origin:

> I go to Chinatown to visit my friend. I can feel like I am close to Chinese people. (#318, M, School L, gr. 11, age 18, Chinese, self and parents born in China, 3 yrs in Canada, NW)

The Canadian and Continental European predilection for exploration outside Calgary is influenced by attachments to nature, including the land. A female reflects on the ubiquitous mall, in comparison with her strong attachment to the farm, a place imbued with profound mythical meaning:

> Oh, yeah, the mall, you know, you lose your familiarity with it 'cause they are changing so much. Like, our mall, Northland Mall, it's losing, they're trying to gain older people, so older stores like Tan Jay, you know, that type of clothing. The farm, I would never stop, never stop loving that. It's a retreat; even if it changes, it will still be my heaven, I'll also have my sense of familiarity out there... I'm a cowgirl at heart, so to speak, I'm a country girl... (Evann Vaughn, #239, F, School L, gr. 11, age 16, Caucasian ethnicity, self and parents born in Canada, 16 yrs in Canada)

Routes are important...

What is perhaps most important is the general similarity of all groups in their style of exploring the social landscape, both within and outside the city limits:

> I pretty much hang out at friends' house, or I hang out downtown, in the 17th Avenue area, or downtown in general, or I hang out at my house...Because, I mean, I'm not old enough to actually go out anywhere, so I pretty much just go downtown. I don't have a car. I can't get around that easily. I'm living in the middle of nowhere, which means that it takes me two hours to get down here by bus, so I usually don't bother, if I want to go somewhere, my parents are usually take me, providing that they agree that's it's an okay place to go... (Carla, #82, F, School S, gr. 12, age 17, Chinese, self and parents born in China, 10.5 yrs in Canada)

Participants clearly expressed an awareness of the importance of building place and memory in order to form significant local attachments as part of becoming a resident and citizen. For example:

> When you live in a place, you feel you belong to it. That's why you start liking it, I guess. If you go far away from it, you would probably miss it...Time goes by, with places you have been to but not stayed in for long, or where you haven't done anything that you can remember forever, unless you have some kind of memory of it, special memory, like, maybe, pictures or something... I guess you would forget it if you didn't have any of that stuff. (#56, F, School Q, gr. 11, 16 yrs, Kashmiri, self and parents born in Kashmir, 3 yrs in Canada, NE)

Preferences are subject to change however, as explained by an East Asian respondent who is detaching from Chinatown:

> It's not just because I don't like the people there, it's because most Eastern people go there and then they make me feel like it's a totally different place. They make the place isolated. I see less Canadian people there. It makes me

Participants clearly expressed an awareness of the importance of building place and memory in order to form significant local attachments as part of becoming a resident and citizen.

> feel like the place is more isolated. (#88, F, School L, gr. 12, age 19, Chinese, self and parents born in Taiwan, 6 yrs in Canada, NW)

In seeking to be more of a Canadian, this participant illustrated her desire to have multiple connections within and beyond her ethnic group, by somewhat distancing herself with places that are imbued with shared meaning of a powerful ethnocultural community.

Interpretations and conclusion

Unlike the Australian youth cited earlier, these Calgarian youth tend to prefer malls first and homes second, with the exception of the youth in the Southeast quadrant. This has considerable import in terms of public space and citizenship.

Historically, the notion of "public space" meant a street, a common area, a square or a public park. The advent of the shopping mall challenged this idea, as malls are carefully tailored environments, shaped for shopping, entertainment and recreation, creating safe middle-class enclaves. There are at least two interpretations of what this changing notion of public space might mean. According to the first interpretation, the notion of public space in Calgary is being redefined to include intensely used spaces (Livesey and Down 2000). These include, for example, small fast food places and coffee houses, post-secondary park-like campuses, shopping centres, multiplex cinemas, and hybrid stores that serve as bookstore, library and café. The attraction of such small indoor spaces is heightened by the cold climate, especially during severe Canadian winters. The second interpretation argues that a redefinition of intensively used public spaces blurs the distinction between spaces that are conditionally open to the public, such as malls, churches and coffee houses versus those that are unconditionally open to the public, like Calgary's Olympic Plaza in the downtown area (Maas 2002). For example, a destitute beggar in ragged, odorous clothes would soon be dispatched from Holt Renfrew or Starbucks, but has the right to sit in a public space such as Prince's Island in the downtown area.

Given the strong tendency of the youth who participated in this study to head downtown and to malls, it is clear that these youth have understood the appeal of these spaces, assigning them aspects of vitality as unconditional public spaces. These become meaningful places of attachment by a process of localization. Moreover, our findings support Appadurai's theories of the production of locality as essential to identity formation, social cohesion and citizenship.

Studies of youth attachment to urban spaces are germane to the general policy issue of the absorption capacities of cities and states to shape the construction of identities and affiliations as part of urban and human development. They also provide insight on how urban neighbourhoods and landscapes are transformed, in theory and in practice, by immigrant youth. The preponderance of places of consumption in a neo-market economy, however, is worrisome in terms of citizenship, as it suggests that shopping replaces voting and civic engagement. As Ken Osborne predicted in 1997, the consumer-citizen would soon be here.

The nature of these connections, ethnically conditioned for youth of immigrant origins, calls into question what it means to be Canadian. A majority of new Canadians settle in large urban centres and their fundamental connections to this country are established through their ties to their city of residence. According to our analysis, the nature of citizen attachments is shifting towards a greater focus on the production of urban localities with transnational attachments that vary over time and space. This plurilocality allows for ambiguity in understanding integration as inclusion, cohesion and federation (Bauböck 2001). Since the construction of citizens occurs in an imagined community (Anderson 1991), the imagination must move beyond abstract and legal conceptions of what it means to be a Canadian, to encompass flexible conceptions and practices of belonging based on significant social relations within meaningful places. But whither is the consumer-citizen?

About the authors

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This article presents the theoretical elements of a research project that is currently underway. The overall objective of the survey was to examine the role of Francophone African Christian churches in the social and individual integration of newcomers from Africa into the Edmonton area. The information presented here focuses on the background, the issues, the objectives of this research project, and the methodological orientations that were used.

Edmonton-Area Francophone African Christian Churches and the Social and Individual Integration of Newcomers*

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Although immigration from French-speaking Africa is still a fairly recent phenomenon in Alberta, the percentage of African-origin immigrants among Francophones settling in Alberta between 1996 and 2001 reached 24%.[1] While data from the 2006 Census is not yet available, it seems that the proportion of French-speaking Africans settling in Alberta is growing. At the national level, 10.6% of newcomers to Canada were of African origin – almost 2% more than in 2001 (8.3%). Immigrants have mainly chosen to settle in Calgary, Edmonton and, to a lesser extent, Fort McMurray and Brooks.

In each of these cities, these newcomers, most of whom are Christian, organize community associations, including Christian churches, in order to deal with an often difficult adaptation process and with a lack of reception structures. Within a few years, under various denominations, some 40 African Christian churches were established in Alberta, and have become the primary gathering places where Afro-Canadians can come together weekly and grow. As a result, each weekend provides congregation members with an opportunity to immerse themselves in their native culture (songs, languages, values, etc.) before having to face once again immigration-related concerns (work, school, etc.). What is the impact of going back and forth between these two worlds?

Theoretical approaches

Two approaches emerged from the studies focusing on the phenomenon of African Christian churches. The first approach emphasized the cultural characteristics of African societies (Stamm 1995) in explaining the importance of religion in this context. For example, Eboussi-Boulaga (1977) observed a sacred organization based on origin, with respect to African societies. In this type of organization, religion plays a central role. The second approach involved studies developed within the context of immigrant societies. These studies looked at the establishment of nationalist Christian churches as a response to the specific adaptation needs of immigrants in their new surroundings (Thompson 1988). According to Bowlby (2003), these religious groups are the front-line resources of support available to newcomers as they adapt to Canadian society.

* This research project will be carried out thanks to funding obtained from the Prairie Metropolis Centre (2008-2009).

[1] See <http://franco.ca/atlas/francophonie/francais/impre.cfm>.

TABLE 1
African Christian churches in Alberta

	City	Number of members[a]
Christian City Multicultural Church of Calgary	Calgary	50-60
Cité de réveil spirituel	Calgary	90-100
Deeper Life Bible Church	Edmonton	65-70
Église source de vie	Edmonton	15-25
Fellowship Christian Reformed Church	Edmonton	87
Église francophone de Brooks	Brooks	
Jerusalem City Church	Edmonton	130-135
Le Corps du Christ	Edmonton	40-50
Life of Faith Christian Church of Calgary	Calgary	200-250
Penuel Christian Assembly	Edmonton	20-25
Restoration and Victory International Ministries	Edmonton	45-50
Shiloh Baptist Church	Edmonton	110-120
The Kingdom Citizen Ministry International	Red Deer	30-40
Victoria Church	Edmonton	25-30
Zion Temple Celebration Centre	Edmonton	65

[a] Non-verified estimates provided by these churches.
Source: Data generated by an exploratory investigation.

The crucial role of Christian organizations is highlighted as contributing to the psychological, spiritual and social comfort of immigrants, as was seen with early European settlers (Bramadat et al. 2008). They provide an anchor for immigrants attempting to re-establish themselves in a foreign land.

Many newcomers consider their church as the most welcoming institution and the one that offers the greatest support, a *milieu* where they can develop active solidarities on a daily basis (Menjivar 2003). The cultural homogeneity found in these churches is built around a shared language, values, traditions and beliefs. For their members, religion is clearly seen as a crucial component of their identity. Because the language used in these ethnic churches is the language of the country of origin, the level of retention of the mother tongue is high. This is vital to ethnic identity and cultural cohesion (Leblanc 2002, Meintel 2003). There then follows a search for balance between ties to the community of origin, on the one hand, and an effort to integrate, on the other (Van Kaam 1967). The need to be open to members who do not speak these ancestral languages – primarily those from the second or third generations – apparently justifies a change with respect to the languages that are used. According to Bramadat (2008), emphasis on the culture of origin reportedly fades over time. Furthermore, the values, traditions or beliefs projected by these churches reportedly evolve with the changes in generation and align themselves with those of the dominant Canadian society.

This hope of seeing parishioners align themselves with the dominant values of Canadian society contrasts with the comments of Mol (1961) and Barnouw (1937), who perceive the attachment to these national Christian churches as a roadblock to social and individual integration. According to Mol (1979), the lesser the extent to which a group of immigrants is integrated, the more these new religious communities tend to isolate themselves from society. In light of the recent debate on reasonable accommodation in Quebec, this observation confirms the need to raise questions about the role of the national churches with respect to the social and individual integration of their members.

This apparently theoretical consideration reflects a concern on the part of a number of French-speaking organizations in Edmonton that work to help French-speaking newcomers socially integrate (the Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta, the Alliance jeunesse famille de l'Alberta, the Centre d'accueil et d'établissement, and the Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta). In a recent survey commissioned by the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA), 68.1% of respondents indicated that French-speaking immigrant community churches could play a role in facilitating immigrant integration into Alberta society (ACFA 2008).

Research framework

Although these organizations call for additional church involvement in the reception and settlement of newcomers, two concerns must be

taken into account. The first relates to the Canadian context, which, according to Bramadat et al. (2008), is defined as a society wherein Christian values, while by no means negligible, nevertheless do not determine public social relationships. The second relates to the role and the specific impact of these national Christian churches, which, thus far, have received no special attention in studies devoted to religious phenomena. This two-fold research concern has led to four specific objectives:

- Identify and document Francophone African Christian churches in Alberta;
- Describe the role and the social impact of these churches;
- Determine the perspectives of congregation members of these Christian churches within Canadian and Albertan society and measure their impact on immigrant integration;
- Measure, through various social integration indicators, the degree of openness of these churches and of their members to the values of the host society.

The exploratory nature of this research and the specific features of the target population require the use of a methodology that is tailored to the project. In order to circumscribe the field of investigation, the focus will solely be on the two oldest African Christian churches in Edmonton – Jerusalem City Church and Shiloh Baptist Church. An approach that is specific to French-speaking African immigrants who are members of these churches will be employed. Therefore, in order to avoid an analysis that is detached from the immigrant experience, antiracist theories (Dei 1993, James 1996) will provide the basis for a critical examination of the ways in which social differences (language, religion, race, etc.) interfere with the development of these churches. And, based on Black feminist theory (Davis 1981), the intersection of these elements (race, religion, language, values, etc.) will be analyzed. These project specifications will require the use of the following strategies:

- Interviews with a number of parishioners and leaders from two African Christian churches in Edmonton;
- A number of participant observations (from meetings at these churches);
- A focus group;
- An analysis of accessible documents published by these churches.

Conclusion

It would be difficult, within the context of a developing research project, to put forward final comments that go beyond a simple reference framework. The reception and integration of newcomers are complex processes that ripple into various areas of their lives. The public nature of Canadian settlement institutions tends to relegate the spiritual considerations of African newcomers to the background, even though the daily life of these immigrants and the sense of belonging to their native culture indicate that these spiritual aspects play a decisive role in forging ties to Canadian society. So, settlement service providers work alongside spiritual service providers, yet the role of the latter, and their impact, are poorly understood. Set against a backdrop of rising immigration from French-speaking Africa and the poor integration of these newcomers, spiritual institutions, which are often overlooked, can play a key role in interpreting the challenges that newcomers face and the ways in which they respond to them. This study will attempt to shed light on such issues.

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One's reserve or "First Nation" is a central source of Aboriginal and cultural identity that defines who the individual is and where he or she belongs. Cultural practices, celebrations, festivals and funerals draw the urban Aboriginal community members back to the reserve, maintaining their cultural identity.

Both Lost and Found: Urban Aboriginal Peoples in Prairie Cities

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On a weekday evening in 1947, caring members of Regina's YWCA met to discuss a growing concern. The city's bus station was regularly seeing men and women, sometimes with infants, arriving from various "Indian Reserves" across southern Saskatchewan (Novik 1995). With nowhere to stay, they were sometimes spending two or more nights in the station. These people appeared lost and seemed ill equipped to survive in the urban environment. The citizens were seeking solutions to welcome and assist these arrivals in their adaptation to city life. Some of the federal government's control over First Nations people had ended after 80 years of restrictions that forced the confinement of Indian people to their allotted reserve. In the prairie cities, a small trickle of lost individuals was finding its way into the city streets and soon grew into a steady stream. By the mid-1950s, efforts to develop a reception and assistance centre had begun and eventually led to the creation of Regina's Native Friendship Centre (Novik 1995). Today, there are 114 of these Friendship Centres across Canada providing services to Aboriginal individuals, services such as cultural and social events as well as employment training and counselling (NAFC 2008). The rural/urban exchange of Aboriginal people had become a fact of life for prairie cities in Canada.

This article presents background data on the current situation of urban Aboriginal people in prairie cities. It examines the numbers and percentages of Aboriginal people compared with the total population and also the numbers of First Nations on and off reserve. Although a full article could be written about each of the issues facing urban Aboriginal people, a summary of these issues highlights some of the concerns facing those living in prairie cities. The concerns may be great, but not all is "lost" as an increasing Aboriginal middle class is changing the demographics of the urban landscape in Canada's West.

Current situation: Not as "rural" as first thought

According to 2006 Census data, the Aboriginal population in Canada increased by 45% between 1996 and 2006, nearly six times faster than the 8% rate of growth for the non-Aboriginal population. The cities in Canada's three Prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) have a sizable Aboriginal population that continues to increase, resulting in significant demographic changes.

Table 1 presents data on the current urban population of Aboriginal, First Nations and Métis.[1] Using Statistics Canada's definitions, an urban area has a minimum population of 1,000 people and a density of at least 400 persons per square kilometre. Contrary to general thought, Canada is an urban nation with close to 80% of its

[1] For the purpose of this article, the term "First Nations" is used to describe persons who are Status Indians as defined by the Canadian *Indian Act*. "Aboriginal" persons are those who identified as North American Indian, Métis or Inuit in the 2006 Census and includes First Nations persons.

TABLE 1
Canadian population by Aboriginal identity and urban residence

	Urban residence	Total population	Percentage of urban residence	Percentage of total population
Canada – Total	**24,971, 480**	**31,241,030**	**79.9**	**100**
Aboriginal[a]	623,470	1,172,790	53.2	100
First Nations	312,055	698,025	44.7	100
Métis	270,555	389,780	69.4	100
Prairies – Total	**4,091,410**	**5,343,720**	**76.6**	**17.1**
Aboriginal[a]	268,835	505,650	53.2	43.1
First Nations	116,625	289,325	40.3	41.4
Métis	144,600	205,420	70.4	52.7

[a] The relatively small Inuit population is included in the "Aboriginal" category for the purpose of this table.
Source: Census of Canada (2006).

population living in urban centres. However, the numbers show that the Aboriginal population is more rural than the general population (53.2%). Métis are more urban (69.4%) and closer to the national average than First Nations persons (44.7%) (Canada 2006). The urban numbers for the three Prairie Provinces follow the national trend, with similar breakdowns for Aboriginal (53.2%), First Nations (40.3%) and Métis (70.4%) (Canada 2006).

Although the Prairies have only 17.1% of the national population, they hold 43.1% of all Aboriginal people and over 50% of the Métis population in Canada. The data clearly show that a significant population of Aboriginal people live in our cities and dispel the notion that Aboriginal people are predominantly on reserves and in rural communities.

It is important to examine the Prairie cities in which these urban Aboriginal people are living. In Table 2, the numbers and percentages focus on Aboriginal persons and include First Nations, Métis, Inuit and all those who identify as "Aboriginal identity." These persons comprise a modest but growing 3.8% of the Canadian population. Alberta has the largest Aboriginal population, close to 190,000 individuals, representing 5.8% of the province's total population. The percentage of Aboriginal persons in Manitoba and Saskatchewan are much greater (15.5% and 14.9%, respectively), although fewer in actual numbers. Among Canadian cities, Winnipeg has both the largest Aboriginal population (63,745) and highest percentage of the population (10.2%). Fewer in total numbers, the sizeable proportions of

TABLE 2
Aboriginal population as a percentage of total population

	Aboriginal population	Total population	Percentage of Aboriginal population
Manitoba	**175,395**	**1,133,515**	**15.5**
Winnipeg	63,745	625,700	10.2
Saskatchewan	**141,890**	**953,850**	**14.9**
Regina	16,535	176,915	9.3
Saskatoon	19,820	199,380	9.9
Alberta	**188,365**	**3,256,360**	**5.8**
Calgary	24,425	979,480	2.5
Edmonton	38,170	722,260	5.3
Others			
Montréal	7,600	1,593,725	0.5
Toronto	13,605	2,476,565	0.5
Vancouver	11,145	571,600	1.9

Source: Census of Canada (2006).

Racism is compounded with the generational impact of residential schools....Aboriginal children were taken from their homes and raised in cold, sterile residential schools run by mainstream churches financed by the federal government. For 100 years, the schools attempted to eradicate the "Indianness" of these children.

Aboriginal persons in Saskatoon and Regina weigh in at 9.9% and 9.3%, respectively (Canada 2006). These percentages are dramatic compared to the Albertan cities of Edmonton (5.3%) and Calgary (2.5%) (Canada 2006). For comparison, only 0.5% of Montréal's and Toronto's population is made up of Aboriginal persons, while in Vancouver (1.9%), the Aboriginal population remains almost hidden (Canada 2006).

Among First Nations or Registered Indians, there are some provincial variations. About 64% of First Nations in both Manitoba and Alberta are living on reserve whereas in Saskatchewan only 50% live on reserve (INAC 2008a). For reasons that are unclear, Saskatchewan has a sizable off-reserve First Nations population, living mostly in its two cities of Saskatoon and Regina. The demographic age patterns across the three provinces remain similar. The population on reserve is consistently younger than off reserve, with a greater percentage of First Nations individuals in the 35 to 64 age group living off reserve (Ibid.).

Moving to the city

First Nations peoples in the Prairies have a historic treaty relationship with the Crown that manifests itself in unique ways compared with other Canadian Aboriginal peoples. These treaties were signed between 1871 and 1906; *Treaty No. 6* stipulates the provision of a "Medicine Chest," ensuring federal responsibility for health care. This connection to the treaties has ensured a strong connectedness to the reserve and band life. One's reserve or "First Nation" is a central source of Aboriginal and cultural identity that defines who the individual is and where he or she belongs. Cultural practices, celebrations, festivals and funerals draw the urban Aboriginal community members back to the reserve, maintaining their cultural identity. The role of Elders and language helps keep the culture alive in the urban Aboriginal person's life, but, because of the urban context, the culture is re-created in new ways. Culture is not static, and urban living has generated new ways of expressing traditional culture that may include iPods and high-speed Internet.

What drives First Nations individuals into the city is a complicated question. There are a number of structural and personal influences that pull individuals from the reserve and impact the manner in which they interact with the city (Frideres and Gadacz 2001, Norris et al. 2003). There are differences in movement patterns by age and sex: young adults are more likely to move; women are more likely to move than men. Men tend to move into the urban settings for employment whereas women seek improvements for family (Norris et al. 2003). Although the urban population has been growing, the movement back and forth has not dramatically altered the distribution of First Nations persons on and off reserve (Norris et al. 2003).

Some researchers offer a conceptualization of four types of urban Aboriginal individuals: the commuter, the transient, the migrant and the urban dweller. If proximity is close and roads are good, there tends to be more movement in and out of the city, which allows for a commuter lifestyle. The *commuter* maintains a residence on reserve but spends a substantial amount of time in the city. If the band has effective community and economic development that provides opportunities in the community, members are more likely to stay on the reserve. The *transient* moves from city to city and back and forth to the reserve, never holding a permanent residence. Depending upon friends and family, transients are sometimes called "couch surfers" and can be considered "homeless." The *migrant* is an individual who moves into the city but maintains relationships with only other Aboriginal persons. They never adapt or integrate into city life. Finally, there is the *urban dweller*, who makes the city his or her permanent home (Frideres and Gadacz 2001); some of these individuals were born in the city but still maintain strong cultural connections to their family's reserve. Some have become permanent urban dwellers for reasons related to education, employment or special services that are

unavailable on the home reserve. Persons with disabilities may find urban life is the only way to access services and programs (Durst and Bluechardt 2001, Durst et al. 2007).

The assumption that Aboriginal people live in separate and isolated communities is no longer true, and the majority of Aboriginal people live among mainstream Canadians in urban centres across Canada (UATF 2007). Hanselmann states that this population shift has "not been matched by public policy successes" and federal and provincial governments "continue to deny responsibility for this area" (2003: 167). This fact calls for a refocusing of public policy and new initiatives for programming at all levels of government that would include the active participation of Aboriginal leadership.

Issues and concerns facing Canada's urban Aboriginal people

According to a 2007 report of the Urban Aboriginal Task Force (UATF),[2] the most serious of issues is the blatant racism urban Aboriginal people experience in their everyday life. They encounter racism from landlords when seeking affordable housing, from employers when seeking employment, from clerks and waiters in stores and restaurants when using their status cards and from police and authorities with "zero tolerance" (UATF 2007). The racism is personal and systemic; it is built into the system and is difficult to address. It is devastating and personally debilitating, setting back the advancements and progress individuals and communities have made in making the city "home." However, antiracism initiatives related to employment and education are seen as beneficial and an important start in raising awareness. Even though the National Aboriginal Day generates positive attitudes, the process of change is painfully slow.

The racism is compounded with the generational impact of residential schools. Particularly in the Prairie Provinces, Aboriginal children were taken from their homes and raised in cold, sterile residential schools run by mainstream churches financed by the federal government. For 100 years, the schools attempted to eradicate the "Indianness" of these children, resulting in a loss of culture, language, parenting skills and emotional health (Castellano et al. 2008). In recent years, this pervasive form of oppression has been acknowledged. Efforts to heal have begun, including the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, an agreement that has provided some compensation for the intergenerational harm (INAC 2008b). These efforts have had an impact on all Aboriginal people, including the city dwellers.

The lack of affordable housing was identified by the YWCA members in 1947 and remains a constant challenge today. For both individuals and families, it remains an immediate and pressing need; even for those with stable incomes, home ownership is elusive (UATF 2007). Low incomes, poverty and unemployment have an impact on housing, and the Aboriginal community is overwhelming poor and disadvantaged. Many families resort to food banks to make it through the month. Rates of employment of Aboriginal people have improved in recent years but remain consistently lower than the rates of the general population (Canada 2006), particularly for Aboriginal youth.

Urban Aboriginal youth are facing three main challenges: difficulties in developing positive Aboriginal identity, problems finding suitable employment opportunities and success in completing secondary education (UATF 2007). The problems often result in gang activity, crime, addictions, mental health problems and suicide. The response has been slow but there have been successful efforts to get youth connected with programs and services and address these long-standing problems. Aboriginal youth are a growing pool of untapped labour resources and projections are that by 2026, 36% of the 15 to 29 age group in Saskatchewan will be Aboriginal. In Manitoba, the number is expected to reach 28% (Hull 2008). Of particular immediacy is the need to get these youth involved and connected to positive living. The consequences of doing nothing are too drastic to contemplate.

[2] The UATF is an Ontario-wide study of the experiences of Aboriginal people living in six urban areas: Toronto, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Kenora, Sudbury and Barrie-Midland. The need for a task force to research urban Aboriginal issues was first articulated by the joint executive committee of the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres (OFIFC), the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA) and the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association (OMAA). This committee recognized the need to build upon the original Urban Aboriginal Task Force Study published in 1981, the first major research on urban Aboriginal people in this country. In the absence of similar studies for other provinces and regions of Canada and region-specific issues notwithstanding, this study remains an excellent source of knowledge pertaining to the life experiences of urban Aboriginal people in Canada, regardless of their location.

Many Aboriginal people have joined a growing and sophisticated middle class. With its impressive array of shiny vehicles, the parking lot of First Nations University of Canada demonstrates this trend. With increasing rates of education, active employment and successful entrepreneurial efforts, they have economic stability and prosperity.

It is often said that Aboriginal women face a double jeopardy: being both Aboriginal and women. They have difficulty providing the basic necessities of life (housing, food and clothing) for their children in an isolating, hostile environment, usually alone and without the support of their husbands and fathers (UATF 2007). Their situation is compounded with violence, mental illness and drug addictions. There are emergency services, but few services offer long-term, on-going support and integrative services. In a Regina study, it was found that many women call the 24-hour crisis services offered by the provincial social services. Even though these services are related to the dreaded "child protection" unit, the mothers reported that the social workers promptly and faithfully responded with immediate help (Sisson 1997).

In the Aboriginal community, women are more likely than men to volunteer and work in the various social and recreational services for the Aboriginal community (UATF 2007). Even though many women are exploited and vulnerable, they are accomplishing the most in terms of ending the oppression and discrimination.

Over the years, there has been growth in the number of social service agencies and organizations delivering services by Aboriginal workers to Aboriginal people. Many of these services are organized and operated by Aboriginal leaders while others are separate branches of mainstream agencies. The services are viewed as being more culturally relevant and more accountable to the urban Aboriginal community. They are consistently the preferred choice of Aboriginal clients. The federal government's Urban Aboriginal Strategy funds over 100 projects that include life skills and employment training, entrepreneurship and support for families and children (INAC 2008c). Unfortunately, these agencies are seldom funded at the same levels as mainstream services and lack the stability in core funding. With temporary and time-limited funding, programs and staff are insecure, waiting week to week in the fear of being terminated. In addition, there is the jurisdiction quagmire of government policies and programs with no government taking clear responsibility (Hanselmann 2003). First Nations individuals are under federal government funding while most social and health programs are provincial responsibilities. For example, accessing non-insured health benefits can be a serious problem for First Nations families living off reserve. A simple task for mothers, such as getting eye glasses for their children, can turn into a logistic nightmare with constant back-and-forth between band office, federal Indian and Inuit Health services and provincial authorities.

However, not all is bleak in the urban landscape for Aboriginal people, and many have joined a growing and sophisticated middle class. With its impressive array of shiny vehicles, the parking lot of First Nations University of Canada demonstrates this trend. With increasing rates of education, active employment and successful entrepreneurial efforts, they have economic stability and prosperity (Wotherspoon 2003). Since they do not interface with existing social services, it is difficult to know the extent of this population. There is not a lot of research on this group, but some studies have found that they distance themselves from the urban Aboriginal community and maintain links to their home community (UATF 2007). This represents a potential resource, and there may be a need for culturally relevant recreational and social activities for this emerging group in the urban community. Clearly, this is an area for further research with significant policy and program implications.

Conclusion

Without question, the urban Aboriginal population is already significant in terms of size and will grow and have a profound impact on Prairie cities. Because of their distinct history and culture, Aboriginal people do not use mainstream services but seek, instead, culturally sensitive and specific services. Many people are "lost" and experiencing difficulties that the municipal, provincial and federal governments

can no longer ignore. However, success stories abound and success lies in partnerships with Aboriginal leadership – both men and women. There is also an increasing number of positive experiences with a growing middle class that is participating economically, socially and politically in urban life. Today, the situation has both those who are "lost" and those who are "found" in the "urban jungle" of Canada's prairie cities.

About the author

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This article reports findings of the author's dissertation study, Enhancing and developing policies, modes and practices to address the mental health needs of immigrant and refugee women living in Saskatchewan, *completed in fall 2007. It begins with a brief overview of immigration trends in Saskatchewan since the 1990s, describing the theoretical framework and the research method used, followed by a summary of the findings, an analysis and recommendations.*

Exploring Ways of Addressing Immigrant and Refugee Women's Mental Health and Well-Being in Saskatchewan

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Immigration to Saskatchewan since the 1990s and government and community responses

Immigration trends in Saskatchewan have generally paralleled those in other parts of Canada. The difference, however, is that the numbers arriving and settling in Saskatchewan have been considerably smaller than in larger provinces such as Ontario and British Columbia. Nonetheless, the actual intake numbers have been relatively stable (Lamba, Mulder and Wilkinson 2000). Like elsewhere in Canada, larger numbers of immigrants have been coming from African, Asian, Caribbean and Latin American countries since the 1990s (Frideres 1999, Henry et al. 2000, Rice and Prince 2000, Canada Immigrant Job Issues n.d.)

Out-migration from Saskatchewan continued to be a major challenge for Saskatchewan's governments till recent years (Elliott 2003). The Government of Saskatchewan in partnership with the Government of Canada piloted the Provincial Immigrant Nominee Program in Saskatchewan. Part of this pilot included the development of the Immigration Branch, which was officially established in 2001 and is located within the Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour. This has been a major step in the process of attracting immigrants to the province. Another factor countering previous out-migration trends is the "economic boom" resulting largely from higher oil prices and economic gains from mining and gas industries (Government of Saskatchewan 2008). Cities, smaller centres and farm communities around the province are also actively engaged in the goals of attracting immigrants to the province and retaining them (Government of Saskatchewan n.d.).

In addition to its focus on attracting skilled immigrants, Saskatchewan has continued to remain committed to its humanitarian response of welcoming refugees to the province. In 1996, 13.1% of migrants to Saskatchewan came as refugees, a percentage considerably higher than the national average of 7.2% (Lamba, Mulder and Wilkinson 2000). Despite this obvious humanitarian commitment, discourse about the needs of newcomers has focused primarily on employment-related needs, or on the economic dimension (Government of Saskatchewan 2004). This article seeks to explore the importance of a more inclusive and responsive approach to addressing the needs of newcomers, through an

exploration of mental health needs of immigrant and refugee women living in Saskatchewan.

Theoretical framework: Critical multicultural theory

A critical multicultural theoretical framework was used in the study. Multicultural theory acknowledges that individuals within multicultural societies bring different cultural conceptualizations to their relationships and encounters with one another (Lee 1997a and 1997b, Pederson 1999). The framework's emphasis on a critical perspective is itself a statement about the centrality of issues such as power imbalance, inequity, and contexts (Blanch and Levin 1998, Bryan 2001). Culture is defined broadly and recognizes the many ways in which cultural practices and traditions influence all levels of decision-making (Pederson 1999, Mullaly 2002).

There are two components comprising this framework: multicultural processes and multicultural structures. Multicultural processes refer to the values and beliefs that individuals bring to relationships and encounters and the ways in which these influence multicultural contacts. Multicultural structures refer to the policies, legislation, and regulations that frame the contexts within which these multicultural contacts and processes occur. Governments and communities are, therefore, challenged to ensure that policies, legislation and regulations will indeed facilitate equitable and just relationships and processes.

Method

The dissertation used a case study method focusing on the ways in which policies, programs and services in Saskatchewan could be developed or enhanced to address the mental well-being of immigrant and refugee women living in this Canadian province. That is, the case is very clearly the province Saskatchewan. Focus on this case provided opportunity to consider the uniqueness and multidimensional aspects of the Saskatchewan context through exploration of existing literature as well as individual and focus group interviews (Berg 2004, Grosof and Sardy 1985, Stake 1994 and 1995, Yin 1994 and 2004, Maxwell 1996). The application of the theoretical framework to this case study ensured that there was recognition of the interconnectedness of all issues (Berg 2004) and that issues such as gender, experiences of racialization and racism were always considered. That is, there was acknowledgment of the context of multiculturalism but the analysis was always framed by considerations of equity and power.

Data collected involved six focus group interviews with service providers and five with immigrant and refugee women. In addition, 11 individual interviews were completed. All of the immigrant and refugee women who participated in the interviews had a competent level of English, which eliminated the need for interpreters. Consent forms were completed by all participants.

Findings and analysis: Reaffirming the issues

Many of the research findings reiterated those reported by the 1988 report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees. These included depression and trauma, racism, stereotyping, discrimination, culture shock, language barriers, underemployment and unemployment, credentialing issues, stigma of mental health, isolation and separation from family and communities that might still be in countries of origin (Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees 1988).

Newer trends

Helping those back home

Globalization and technology have had an impact on how women now experience settlement and integration. Contact is easier because of the telephone and the Internet, and television has brought vivid images of war to the homes of many newcomers. These technologies have their benefits, but they have heightened the frustrations and anxieties of several of the participants. One woman spoke about feeling depressed after telephone calls because of the ongoing appeals for help. Families continued to help "those back home" but often at tremendous physical and emotional costs. At least one service provider reported that remittances often created financial hardship. Families in countries of origin were making powerful demands for medical treatment, food and money. When some newcomers were unable to meet these demands, they reached out to members of the wider community who then also became overwhelmed. Generally speaking, women did not complain about these demands, but spoke about their sense of helplessness and guilt.

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Language and literacy

Language barriers continued to pose problems. However, basic illiteracy (reading and writing) was an additional challenge. This reflects situations of war and unrest and their impact on newcomer women. Service providers suggested that childcare, daycare and transportation were key factors in ensuring that women had access to language and literacy instruction.

Health and settlement needs

Service providers reported that they were working with families where women were now the "heads of the household." In some situations the spouse had died or disappeared and women were carrying out roles not previously held. Depression and unresolved trauma seemed to be a common thread among many of these women. Several service providers noted that they were now beginning to see more clients with greater health needs than previously seen. They suggested that many of the women needed more resources in order to settle and integrate within their communities.

Violence against women was identified as an important issue. Related to this was the issue of silence because of community pressures, fear of deportation, fear of the unknown and fear of isolation. Violence may have occurred in the countries of origin, but women had their traditional ways of dealing with violence in those countries. However, they were nonetheless developing support networks and creating ways of coping here in Saskatchewan. Lack of awareness of immigration laws and of the rights these women had were factors that continued to silence women.

Underutilization of mainstream mental health services

Various reports have described the underutilization of traditional or mainstream mental health services by immigrant and refugee women (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues 1988, Williams 2002, IRVMW 2002, Omorodion and White 2003). Participants repeatedly raised this concern. Service providers at mental health agencies explained that they had minimal, if any, experience working with newcomer women. Some suggested that client readiness needed to be assessed in order to determine appropriateness of service. The most frequent comment was that the structure of services and programs was not necessarily appropriate to many immigrant and refugee women.

Many of these service providers tended to assume that "immigrant" women came from non-Western traditions and backgrounds, and there was little recognition of the diversity among women or of the possibility that it was difficult to view women's situation in purely binary Western/non-Western terms. Therefore, the discussions often involved speaking about women as the "Other." At the same time, service providers seemed to be open to talking about how to provide services to women who had come from contexts and cultures that were very different from those in Saskatchewan.

There were several suggestions that the traditional clinic model was inappropriate to many newcomer women. Service providers were mindful that reluctance to use mental health services and the issue of stigma of mental health were not unique to newcomer women. Discussions kept returning to the need to explore other ways of delivering services.

Accessibility and agency capacity

Clearly all the service providers wanted to do better, enhance accessibility and build capacity so they could respond to the needs of their multicultural community. Those individuals with personal connections to ethnocultural communities because of their own ethnicity, their church work and their volunteer or community work felt that they had influenced the work of their agencies. Others felt that their agencies had a willingness to ask questions and to explore ways of providing services differently. One

worker suggested that if she had been asked the question about agency capacity prior to her involvement in a recent project involving immigrants, she would have been more confident about her knowledge and skills in doing the work. Participation in that program made her recognize how much she did not know, how complex the work was and that the agency had to deliver services differently.

Doing it "differently" would mean more home visits, more community development work and more community-based work (outside of the traditional clinic). Participants understood that resource pressures would be created for agencies that were accustomed to delivering services through 50 to 60 minute counselling sessions with individual clients and couples.

Agency capacity meant having theoretical knowledge, current knowledge and relevant practice skills. Service providers suggested that an understanding of immigration policies would help them to be more responsive to the needs of women. They were generally confident that they had sound generic professional knowledge and skills in the area of trauma, violence and abuse. However, repeatedly, they felt that what was weak was the "cultural" piece.

Women's ways of helping themselves

The interviews with women provided important insights. An analysis of findings reveal that women have their own traditional ways of helping themselves and that they had already begun to use helping approaches that make sense for them. These include the use of community organizations, friends, family, faith communities and spirituality. The interviews were a reminder that women come from diverse cultural contexts, and, therefore, it was important to hear the uniqueness of the individual stories. The interviews also exposed the interrelationship between community traditions, values, beliefs and the individual life stories of women.

Recommendations

The research emphasized the importance of using a multidimensional approach to mental health service provision. The theoretical framework provided a tool to listen to the participants with the intent of learning about their values and beliefs on a variety of issues. It also provided guidance in terms of considering how programs and policies related to these values and beliefs about their needs and aspirations.

Taking the services and programs to communities

As stated, few immigrant and refugee women actually use traditional or mainstream mental health services and programs. They use other resources: the church, faith and spirituality communities, settlement agencies, friends and other communities. Nevertheless, those immigrant women who came from countries that were similar to Canada seemed to have greater comfort with local systems.

One of the recommendations was for mental health service providers to go to the sites frequented by immigrant and refugee women. This could take many forms: itinerant mental health practitioners, community educators, community developers, consultants. In short, "mental health work" with immigrant and refugee women would take on different forms. "Communities" might include places like ethnocultural communities or settlement agencies where women had formed new "family" relationships. In order for this to happen, more collaborative work with settlement agencies needed to occur. Mental health practitioners were asked to work more collaboratively with the physicians and other health practitioners that women go to for help.

Encouraging partnerships and more collaborative work among immigrants and refugees, immigrant and refugee serving agencies and mainstream mental health agencies

Service providers from various sectors spoke about wanting to work more closely with one another. Several of them recommended hiring individuals as community consultants or community partnership builders. Settlement agencies had already developed relatively strong relationships with the school sector. These need to be supported through adequate, sustained funding. Some headway has been made with health regions, but these have been slower in developing.

More partnership work also means learning from and working with immigrant and refugee women. This would include continuing to have a dialogue about values and beliefs that all the different players bring in their process of interaction.

Learning from working with Aboriginal communities

Those service providers who had worked with Aboriginal communities talked about the kinds of initiatives, programs and approaches that had worked. Their discussions focused on the format of programs such as community kitchens and grandmothers' groups. Other activities included

cooking, sewing and craft classes – all of which provided opportunities for women to come together, learn from one another and support one another. The role of the mental health practitioner was to be played by the professional who would provide consistent support, be available for individual support and counselling, or simply be part of the participant-driven group.

Practitioners talked about knowing they had knowledge and skills that would be helpful to the women. They would make themselves available as resources. They could offer direct intervention and support to individuals when it was appropriate to do so. In other instances, they could make referrals or get involved in lobbying or other advocacy work. They could also impart community education. Another lesson was the impact of presentations given by insiders from within the cultural communities. Presentations focusing on Aboriginal communities have included topics on the history of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Participants suggested that similar activities could be attempted with respect to newcomers.

Recruiting individuals with knowledge and skills to address the needs of immigrant and refugee women

Participants were committed to a representative workforce and to hiring individuals who had insider knowledge to facilitate building bridges. They recommended attention be paid to ensuring that registration processes for foreign-trained professionals were user-friendly. Along the same vein was the recommendation to provide some recognition for work experience in situations where individuals did not have the academic or technical credentials.

Final comments

Immigrant and refugee women's conceptualization of mental health reflected the extent to which their relationships with others and the daily processes of their lives have an impact on their mental health and well-being. There is a clear distinction between the issues of settlement and integration that immigrant and refugee women experience and the experiences of trauma and losses that refugee women experience. Therefore, the responses have to be different. That is, mental health practitioners recognize the importance of considering the multiple issues and contexts of women's lives and also the specific needs of women coming from war-affected regions and situations of extreme trauma.

Immigrant and refugee women, as a whole, conceptualized mental health in a way that reflects their tendency to approach their world in a very holistic manner. They talked about how important it was for them to live in environments that were safe and committed to social inclusion. They also recognized the interconnectedness of the world and acknowledged their connections to other countries. Their beliefs and values about their world challenge the tendency to think in one-dimensional, economic terms and reflect their understanding of what they need in order to achieve good mental health and well-being.

About the author

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About 600 privately sponsored refugees arrive in Manitoba each year. Most are from Africa and the majority settle in Winnipeg. Arrivals under the Privately Sponsored Refugee Program now constitute more than half of all refugees arriving in Manitoba.

The Resettlement Experience of Privately Sponsored Refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba

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Privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) are a major component of refugee arrivals in Manitoba. Sponsorship agreement holders such as the Anglican Diocese and the Mennonite Central Committee, among others, work with community groups, ethnocultural groups, individuals and families to sponsor refugees from many different countries. Approximately 600 PSRs currently arrive in Manitoba each year. Most are from Africa and the majority settle in Winnipeg. Arrivals under the Privately Sponsored Refugee Program now constitute more than half of all refugees arriving in Manitoba (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007).

Very little is known about the settlement experience of PSRs. This study,[1] conducted in 2007 and 2008, was designed to address key questions such as: Are sponsors meeting their obligations? Do sponsorships ever fail? From the point of view of refugees, are the indicators of resettlement and integration positive? Do the life circumstances of refugees improve over time? And, if not, what specific aspects of the resettlement experience are problematic?

The study involved interviews with an adult member of 50 PSR households in Winnipeg. Each interview averaged 2.5 hours in length. Households that had arrived one to five years prior to the interview (2002-2006) were the target of the study. The one-year minimum was chosen so that the sponsorship period would be complete and interviewees could reflect on their sponsorship experience. A period of five years was sufficient for them to pass judgement on their resettlement experience.

[1] The author wishes to thank Manitoba Labour and Immigration for the funding to support this research.

The sample

Half of the interviewees had been in Canada less than two and a half years, while the other half had landed two and a half to five years previously. Eighty-two percent were from Africa and the Middle East, a good match to the 86% of all PSR refugees from the same areas arriving in Manitoba between 2002 and 2006. The age distribution as well as the household and family types of this sample population were also very similar to those of the 2002-2006 cohort. Compared to the Winnipeg population, the average age of the study group was much younger (24 vs. 39 years) and the household size was larger (3.3 vs. 2.4 persons). The study population contained more family households with children (50% vs. 44%) and more family households were lone parent led (39% vs. 19%) than the Winnipeg population (Statistics Canada 2008).

The sponsorship experience

The majority (68%) of interviewed households were satisfied with the sponsorship support they received but 30% reported problems and seven (14%) of the sponsorships failed. Factors contributing to failure included: reluctance to tell sponsors that additional support was needed

for fear of burdening them; concerns that it would reflect badly on their sponsors or jeopardize the program; lack of knowledge of the sponsorship program structure and of the fact that other groups/organizations within this structure could have been approached for support; and, the absence of anyone checking on a regular basis to see if there were problems. The most successful settlement experiences were supported by multiple people or institutions – a family or friends, a community organization or a combination of these.

Indicators of resettlement integration

This study focused on three sets of resettlement indicators: housing and neighbourhood indicators; employment and income characteristics; and social indicators. As described in the sections below, indicators of resettlement illustrate both positive and negative experiences.

Most of the households in this study did not consider their housing situations to have been the cause of any major disruption in their settlement experience. However, twice the proportion of households were paying 30% or more of their gross income on shelter than did Winnipeg households (Table 1), despite the fact that renters were paying $100 less than the Winnipeg average for apartments of the same size. One third of households lived in units with too few bedrooms to adequately accommodate the household. With few exceptions, they reported that their unit was in good condition, felt that it was safe, looked forward to going home at the end of the day and were generally happy with their accommodations. Five (10%) were homeowners and more than half of the remainder hoped to buy a home. Over time their housing had improved and residential stability had increased. Just over half (56%) of these households lived in the inner city. All but a few indicated that they liked their neighbourhoods, regardless of where they lived, whether in the inner city or in the suburbs. Ninety percent indicated that they felt safe in their neighbourhoods. However, two thirds indicated that they would prefer to live elsewhere, generally in non-inner city neighbourhoods less characterized by urban decline.

Three quarters of the interviewees knew their neighbours but only a little more than half reported a positive rating of their interaction with people in their neighbourhood, suggesting that interaction and communication is somewhat limited. This may slow the development of a sense of belonging in their neighbourhoods as well as the development of local cultural knowledge. However, two thirds felt that they had acquired sufficient knowledge from their sponsors to facilitate their integration. They felt comfortable enough living in Winnipeg to pronounce themselves as "fitting in."

TABLE 1
Housing and neighbourhood indicators

	Study households (%)	Winnipeg (%)
Paying 30% or more[a]	41	21
Renters	42	37
Owners	33	12
Average shelter cost-to-income ratio	26	17
Owned their home	10	67
Did not meet NOS[b]	34	N/A
Had problems finding housing	24	N/A
Lived in the inner city	56	N/A
Liked their current neighbourhood	92	N/A
Felt safe in their neighbourhood	90	N/A

[a] Low and modest income households in Canada that devote 30% or more of their income to shelter are considered to have a housing affordability problem.
[b] According to the National Occupancy Standards (NOS), the number of bedrooms was insufficient to adequately accommodate the age, sex and marital structure of the household.
Source: Study sample and 2006 Census, Statistics Canada (2008).

Close to 80% were employed at the time of the interview but half of those who had looked for work had problems finding a job (Table 2). Poor language skills, no job experience in Canada, foreign credential recognition problems and lack of Canadian references were cited as significant barriers to accessing employment. Half of those employed were not working in their field of expertise, half felt overqualified for their current job, and one quarter were working more than one job in order to improve their financial circumstances. Very few had high paying jobs requiring high skill levels. Most were employed in sales and services. The average income of the sample was about half that of Winnipeg households, and 68% were in poverty – three times the level of Winnipeg households. Half of these households indicated that they had difficulty saving money and more than one third had at times relied on food banks (Table 2).

Overall, the study group felt that their emotional and physical health had improved since their arrival, as had their ability to deal with daily stress (Table 3). Nevertheless, close to

20% had health problems for which they had not received help. Although most households felt that they had developed strong support networks, some still experienced loneliness and social isolation and had no close family or friends. Surprisingly, none had joined a political group or belonged to a community or neighbourhood organization, although more than half had volunteered. Overall, however, there was a low level of engagement with society in general.

One third felt they had experienced harassment or discrimination in the workplace, in schools or in public places but most felt that they had learned how to deal with it and 70% felt comfortable expressing and practicing their own culture. Most felt confident that institutions of authority (police and government) were supportive and would protect and assist them with fairness and justice (Table 3). Three quarters felt they were always treated the same as other Canadians when accessing services or entitlements. One third identified language as the most difficult barrier in the resettlement process. Two thirds had taken language training, but several had to take up employment immediately and were therefore unable to attend language training classes.

Positive trajectories over time?

Have the PSRs in the study experienced positive trajectories in their resettlement and integration experience over time? As noted in Table 4, the results are mixed. Job satisfaction actually declined with time in Winnipeg, although a higher percentage of refugees were working in their field of expertise. Despite this latter fact, a growing percentage felt overqualified for their jobs. Income has increased but the proportion of households in poverty has changed little. The ratio of income to shelter cost increased slightly, despite a higher proportion in social housing where rents are set at 27% of income. Crowding has declined and 10% have become homeowners so better quality accommodation may have increased the shelter cost-to-income ratio. All 25 interviewees who had been in Canada for more than two and a half years were happy with their current residence. The two unhappy respondents had been in Canada less than two and a half years. Satisfaction with neighbourhood was high, regardless of time spent in Winnipeg; however, the proportion of interviewees who felt they had learned enough to feel comfortable living in the city or to reach their potential, declined.

TABLE 2
Employment and income characteristics

	Study households	Winnipeg
Had looked for work	90%	N/A
Had difficulty finding work	46%	N/A
Employed	78%	N/A
Overqualified for job	46%	N/A
Work in field of expertise	39%	N/A
Happy with job	77%	N/A
Work in sales and services	43%	25%
Average income	$32,300	$63,025
Incidence of poverty	68%	20%
Difficulty saving money	52%	N/A
Not enough money to meet basic needs	36%	N/A
Had used a food bank[a]	36%	3.7%

[a] Data from the Canadian Association of Food Banks (2007).
Source: Study sample and 2006 Census, Statistics Canada (2008).

TABLE 3
Social indicators of resettlement

Physical/emotional health had improved	54%
Experienced emotional problems since arrival	60%
Improved ability to cope with stress	86%
Comfortable approaching police	67%
Comfortable approaching government officials	84%
Did not know their neighbours	22%
Had skills enabling them to deal with discrimination	81%
Winnipeg felt like home	82%
Material well-being improved since arrival	84%
Life in Canada better than expected	62%

Source: Study sample.

Policy implications and direction for further research

The findings of this study indicate that in general, Manitoba's Privately Sponsored Refugee Program is working well. However, there are problems that require attention. Not all sponsorships are successful. The study highlights general reasons for failure but more work is needed to determine if the sponsors have the capacity to undertake sponsorships – often the sponsors are almost as poor as the people they are sponsoring. It is also obvious that those who are sponsored should be provided with better information on the sponsorship process upon their arrival; this should include information on the organizations involved in the process and on those where newcomers can ask for help if they are abandoned by their sponsors. It would also be beneficial if an individual or an agency was responsible for

follow-up with sponsored refugees to see if the sponsorship and resettlement process is working. The findings suggest that there is little follow-up, and when sponsorships fail, people are often left abandoned in a strange land and an unfamiliar culture.

Although housing was not considered a major barrier to resettlement over the long term, the findings suggest that initially, access to affordable housing is difficult. An increase in the supply of affordable housing would facilitate the resettlement process.

Clearly, one of the major concerns of PSRs is their labour force experience. Major problems revolve around their difficulty in finding work, the fact that these refugees are not working in their area of expertise or are overqualified for their position, and the low-skilled, often dead-end jobs in which they become trapped. Poor language skills were identified as a barrier. Are newcomers not receiving the language training they need? If not, why not? Are they obligated to enter the workforce too soon to support themselves because their sponsors do not have the capacity to carry the cost of the sponsorship and are therefore unable to support them during language training? Are their skills and credentials not being properly recognized by Canadian employers? Although the study identifies these issues as problems, more research is needed to determine how these problems can be resolved.

It was also obvious that the level of support provided by sponsors was not always adequate. Generally, sponsors are expected to provide financial support that is, at the very least, equal to that of the prevailing rates for social assistance in the community. However, social assistance rates have not kept up with the cost of living in recent years and do not provide anyone, included refugees, with an adequate standard of living. Some sponsors are certainly more generous, but if newly arrived refugee households have little to live on, their resettlement is certainly more difficult. Additional research as to what level of support (cash and in-kind) that is provided by sponsors might be considered adequate is certainly required.

The findings of this study are very useful in assessing the effectiveness of the program and the resettlement experiences of refugees in Manitoba. It is difficult, however, to "generalize" these findings to other parts of Canada. The characteristics of sponsoring organizations and groups, the sponsorship process, the nature of the labour force and housing markets and many other factors differ from city to city. The Winnipeg study may yield general findings that are relevant on a broader geographical basis, and it may be a good model to use in developing research initiatives in other cities, but studies on a broader national basis are required to determine and address the challenges that may be facing PSRs nationally.

Conclusion

In conclusion, most PSRs in this study were positive about their resettlement experience since arriving in Winnipeg. The vast majority felt that their material well-being had improved since their arrival, although the proportion of refugees who were very happy with their progress had declined (Table 4). Overall, there is cause for optimism. However, not everyone's expectations have been met, not all the indicators of resettlement and integration show positive trajectories and much progress is still

TABLE 4
Improvement over time: Indicators of comparison

	Less than 2.5 years	More than 2.5 years
Distribution of participants	50%	50%
Satisfied with job	90%	68%
Not happy with income	56%	65%
Working in field of expertise	33%	53%
Feel overqualified for job	28%	44%
Average household income (monthly)	$2,515	$2,853
Below LICO	67%	68%
Shelter costs to income ratio	25%	27%
Living in social housing	12%	20%
Material well-being better than upon arrival	80%	80%
Happy with progress in adjusting to new life	28%	40%

Source: Study sample.

required in many areas before they achieve the quality of life of the host population.

Based on self-assessment of their settlement and integration experience, those who had been in Winnipeg the longest seem less satisfied. Why would that be? Possible reasons include: they had envisioned a steady upward trajectory of improvement, which had not happened; specific expectations, such as homeownership, had not been achieved; and, their expectations, perhaps, were unrealistic. It is in the related areas of employment and income where self-assessed progress is less positive. Incomes have not increased appreciably with time, poverty levels remain high and employment circumstances have not improved substantially. These same problems have been identified in other studies.

About the author

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Refugees face difficulties finding affordable housing. This problem is compounded by their lack of understanding about how and where to find housing information. They lack current, reliable and comprehensive information on the housing market and the characteristics of the neighbourhoods where housing is available. This lack of knowledge can lead to mistakes in housing and residential location choices.

Refugee Housing Trajectories in Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg

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Between 2006 and 2008, a longitudinal study of the resettlement and integration circumstances of recently arrived refugees was conducted in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton.[1] The study collected information on the socio-economic characteristics of the refugee households as well as their changing housing and neighbourhood circumstances. The households interviewed had been in their respective cities approximately a year, sometimes less, at the time of the first interview. This article focuses on the data collected in the first two years of the study. During the first year, 75 households were interviewed in Winnipeg, 41 in Calgary and 35 in Edmonton. A year later, a certain number of these houses were re-interviewed: 55 in Winnipeg, 17 in Calgary and 12 in Edmonton. The focus of the discussion is on the change in selected housing indicators from year to year in the three cities, as well as other aspects of the changing circumstances for the Winnipeg households, which represented the largest sample.

[1] The authors wish to thank the Prairie Metropolis Centre and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada for the funding to undertake this work.

Housing trajectories in Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg

Data for income from the three cities illustrated a positive trajectory for households that participated in both years of data collection. Average gross monthly income ranged from $1,409 in Edmonton to $1,836 in Calgary and $1,865 in Winnipeg the first year. In year two, a substantial increase in incomes was noted: 52% higher in Calgary, 32% higher in Edmonton and 31% higher in Winnipeg. In the first year, monthly shelter costs were much higher in Calgary ($756 per month) followed by Edmonton ($581 per month) and then Winnipeg ($566 per month). Households' rents increased from year one to year two in all three centres, with a significant 49% increase in Calgary but only an 11% and 4% increase, respectively, in Winnipeg and Edmonton (Table 1).

In the first year, after paying for their shelter, the households in Winnipeg had $1,300 left for all other living costs, households in Calgary had $1,080 left and those in Edmonton, $828. Because of increasing incomes, households' "after-shelter income" in the second year increased by just over 50% in all three centres. The average shelter-cost-to-income ratio dropped from 34% to 25% in Winnipeg from year one to year two, from 41%

TABLE 1
Housing trajectory comparisons: Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton

	Winnipeg			Calgary			Edmonton		
	Year one	Year two	Change	Year one	Year two	Change	Year one	Year two	Change
Gross monthly household income	$1,865	$2,446	31%	$1,836	$2,798	52%	$1,409	$1,859	32%
Monthly shelter costs	$566	$626	11%	$756	$1,118	49%	$581	$603	4%
After-shelter income	$1,299	$1,820	52%	$1,080	$1,680	56%	$828	$1,256	52%
Average shelter cost-to-income ratio	34%	25%	–	42%	42%	–	41%	37%	–
Households paying 30% or more	51%	22%	–	88%	76%	–	83%	42%	–
Do not meet NOS[a]	–	36%	–	–	25%	–	–	36%	–
Average two-bedroom market rent	–	$746	–	–	$1,096	–	–	$1,000	–
Vacancy rate	–	1.0%	–	–	2.0%	–	–	3.4%	–

[a] National Occupancy Standards

Source: Data on "Average two-bedroom market rent" and "Vacancy rate" are from CMHC Market Reports (2007); all other data was taken from the interviews conducted under this study.

to 37% in Edmonton but remained at 42% in Calgary because of the significant increases in average rents paid by the households. The percentage of households with affordability problems (paying 30% or more of their income for housing) varied significantly between the three centres. In year one, over 80% of all households in Calgary and Edmonton were paying 30% or more of their gross, before tax, income on shelter. The same was true for 51% of households in Winnipeg. The proportion with affordability problems in Winnipeg fell by more than half, to stand at 22% in year two. Edmonton households also showed significant improvement as the proportion with affordability problems fell to 42%. Because of the significant rent increases experienced by households in Calgary from year one to year two, the proportion of households with affordability problems remained high, at 76%.

Although changes in housing affordability depend on increases in income, housing market circumstances also play a significant role. The average rent in Calgary for a two-bedroom apartment is $350 a month higher than it is in Winnipeg. As a result, increases in income, although greater in Calgary, do not solve the affordability problems as they do in Winnipeg. In Edmonton, where rents are slightly lower than in Calgary but still much higher than in Winnipeg, there is still a significant proportion of the population (42%) paying 30% or more of their gross income for shelter.

The larger number of family members in refugee households is not always a good match with the housing designed to accommodate Canadian-born households. For refugee families, it is often difficult to find or afford accommodations with enough bedrooms to adequately accommodate the entire household. Few rental units have three or more bedrooms; virtually none are vacant. And when there are vacancies, they are well beyond the price range that is affordable for most refugee households. Hence, they live in accommodations that do not meet the National Occupancy Standards (NOS).[2] They are overcrowded because of the household size, number of bedrooms, and age distribution, sex and marital status of the members. This was true of 36% of the households in Winnipeg and Edmonton, and 25% in Calgary. In all three centres, there was a modest improvement in this indicator from year one to year two.

The Winnipeg circumstances

The Winnipeg database permitted further analysis of the housing and neighbourhood circumstances of refugee households. Winnipeg refugee households were highly mobile as they searched for better living circumstances. In the first year, 93% had lived in more than one place, 25% in more than three. The average length of tenure was just 12 weeks – not a situation conducive to integration. Close to 80% lived in the inner city. One quarter did not feel safe in their neighbourhood; a similar proportion felt that their housing was unsafe and that their home contributed to health problems. Close to 70% wanted to move, most to non-inner city areas that did not have the characteristics associated with urban decline that

[2] According to Canadian National Occupancy Standards, there should be no more than two persons per bedroom, spouses/couples share a bedroom, parents do not share a bedroom with children, dependents aged 18 or more do not share a bedroom and dependents aged five or more of the opposite sex do not share a bedroom.

Adequate, suitable, affordable housing with security of tenure cannot address all the challenges refugees face, but it can provide them with a stable base from where they could deal more easily with other challenges.

are common in the inner city, such as crime and safety and security issues (Table 2).

Although only a quarter of households felt landlords and caretakers were unhelpful, 19% did not know their rights and responsibilities as tenants and 40% had no idea of their landlords' rights and responsibilities. Some felt they faced discrimination in the housing market, which made their search for housing even more difficult. In terms of housing circumstances, the refugee households in Winnipeg could not be considered a settled group of people at the time of the first interview.

TABLE2
Indicators of resettlement and integration

	Year one	Year two
Neighbourhood safety		
Live in the inner city	78%	64%
Do not feel safe	26%	17%
Want to move	67%	57%
Housing design, quality, health issues		
Size was adequate	60%	69%
In good condition	75%	58%
Needs repairs	26%	42%
Not safe for children	22%	16%
Contributes to health problems	24%	13%

Source: Winnipeg case study.

Second-year interviews illustrated improvements, including a growing satisfaction with dwelling size and design, building and unit safety, greater satisfaction with landlords and caretakers and an improved knowledge of both tenant and landlord responsibilities. There was also less concern regarding discrimination, and a growing number of households felt that they were better equipped to deal with the discrimination they did face. Fewer felt unsafe in their neighbourhoods, but close to 60% still wanted to move.

A noticeable change contrary to these positive trends was a growing dissatisfaction among households with the condition of their units and the length of time taken for repairs to be made. At the first interview, 25% said they felt that their home was in poor condition. A year later, this ratio had increased to 42%. Concern about the timeliness of repairs increased from 26% of households to 42%. This may reflect an improved understanding of the standards they can expect or are entitled to and less reluctance to express concerns, rather than an actual decline in housing conditions or timeliness of repairs.

Employment characteristics, incidence of poverty and household expenditures of the Winnipeg refugee households provide further evidence of improvement but also the difficult circumstances many households still face after two years. The percentage of households with a person employed full time increased from 42% to 66% from year one to year two. The average annual income was up significantly but still less than half the average household income for the City of Winnipeg ($63,025). The incidence of poverty had dropped but was still more than three times the level in Winnipeg (20%). Expenditures for shelter, food, debt repayments and remittances increased, as did money remaining after all these costs were covered. Households were left with, on average, $980 per month to cover costs for transportation, education, clothing, savings, household and personal items, furniture, telephone, insurance, cable TV, Internet, entertainment and other costs (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Employment, income and household expenditure characteristics

	Year one	Year two
Employed	42%	66%
Annual gross income	$22,374	$29,357
Incidence of low income	92%	73%
Average shelter costs per month	$566	$626
Average food costs per month	$456	$618
Average debt repayment per month	$179	$197
Average remittances	$168	$311
Residual income	$690	$979
Difficulty meeting expenses	60%	54%
Unable to save money regularly	66%	53%

Source: Winnipeg case study.

It is not surprising that over half of the households still had difficulty meeting expenses each month and were unable to save money on a regular basis, particularly as the household size of the refugees in the study is almost double in Winnipeg (3.9 vs. 2.4 persons).

Notably, those who were able to access social housing in Winnipeg had some distinct housing advantages. In the first year, one third lived in public housing but by year two this proportion had increased to 46%. Overall, public housing residents felt more positive about their housing circumstances than did the private housing renters: they had fewer suitability problems, and were more satisfied with management, the safety of their home, the floor plan/design and the condition of the unit. However, they were less positive about their neighbourhoods and more were concerned about safety and security – perhaps because most public housing is located in Winnipeg's inner city. The biggest advantage for public housing residents was affordability. With rents set at 27% of gross income,[3] few paid more than 30% of their income for shelter, even with the responsibility for some utility costs. On average, public housing residents paid $150 less per month than did the private renters. Compared to private housing, social housing seems to offer advantages that help facilitate the resettlement process (Table 4).

TABLE 4
Social versus private housing

	Year one		Year two	
	Private	Social	Private	Social
Proportion of sample	68%	32%	54%	46%
Meet NOS	39%	65%	58%	64%
Happy with home	56%	94%	73%	82%
Housing is safe	74%	77%	86%	68%
Neighbourhood is safe	75%	71%	81%	71%
Mean rent	$563	$421	$610	$421

Source: Winnipeg case study.

The refugees in the Winnipeg study reported struggling with a lack of familiarity with the housing market, neighbourhood characteristics and tenant rights and responsibilities. They suggested that there was no place to go to get the reliable, comprehensive information they needed. In the first year, sponsors and immigrant agencies provided considerable assistance. By the second year, housing information sources included a broader social network of family and friends as well as real estate and property management agencies, their own increased efforts using Websites and newspapers, and street searches by walking and driving around. They had a growing knowledge of the city and the housing market but still felt that they had insufficient information to make sound housing decisions.

Policy implications

The difficulties refugees experience in finding adequate, affordable housing suggest the need for a number of policy and program changes that might help the resettlement and integration process. A few such initiatives are discussed below.

There is a need for an organization with a mandate to provide comprehensive housing and neighbourhood information for new arrivals. Refugees face difficulties finding affordable housing. This problem is compounded by their lack of understanding about how and where to find housing information. They lack current, reliable and comprehensive information on the housing market and the characteristics of the neighbourhoods where housing is available. This lack of knowledge can lead to mistakes in housing and residential location choices. Lack of knowledge about their rights and responsibilities also leaves new arrivals vulnerable to exploitation or to making mistakes resulting from misinterpretation of information on rental agreements. The problem is compounded by the fact that there is no single agency that provides this necessary information. Several interviewees noted the frustration of having to deal with so many agencies to try to get the information they needed.

Although there was often a relatively positive relationship between refugees and property management personnel, this could be improved upon by ***developing information and educational material for landlords and caretakers for them to familiarize themselves with new arrivals' cultural differences that are pertinent to housing.*** Such information would also help prevent misunderstandings that may lead to problems with leases or evictions.

The development of more transitional housing would facilitate resettlement and integration. Having a place to stay immediately upon arrival was considered to be a benefit and provided

[3] The rent-to-income ratio is set by the Manitoba Department of Family Services and Housing.

strong support. Having a safe place upon arrival was viewed as key to successful settlement in a new country. It would provide the stability new arrivals needed to get their life in order.

The most important policy priority is to increase the supply of affordable rental housing. The study findings on housing affordability in the three cities, and the additional information on social housing tenants in Winnipeg, clearly illustrated the benefits of access to subsidized housing. Adequate, suitable, affordable housing with security of tenure cannot address all the challenges refugees face, but it can provide them with a stable base from where they could deal more easily with other challenges. Unaffordable housing, it was noted, was a drain on household resources, limiting expenditures on other basic necessities like education, health care, clothing and food. Poor housing conditions also threatened stable family life and contributed to a negative feeling about one's surroundings.

This study illustrates the importance of good housing in the integration process and the difficult housing circumstances of many of the households that agreed to participate. It also illustrates how market circumstances affect refugees' ability to access affordable housing. However, housing is only part of a complex set of factors that contribute to successful integration, factors that include, among other things, language skills, labour force success, absence of discrimination, access to adequate information and support, and neighbourhood characteristics. Adequate, affordable housing cannot address all these issues; however, it can provide refugees with the stability they need to be able to deal more easily with the other difficulties they face.

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By building diversity into the curriculum, classroom practices and the organization of the school, and by taking special measures to ensure that sociocultural differences, as well as differences in educational experiences due to migration and social factors, do not lead to disadvantage or isolation, schools can offer equal opportunities and chances for upward mobility.

Educational Pathways to Successful Social Integration for African Refugee Students in Manitoba*

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One of the challenges of international migration for multicultural nation-states like Canada is dealing with complex educational issues in ways that are consistent with their democratic ideologies and declarations. Multiculturalism, as public policy, has two dimensions – recognition of cultural diversity, and social equality of members of minorities (Castles 2004). Recognition of cultural diversity means that both the majority population and the various minorities accept that society is made up of groups with differing languages, religions, and cultural values and practices and that the precondition for a cohesive and peaceful society is mutual acceptance and respect. Institutional structures and practices are necessarily adapted to remove cultural biases. The social equality dimension requires action by the state to ensure that members of ethnic minorities have equal opportunities of participation in all arenas of society – in particular, the labour market, since access to economic opportunities plays a major part in determining social outcomes.

Clearly, education plays a central role in both dimensions of multiculturalism. By building diversity into the curriculum, classroom practices and the organization of the school, and by taking special measures to ensure that sociocultural differences, as well as differences in educational experiences due to migration and social factors, do not lead to disadvantage or isolation, schools can offer equal opportunities and chances for upward mobility. Where such opportunities and chances are lacking for minority students, they tend to a) fall into a downward spiral, resulting in assimilation into an inner-city underclass (Portes and Zhou 1993); and, b) develop weak attachments to the nation-state (Bank 2008). Therefore, as their school populations become more culturally, racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse, multicultural democratic nation-states need strong, reliable tools to help them grapple with the educational challenges wrought by international migration.

The research reported in this article was undertaken in 2006-2007 to provide such a tool in the case of one group of recent immigrants to Canada – African refugee students, a group already experiencing a high rate of school dropout. The article identifies the educational needs and barriers of this group of students, and specifically what policy-makers, schools, teachers, school administrators, and other service providers can do to facilitate the acculturation, social integration, and school success of African refugee students in the Canadian province of Manitoba. On a global scale, the findings of this study have applications in other countries with similar groups of refugee students.

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Research problem

Seven out of Manitoba's top ten refugee source countries over the past seven years have been African countries, representing well over half of the refugee population in Manitoba (Mackay and Tavares 2005). The current composition of the refugee population in schools reflects the major source countries – Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Somalia – currently contributing to the refugee influx in Manitoba. African students, currently constituting the highest number of refugee students in Manitoba schools, therefore deserve research attention for two main reasons: 1) their unique educational needs as adolescents and youth from war-affected and disrupted schooling backgrounds, without sufficient and effective support programs designed for them; and, 2) their unique difficulty with integration into the host culture due to their phenotype, ethnicity, and Islamic religious backgrounds, all of which previous studies have found to cause discrimination and racist attitudes towards them (McBrien 2005, Mackay and Tavares 2005). These conditions may have negatively impacted the psychosocial adjustment and well-being of African refugee students, a persistent theme found in the literature on refugee needs (Bankston and Zhou 2002, Mosselson 2002). Such negative impact can impede the learning ability of war-affected refugee students (Sinclair 2001) and may account for the dramatic school dropout rate reported among African refugee students in Western Canada. For example, Roessingh and Field (2000) indicated a dropout rate as low as 60% or as high as 95% among beginning ESL learners in Alberta (many of them African refugee students) in the high school years. Based on their research in Manitoba, Mackay and Tavares (2005) also reported that most refugee students leave the school system before reaching grade 12. This high dropout rate may account for the increase in criminal gang activities, prostitution and drug use among many African youth (ACOMI 2006), causing them to be characterized in the media as "a growing problem in the inner city" (Winnipeg Free Press 2005).

This research investigated three questions: 1) What do African refugee students need to succeed in Canadian schools? 2) What are the barriers to their success? 3) What kinds of interventions are needed to overcome these barriers? Educational needs were broadly defined and included academic, social, psychological, linguistic and economic needs. The research was exploratory and intended to identify the interrelated conditions that support or undermine African refugee students' ability to fully participate in all aspects of Canadian life.

Methodology

The target group for this study was African refugee/war-affected students in two Winnipeg high schools, specifically students from Ethiopia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Somalia. They were selected not only because these are the source countries of a large proportion of Manitoba's newcomer students of refugee origin but also because of the challenges they pose for educators, schools, and the Manitoba community. Winnipeg high schools were selected because urban centers account for the majority of refugee learners, these students are increasingly visible, especially in the Winnipeg area, and the challenges of meeting the needs of refugee learners are particularly acute in the high school years (Mackay and Tavares 2005).

Research participants (subjects) consisted of 40 African students in two high schools identified as having the highest concentration of students from Ethiopia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Somalia (15% to 20% of the school population), the principals and four teachers from each of the schools, four parents, and a community leader from each of the four aforementioned African communities. Data were collected through focus groups among the African students, school and classroom observations of these students' interactions with peers and teachers and their participation in school sports and recreational activities, and individual interviews with 20 of the refugee students, as well as the participating principals, teachers, parents, and community leaders.

Collected data were read several times, segmented into meaningful analytical units and coded, using both *a priori* codes (previously developed, based on the research questions and the theoretical frameworks of the study – acculturation theories of immigrant psychosocial well-being, adjustment, and integration), and inductive codes generated directly from examining the data. Categories and themes were then developed and analyzed using qualitative data analysis computer programs such as NUD*IST and Ethnograph.

More than half of the students reported holding full-time jobs (working from 4:00 p.m. to midnight) to support themselves and their family members back home, and to pay back the money the Canadian government had spent on their airfares and resettlement programs. Balancing eight hours of work each day with academic work was almost impossible.

Findings

Students

The African refugee students perceived their resettlement in Canada as a mixed blessing. On the one hand, the opportunity to live in peace in Canada and go to school was described as "priceless," "like winning the lotto (lottery)," and some teachers were described as generally helpful in class. On the other hand, a complex array of factors combined to pose academic, economic, and psychosocial challenges and barriers to integration and school success. These factors included: poverty, separation from family, loneliness, cultural dissonance and acculturation stress, perceived racism, lack of access to psychological counseling, difficulty with required academic skills, limited proficiency in the English language, academic gaps due to disrupted schooling, fear and distrust of authority figures like teachers, fear of speaking in class and in public because "I do not have Canadian accent," and fear of being attacked by gangs in their poor inner-city neighbourhoods. School and classroom observations revealed very little interaction between the students and their non-African peers, as well as non-participation in school sports, except soccer by a few male students. Several students from Sierra Leone and Sudan recounted horrific pre-migration experiences such as witnessing the maiming of children "by chopping their hands" and trans-migration killings of family members while in refugee camps. These and other traumatic experiences were still vivid in their minds and, as they had not received medical or psychological treatment, these experiences were interfering with their learning. In terms of post-migration experiences in Canada, many of the students reported living on their own, having lost their parents and coming to Canada as "unaccompanied minors;" others were living with single parents or in reconstituted families consisting mainly of friends they had made in refugee camps. More than half of the students reported holding full-time jobs (working from 4:00 p.m. to midnight) to support themselves and their family members back home, and to pay back the money the Canadian government had spent on their airfares and resettlement programs. Balancing eight hours of work each day with academic work was almost impossible, and this, along with being assigned to grades according to age and not academic ability, contributed to poor academic performance and frustration. Despite these hardships, and contrary to what is suggested in previous studies, none of these students was considering dropping out before completing high school. Many aspired to becoming successful professionals capable of contributing to their new country.

The interventions proposed by the students were, for the most part, directed at improving the school contexts and assisting youth from war-affected backgrounds. These included: a plea to their teachers for adjustment of curriculum pace and content; culturally appropriate sports and recreation programs; access to psychological counselling; patience from some teachers; academic support, especially for math and science; extended English language programs; less racism from some teachers, school administrators and Canadian-born peers; and making the school more welcoming for diverse students (e.g., "by including our own ethnic foods on the menu in the school cafeteria", and "assigning us a room where we can go for Muslim prayers"). The students also appealed to the federal government to decrease economic and psychosocial stress on refugee families by waiving their resettlement loans and recognizing their parents' prior learning and qualifications ("so that my dad can get a better-paid job in Canada").

Principals

The principals felt that policy-makers must be made aware of the unique challenges involved in educating refugee students so that funding can be provided for programs that support

the adjustment of these students – for example, professional development for school administrators and teachers; extended English language programs; psychological counselling programs "that are right here in the school and not out there somewhere in some far off community;" after-school academic bridging programs that decrease refugee students' knowledge gap and keep them safe from predatory gang members; English language learning programs for refugee parents (to facilitate their communication with schools); hiring more Educational Assistants to help with one-on-one instruction in classrooms with African refugee students; and hiring a staff member to liaise between the school and communities and to support refugee students.

Teachers

The teachers in this study expressed great interest in, and hope for, the educational success of their African refugee students and some reported expending considerable time and personal resources to help them succeed both academically and socially – for example, by attending information workshops about African refugee students, by making themselves available for extra academic help, and by using their own money to purchase culturally relevant curriculum resources for use in their classrooms. Many, however, commented on the complex roles and responsibilities that they must take on as makeshift psychological counsellors, social workers, mentors, and refugee service providers, who must show these students how to live in Canadian society. An interesting finding of this study was that even though the student population in the schools we studied was changing, many teachers' curricula, instruction, assessment, and interaction patterns were not being adapted to this changing population. It appeared that teaching goals, conceptions of subject matter, and beliefs about students determined, to a large extent, whether or not teachers re-conceptualized and changed their curriculum and instructional practices.

Parents

Parents in this study expressed high aspirations for their children in their new country. However, parents' preoccupations with economic survival (e.g., "I work three jobs"), a slower pace of acculturation and adaptation compared to that of their children, a perceived loss of parental authority in their new culture, limited English language proficiency, and parental loneliness and frustration ("We have nowhere to go for advice or support") were all cited as factors that rendered parents ill-equipped to provide the support needed by their children to succeed in school. Parents also cited the lack of recognition for their prior learning and professional qualifications as a major source of psychosocial and economic stress as they continued to labour in low-paid and low-status jobs.

Community leaders

Community leaders listed some successes. For example, a few of their youth have proceeded to university, and soccer clubs and summer classes have been created to help keep youth out of trouble. They also listed failures, including an increasing number of their youths are in jail for drugs and other crimes. Each leader described local ethnic community organizations they had created – with funding from local agencies like the Winnipeg Foundation – to help their youth integrate and succeed at school. They appealed to the provincial and municipal governments for more financial support for these efforts as existing recreational facilities in their communities (e.g., hockey rinks) are not appropriate for Africans ("We don't play hockey and we have no one to teach hockey to our children").

Policy implications

Despite the national and ethnic variations among the students targeted in this study, their common experiences as refugees produced remarkable parallels in terms of their educational needs and the challenges they face in terms of integration and school success. Clearly, untreated pre- and trans-migration psychological stresses and post-migration challenges affected the ability of these students to adapt to their host country and to cope well with schoolwork. When these challenges are compounded by perceived attitudes of racism from peers and teachers, refugee students' confidence and concept of self are severely challenged and the stage is set for feelings of rejection, inadequacy, frustration, and dropout, even when dropout is not intended. Parents' beliefs about parenting and authority and their own integration and survival challenges leave them ill-equipped to provide the support needed by their children to succeed in school. Lack of sufficient resources available to schools

Judging by the projected labour market needs of Manitoba, the province has a high stake in the educational success of new immigrant youth, including African refugee students whose number has been on a steady increase over the past seven years.

and isolation among the various service providers – educators, housing and family services, and healthcare personnel – can severely impair the ability of these agencies to provide the services needed to support war-affected refugee students.

These data suggest the need for improvements at the levels of both the macro-system (federal and provincial governments) and the micro-system (the school, families). At the macro-system level, the federal government needs to put policies in place that would help minimize a number of challenges that emerged in this study. For example, significant increases in the number of Canadian immigration personnel in African countries and regions would accelerate the processes of refugee screening and acceptance for resettlement in Canada, thereby reducing periods of disrupted schooling by reducing wait-times in refugee camps. Improved modes of incorporating refugees – for example, by waiving federal government loans for refugee resettlement, recognizing foreign credentials in some trades and professions, and providing upgrading opportunities in others – would reduce the economic burden on refugee families, increase refugee parents' chances of accessing high-wage jobs, and reduce psychosocial stress on families.

Judging by the projected labour market needs of Manitoba (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006), the province has a high stake in the educational success of new immigrant youth, including African refugee students whose number has been steadily increasing over the past seven years. Therefore, the Province must increase its financial and other resource supports to improve the micro-system inhabited by these students. Psychological treatment programs and better housing in safer neighbourhoods will increase the well-being of refugee students and reduce their level of stress. Better coordination of refugee support services, based on dialogue with the refugees themselves, will ensure more effective services. In addition, increased provincial funding to schools will strengthen schools' capacity to provide the specialized programming needed to support the education of refugee students.

The study suggests that schools have already undertaken several initiatives in response to the needs of refugee students. However they need to do more to live up to their rhetoric about diversity and inclusiveness and reduce some of the challenges identified in this study. For example, better practices in initial assessment and grade placement will reduce frustration among refugee students and increase motivation for learning. A better understanding of refugee parents' situations (for example, that parents are struggling to survive economically and adjusting to a new culture) will reduce frustration among teachers and school administrators over so-called lack of parental involvement in their children's education. Such an understanding will also foster the development of better community relations. Desegregation of ESL students from their Canadian-born peers will increase inter-group interaction, accelerate acculturation, reduce isolation, and increase confidence among African refugee students. Professional development training is needed to improve teachers' knowledge about and attitudes toward this new group of students. Such training will increase teachers' personal and collective efficacy and may translate into adaptations in curriculum and instructional practices, which would benefit African refugee students. Finally, efforts by the school to collect and disseminate accurate information and cultural knowledge about African refugee students may reduce prejudice and change negative attitudes. In addition, however, teachers need to develop a broader vision that encompasses teaching goals and beliefs about subject matter and students. Toward this end, building a strong professional community and maintaining conversations within schools about responding to a diverse student body can provide the necessary support for teachers as they embark upon new practices to serve all students.

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From a perspective of rational choice, *what* good reasons *might a Francophone immigrant who belongs to a "visible" minority have for wanting to integrate professionally into the official language minority community in Manitoba rather than into the Anglophone majority? What advantages are there? What obstacles, if any, do Francophone immigrants face?*

Workforce Integration of Racialized Francophone Immigrants in Winnipeg

Summary of an Exploratory Study

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In 2004, we conducted a study on the integration experiences, primarily with respect to employment, of a group of mostly male Francophone immigrants in Winnipeg. Some of the immigrants in our study arrived in Winnipeg from Sub-Saharan Africa (the Democratic Republic of the Congo in particular) in 1996, but most arrived after 2000. It was a qualitative exploratory study (Lafontant 2007) that is essentially descriptive and indicative in scope. What follows is a summary.

The sociological question that guided this study can be formulated as follows: From a perspective of ***rational choice***, what ***good reasons***[1] might a Francophone immigrant who belongs to a "visible" minority[2] have for wanting to integrate professionally into the official language minority community in Manitoba rather than into the Anglophone majority? What advantages are there? What obstacles, if any, do Francophone immigrants face?

Our starting hypothesis was that the issues surrounding access to employment (the speed with which a job was found, and the satisfaction with rate of pay and with the level of qualifications required for the job, compared to the candidate's skills and experience) are key to integrating into a new society. Other major issues are reception (the feeling of being welcome) and acculturation (with each other and with the host society) with respect to sharing the traditions of the country of origin and those of the new country.

Methodological benchmarks

When we started planning the study in early 2004, we could find no detailed information on immigrants of any status or on "visible minorities," by province or metropolitan area,

[1] Aside from the technical asset of the ability to communicate in French in what would be designated the employment *circuit* wherein French is the language of work, a *circuit*, for the purpose of our study, is a limited market, in which socially inherited status (biological parentage or cultural familiarity) is a prerequisite. In contrast, a *market*, in the strictest sense of the word, is an open system in which all that matters are professional abilities, which, officially, can be acquired and accessed by everyone and which therefore result from a personal choice.

[2] Although *visible minority* is a common, even official, term, and has no malicious semantic intent, it has its critics. The Chaire de recherche sur l'immigration, l'ethnicité et la citoyenneté (CRIEC, UQÀM) prefers the adjective *racialized* (racialized minority), even though it is a neologism, for the following reasons. Naming a group as a *race* is an ideological construct resulting from a power relationship in the political and symbolic fields. This ideological construct identifies the members of supposedly

with the exception of census records and information on groups such as refugees and provincial nominees (immigrants who are nominated by provinces signatory to an immigration agreement). We therefore had to draw up our own list. This list reflects the true situation as best is possible, although we could not be certain without comparing these results with those of the research done using microdata from the 2001 Census, which is forthcoming.

In order to create a master list of topics that we wanted our research to cover, we began by building member lists that were provided by ethnic associations for Black Africans in Winnipeg. We also sought support from public agencies that provide services and assistance to new immigrants, and relied on word of mouth, radio advertisements, and posters in language schools for immigrants.

According to some information, and because of international events, lists from associations for people from North Africa were more difficult to access. Some North Africans were already on other lists (for example, the list provided by the Amicale de la Francophonie multiculturelle du Manitoba), but we weren't able to ascertain how common this occurrence was.

Once we had the lists, we compared them in an attempt to identify names that were included on more than one list and to create a master list. We built a list of 263 names, which we subsequently broke down to a sample of 60 people.

Given our resources (two research assistants) and the fact that a number of the people we contacted declined to answer our questionnaire, participate in an interview, or both, we ended up with 29 individuals who completed the questionnaire. Eighteen of these were interviewed.

"inferior races" (for example, Negro, Yellow, Redskin or Savage, Jew, Arab, Oriental, depending on the historical issues), as opposed to "superior race" (for example, White, Aryan, European, Western). Of course, *racialization*, a process of ideological construction, can occur at various social levels where a concrete issue casts a dominant person or group against a dominated person group. The dominant person or group and the dominated person or group may share the same phenotypic traits, but the dominant person or group "racializes" the dominated person or group based on cultural traits (ways of speaking, customs and traditions, religious beliefs, time spent in the territory, etc.). Therefore, racialization essentially refers to the perspective of the dominant person or group and their power to name, as they see fit, the dominated person or group, in order to create a symbolic distance from them that is designed to exclude the dominated person or group from sharing certain privileges. However, since the term "visible minority" is more commonly used, we used this term in the questionnaire and in the interviews.

The road to employment

The responses to both the questionnaire and the interview revealed that most respondents held numerous small jobs, either in succession or simultaneously, that required few or no skills.[3] For two of the eight respondents holding specialized diplomas, this experience was particularly trying. Was this some temporary purgatory? Perhaps. For six of the eight respondents with a specialized diploma, particularly in the case of the provincial nominees, the sometimes rapid upward mobility that occurred as a result of job-hopping provided a source of hope.

Respondents were unequivocal: both their discourse and their experience pointed to knowledge of English as an asset for employment. When we conducted the study in February and March 2004, four of the 29 respondents answered that their jobs required them to use *only* French. For the others, English was either as important as French (nine out of 29) or was the only language required (16 out of 29). Learning and using English was therefore not a personal choice for the respondents, but a contextual necessity to which they felt they had to adapt. What was important to them was to find a well-paying job in their area of expertise or in a related field, and they knew that the Anglophone labour market in Manitoba offered more opportunities (access, choice, mobility) than did the Francophone job circuit; it was also clear to them that English is the dominant language – although there are some Francophones – in the work environment.

Reception issues

Our study also explored how recent immigrants who are visible minorities felt in a new cultural environment that likely differs from that of their country of origin. We asked them whether, in Canada, they felt different, "visible," and whether they had ever experienced discrimination.

In response to the questionnaire, 27 of the 29 respondents said that they felt (self-perception) that they were a member of a "visible minority" in Canada; 21 respondents felt that people around them perceived (exo-perception) them as such; and 4 respondents felt that there was no correlation between their perception of them-

[3] At the time of the study, the 29 questionnaire respondents had held a total of 75 jobs: 52 (69%) were junior positions requiring no technical skills; 12 (16%) were junior positions requiring some technical skills; and 11 (15%) were jobs requiring technological expertise or a university degree.

The vast majority of respondents see themselves as different *from Canadians because of their skin colour and the otherness that their colour suggests (to Canadians) with respect to their nationality. This difference is not neutral. When people felt that the host population saw them as different, it affected their self-esteem in various everyday situations.*

selves as visible minorities and perceptions of how "White" Canadians saw them. One respondent said in an ironic tone that he was "invisible" both to himself and to the White Canadians around him. "If I really were a visible minority, someone would give me something...No one has given me anything. So, am I visible? No, I am invisible." (R12) Three respondents did not answer the question on self-perception and exo-perception.

The following interview excerpt (R9) illustrates what a racialized immigrant may feel, even in seemingly neutral situations:

> Oh yes, I would say that if I were somewhere, I would be served last, unfortunately. And if I am out in public with a white person or someone born in Canada, if someone needed to ask a question, they would definitely ask the white person or talk to that person, even if I am right beside that person or if what the person wanted to know concerned me directly. But they would instead turn to the white person.

In short, the vast majority of respondents see themselves as *different* from Canadians because of their skin colour and the otherness that their colour suggests (to Canadians) with respect to their nationality. This difference is not neutral. When people felt that the host population saw them as different, it affected their self-esteem in various everyday situations. And half of the respondents felt that the difference became clearly *discriminatory* when their skills (acquired through education and employment) were assessed in an inequitable manner. One respondent said that being a *Francophone* immigrant, in addition to being Black, increases the degree of social minorization (in Manitoba and, likely, in the rest of the provinces except Quebec) – a position echoed by Maddibo (2006).

Cultural negotiations faced by newcomers (acculturation)

Did the immigrants who participated in our study integrate into the customs and traditions of their new country, or did they withdraw into a cultural community dominated by their own traditions? In general, they still held onto the cultural referents of their original culture (values, norms, languages) in their private environments (with family and friends of similar backgrounds). Nearly three quarters of the respondents attached some degree of importance to their original culture. However, most respondents attached less importance to it at work. With respect to language, they used African languages most often with family, although they may also have used English and French. One in five respondents said that French was their main language of communication with their family. Multilingualism – African languages used in combination with English and French – seemed to be most common with their closest friends. However, as respondents' circles of contacts expanded, in public and at work, French and especially English became the predominant languages of communication. Moreover, the respondents generally participated in the activities organized by associations of foreign nationals from their country of origin or those of other African countries, as well as the Amicale de la francophonie multiculturelle du Manitoba, an umbrella organization that brings together numerous ethnic associations.

Participation in events celebrating original cultures is not inconsistent with sociocultural integration into the host country. On the contrary, such activities and gatherings ease newcomers' integration into their new country. Many sociological studies confirm this: integration (and not the *surrendering* of individual freedoms) happens over time, particularly with the new generations born in Canada.[4]

Conclusion

The psychosociological dimensions (normative, linguistic, identity) of newcomers' adaptation to their host country have been well-documented in social science research. However, when looking at these dimensions, the structural obstacles that

[4] See, for example, Isajiw's chapter 7, "Cultural Identity Incorporation. The Factors Hastening or Retarding the Process" (1999: 169-185).

may aggravate integration difficulties should be kept in mind. These obstacles appear throughout the ethnic stratification system (ranking of socio-economic and symbolic status). These obstacles include the history of the groups already occupying the territory, and the political, constitutional or other arrangements – which are not necessarily fair – that these groups have made together, at times when immigration had neither the scope nor the characteristics that it has today. Today's immigrants expect to find a liberal republic (*All-Weather Liberal*, according to the typology of R. K. Merton[5]). They find, *de jure* or *de facto*, a hierarchy of statuses regarding the filiation of origin[6] resulting from historical tension and conflicts between the two *founding peoples*. This situation especially affects the racialized immigrant minorities, who arrived in Canada fairly recently, when their requests threaten similar statutory arrangements.[7]

There has indeed been some research into the integration process of racialized Francophones immigrants outside Quebec. However, more research, with a broader scope (in terms of definition and statistical representativeness of the samples) is needed, and sociological factors (multiplicity of contexts and variables, inter-provincial comparisons) need to be measured. Francophone minority communities are excellent areas for observation, because they are somewhat limited and are not affected by the political dynamic of national independence, as is the case in Quebec. While Quebec is a political minority within Canada, what about racialized Francophone immigrants in Canada, who face this situation in three ways: as immigrants, as Francophones, and as "visible" minorities? A fourth minorization, brought to light by Madibbo (2006), also risks being developed based on the collective action favoured by these newcomers for fair treatment.

[5] For a summary, see Isajiw (1999: 152).

[6] Statuses relating to origin or original proximity, be it real or imagined. For example, "White" Francophone immigrants from France, Belgium or Switzerland, while not "Québécois" or "French-Canadian," are nevertheless generally perceived as being distant "cousins." In the same vein, the White English-Canadian political elite views "White" Brits and Americans as being "family members." If publications like that of Madibbo (2006) are to be believed, racialized Francophone Congolese and racialized Anglophone Jamaicans, for example, probably do not feel like they joined a large *family* when they came to Canada as immigrants. Furthermore, the criterion of ethnic filiation, as a basis to the right to occupy a land, is a trap, in that it depends on the discretionary power of the first occupants to define the limits of origin – in other words, who is included and who is excluded. Thus, Canada's Aboriginal peoples are not considered "founders," but only "First Nations," somewhere in the attic of history, where they cannot bother anyone.

[7] With respect to Francophone immigration and the Franco-Torontonian community, a group of researchers noted: [*Translation*] "There is no real Francophone environment into which newcomers can integrate. French-Canadian Francophones try to create unilingual areas where they can retreat from the domination of English through Francophone institutions, agencies and associations. Newcomers must achieve some competency in English in order to function in the Anglo-dominated society. Therefore, the various groups have some conflicting interests and needs" (Chambon et al. 2001: 10). Dalley observed that, in Alberta, "behind the [French] accent is a battle [between historic community and immigrant community] for a limited resource: opportunities to work in French" (2007: 55).

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Little research examines racism in smaller communities, leaving the general population unaware of this issue. With research focusing only on visible minority groups in Canadian cities, there is an erroneous assumption that racism does not exist in smaller communities.

Experience of Discrimination by Visible Minorities in Small Communities*

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Racism and discrimination continue to exist in everyday life (Cannon 1995, Foster 1996). Canada is a culturally diverse country with an official policy of multiculturalism, but many research findings continue to point out that discrimination against visible minorities[1] is still occurring (Kunz, Milan and Schetagne 2000, Pruegger and Kiely 2002). Many visible minorities are convinced that they have become the victims of subtle forms of racism (Canadian Race Relations Foundation 2001).

Visible minority ethnocultural groups often face systemic discrimination, stereotyping and racism (Calgary Cultural and Racial Diversity Task Force 2001). Discrimination and prejudicial attitudes can exist in the areas of education (Watt and Roessingh 1994), employment (Gunderson, Musznski and Keck 1990, Jeffs 1996, Wickens 1996), health care (Beiser et al. 1988, Health Canada 1999), and access to social services (Calgary Catholic Immigration Society 1994). In Canada, 20% of visible minorities reported that they had experienced discrimination sometimes or often in the past five years (Statistics Canada 2003). Another study found that 26% of South-east Asian refugees settling in Canada reported at least one racist experience (Beiser et al. 2001).

Little research examines racism in smaller communities, leaving the general population unaware of this issue. With research focusing only on visible minority groups in Canadian cities, there is an erroneous assumption that racism does not exist in smaller communities. In order to determine the nature and extent of racism and discrimination in small Canadian towns, it is important to capture the lived experience of individuals in these communities. As a result, the research question for this study was: "What are the lived experiences of racial minorities in small town settings?"

Literature review

Visible minorities in Canadian cities experience discrimination and prejudicial attitudes (Lalonde, Taylor and Moghaddam 1992, Kunz, Milan and Schetagne 2000, Pruegger and Kiely 2002). Previous research shows that discrimination affects many areas of life, including visible minorities' physical and mental health (Moghaddam et. al. 2002, Williams and Hunt 1997, Beiser 1999). For example, visible minority women in Fredericton have difficulties with public services, transportation, work and other aspects of everyday living (Miedema and Nason-Clark 1989). Research also shows that Chinese immigrants face employment discrimination despite their education and have to make greater efforts than European immigrants to be accepted (Li 1982).

Very little research has been conducted on visible minorities' experiences in rural areas in

* This article is based on a research project that received funding from the Prairie Metropolis Centre.

[1] The *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as "persons other than the Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race and non-white in color" (Statistics Canada 2003).

Canada, the United States and England. Refugee retention rates in the smallest Canadian towns was found to be very low, with refugees citing insufficient employment and educational opportunities as the main reasons for leaving these communities (Abu-Laban et al. 1999). It is, therefore, very important to examine the nature and extent of discrimination experienced by visible minorities in small Canadian towns so that anti-racist policy and practice can be developed as needed.

Methodology

Semi-structured interviews were used to explore the perceptions and experiences of 19 visible minority individuals living in a few small towns in the province of Alberta. Eligible participants were recruited through networking with key community informants, snowball sampling, and collaboration with the Committee on Race Relations and Cross Cultural Understanding (CRRCCU) in Calgary, which has strong community ties in Alberta. Written or verbal informed consent was obtained at the beginning of each interview. The interview guide focused on the lived experiences, meanings, and perceptions of the participants and created an opportunity for discussions about racism and other forms of oppression.

The participants gave in-depth interviews at locations of their choice. All interviews were conducted face-to-face except for one, which was done by phone. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed for later analysis, though three participants did not give permission for their interviews to be recorded and the interviewers took notes instead.

The inductive data analysis approach was used in this study. This is a qualitative research method for making sense of interviews in which themes and categories of analysis emerge from the data (Creswell 1998, Morrow and Smith 1998). Based on an analysis of the transcribed interviews, an initial coding framework was established by the research team. Once the research assistants had coded the transcripts independently, the codes were compared to ensure inter-code reliability. Themes were subsequently developed.

Results

The participants

Nineteen visible minority individuals living or working in different small communities in central and southern Alberta participated in the study. To protect their identity, the locations of the communities are not provided. The participants were visible minority men and women from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds. Twelve were female and seven were male, ranging from 20 to 60 years of age. Two were Canadian-born while 17 had immigrated to Canada between one year and more than 40 years ago. The majority had completed post-secondary education and worked as professionals in their country of origin before coming to Canada. When analyzing the data, four dominant themes were identified: 1) language differences as a struggle; 2) lack of recognition; 3) differential treatment; and 4) differences between generations. For the participants, being a visible minority is about "being different."

Language differences as a struggle

One of the most prominent issues the participants discussed was their perceived lack of English proficiency and the employment-related and social discrimination that came with it. For some, English was not an easy language to learn. One said, "English is a really crazy language, difficult and crazy." The language barrier impacted employment and promotion opportunities. One participant said, "When you can't speak the language, there are barriers, instantaneously...a lot of employers are not going to be able to communicate with you." They felt employers were unfair in not hiring educated visible minorities who did not speak English fluently for positions in their profession. However, language barriers did not always hinder employment or promotion, as one participant described her father's experience, explaining, "They put him through training, Dad went through it for two years almost and now he's shop supervisor." Thus, it is possible for employers to play an important role in addressing discrimination by ensuring that visible minorities have equal access to job opportunities.

Lack of language ability also created difficulties for visible minorities in their daily life. One participant described how some visible minorities dealt with the challenges of developing social networks: "Some basically live in their own world...you don't have to interact with people." Others refused to let the language barrier hinder their social life. One participant explained, "I couldn't understand people, and they couldn't understand me either. I didn't take any English classes but I learned on my own, watching TV and at work, I picked it up."

Although the majority of participants came to live in smaller communities due to job offers, many were not able to gain employment in their chosen professions [and there was] a strong sentiment about how society often discredits their professional credentials or looks at their country of origin, ethnicity or skin colour.

Lack of recognition

Another theme that arose was the lack of recognition, by employers, educational institutions and the government, of visible minorities' education, professional credentials and employment experiences gained in their country of origin. Although the majority of participants came to live in smaller communities due to job offers, many were not able to gain employment in their chosen professions. Underlying the participants' comments was a strong sentiment about how society often discredits their professional credentials or looks at their country of origin, ethnicity or skin colour, rather than giving equal value to the qualifications they brought to Canada. Another immigrant said, "If only they would accept people for their abilities and education, not because he's pink, yellow, white, black or blue."

In order to gain professional recognition or to upgrade, these immigrants would have to return to university or college, as experienced by one participant: "I have to go back to school, because most of them ask for a Canadian certificate, so if I don't have that I won't have a good job." Even when visible minorities are willing to upgrade by going back to school, the lengthy process was considered difficult for many because of the cost and their age. One participant commented, "I had to start all over again. It's hard. Plus it's difficult because I'm not too young now." Some felt that it was financially unrealistic to pay the fees necessary to obtain Canadian credentials and that the government was responsible for these problems. One immigrant said, "It's very expensive, we need to make it easier and more accessible." Participants strongly emphasized the problems of foreign credential recognition in Canada, and the impact it had on their employment opportunities.

Differential treatment

As visible minorities, some felt welcomed and accepted, and found that people in smaller communities were friendly, warm and helpful. Unfortunately, many participants had experienced discrimination in one form or another. One example was shared by a participant who believed that she and her friends were treated rudely, "because we speak in our language in front of them." When a Canadian-born participant was asked how it felt to be a visible minority growing up in a small community, she recounted, "It has always hit me ever since I was young...like I would be the only person that wasn't invited for their sleep-over. I guess being a minority, you're always struggling to fit in so that you don't want to expose your culture, or any other differences that are a part of you."

With regards to work situations, one Chinese participant felt that people in her small town were critical and possibly jealous of her success in business because she was a visible minority. Another participant observed that even though the company he worked for had hundreds of employees, he did not think there was a single "foreigner" at the management level. A Chinese immigrant summarized several participants' perceptions that being a visible minority is a disadvantage in getting a job, "because visible minority tends to be considered a little secondary."

When asked to compare their experiences or views on racism, discrimination and different treatment in small communities with those that are encountered in big cities, responses from the visible minority participants contrasted. Some felt that big cities are more multicultural and so the issue is not as severe. An immigrant from Sierra Leone remarked, "Racism is there, but it's not too rampant because it's too multicultural. Small towns, of course you're going to have it because people are not used to seeing minorities." The treatment that people experienced as a visible minority in a small town had definite ranges. Some participants felt the opposite was true. One visible minority person, for example, felt that a small community was ideal for raising children, while an immigrant from Sri Lanka felt that the problem of discrimination was worse in bigger cities, saying "There's lots of resentment towards minorities. It's different if you live in a big city, the stereotypes are really amplified."

The participants also commented on their beliefs about the reasons for mainstream Canadians' discriminatory behavior and attitude towards visible minorities. The most commonly cited reasons were narrow-mindedness, ignorance, lack of understanding and lack of knowledge about other cultures. A participant who was born and raised in Canada felt it was this "hidden sort of racism" that bothered her the most.

In response to the different treatment they experienced, some visible minority participants took an active role in trying to change people's impressions about them. For example, one participant from China believed that it was her responsibility to make a good impression on Canadians and she worked very hard to be successful so that they would think highly of Chinese immigrants. Another individual responded to the differential treatment with a positive attitude, by choosing not to pay attention to the negativity.

Experiencing differences between generations

Another common challenge facing visible minority families was the intergenerational issues within families. Many first generation visible minority immigrants felt that it was harder for them to adapt to Canadian culture, while it was more natural for their children. An immigrant stated, "My problem is that I grew up in another culture and I came to a new culture, so I find it very difficult to accept things over here." Visible minority parents felt that it was easy for the children to learn about the new culture and to mingle with other Canadians, but worried that they might forget about their own culture and language. One remarked that it was his wish to preserve "our culture and language at least."

These struggles were not only experienced by the parents, as Canadian-born children find themselves facing a dilemma as well. One visible minority person born in Canada said, "It's a struggle for someone in the second generation, you don't want to lose any of your culture. I am living with two cultures."

Discussion and policy implications

The experiences of visible minorities living in small communities were both positive and negative. There seemed to be a willingness to minimize the experiences of discrimination, or to accept these as unalterable facts of life. These responses are not unique and have been documented in previous research (Matthews 2006, Moghaddam et al. 2002, Ruggiero and Taylor 1997, Taylor, Wright and Ruggerio 2000).

The participants' minimization of racism and discrimination in small communities may be related to their success in achieving satisfactory employment or comparative conditions to those in their countries of origin, as supported in previous research findings (Matthews 2006, Ruggiero and Taylor 1997). One possible reason for this minimization may be that it is more beneficial for visible minorities to deny any discrimination they might experience, than to acknowledge the problems openly (Taylor, Wright and Ruggiero 2000, Ruggiero and Taylor 1997).

Participants offered recommendations for addressing discrimination in small towns. Several themes emerged in their responses. It was suggested that providing community education about different ethnic groups and cultures through public institutions and events, immigrant-focused support services, and employment opportunities for visible minorities would help them feel more welcome in small towns. The top priorities for support services and resources were English classes, employment opportunities and affordable housing.

The recommendations presented by the participants provide important guidance for policy-makers and service providers in immigration and settlement services, affordable housing, education, and employment areas. Collaboration among organizations addressing these policy and service needs will be critical in order to increase access to services and support while avoiding competition, cultural insensitivity, and inadequate coordination (Stewart et al. 2008).

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A serious deficit of social capital can adversely affect the functioning of a society in different areas, such as the economic arena, public safety protection measures, health care, education, and democratic governance.

The Social Capital Balance Sheet: A Report from the Prairies

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It has been argued that the current slowing down of the Canadian economy may not be felt as strongly in the Prairie Provinces as it will be in the rest of Canada. This is rather good news for those living in the Prairies; however, the Prairie Provinces need to worry about another type of deficit and slowdown related not to their economic capital but rather to their social capital.

The concept of social capital has been in wide circulation since the early 1990s in reference to those resources that become available to individuals and communities as a result of the richness of their social ties and communal connectedness. Such richness normally reflects itself in things like higher trust in fellow citizens, increased confidence in government, possession of larger social networks, and more serious involvement in civic life. Many studies over the past two decades have shown that a rich endowment of social capital is not a mere luxury, without which a community can still go on; rather, it has been shown that a serious deficit of social capital can adversely affect the functioning of a society in other areas, such as the economic arena, public safety protection measures, health care, education and democratic governance. A sustainable societal development, therefore, requires robust growth not only in the conventional economic arena but also in the area of social capital.

The concern over social capital is particularly paramount in communities – cities, provinces, countries – that experience a sudden change in a short period of time. This can include a fast-appearing economic boom, a sizable change in the population, or a quick transformation of the cultural and social fabric of the community. In the case of the Prairie Provinces, all three of these elements seem to be present. These provinces seem to have experienced an economic boom, have received a large number of people from other provinces, and have witnessed rapid growth of their immigrant population mostly originating from developing countries. Against this background, this article endeavours to take a closer look at the state of social capital in the Prairies, both as a comparison among the three provinces and with the rest of Canada.

It should be noted from the outset that social capital is not a monolithic force. Rather, it consists of different dimensions and, more importantly, those dimensions do not always go hand in hand. It is therefore possible for a community to advance in certain social capital fronts, while lagging in others. Depending on the composition of its social capital, a particular community can become stronger in one area and vulnerable in another. The first step, therefore, is to identify the building blocks of social capital.

Against the above background, three issues are addressed here. First, various dimensions of social capital will be briefly introduced. Second, the state of social capital in the Prairie Provinces will be discussed, within some of these dimensions. Third, the relationship between one of these dimensions – social trust – and ethnocultural diversity in Canadian cities will be examined. For this purpose, a variety of data sources have been utilized, including the 2001 Census of Canada and the Canadian General Social Survey (Cycle 17). The latter survey was conducted in 2003 and

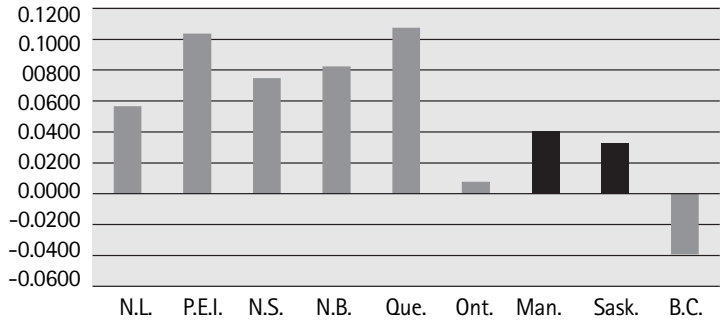
TABLE 1
Dimensions of social capital

People can be trusted	**Trust**
How trustworthy: people in your family	
How trustworthy: people in your neighbourhood	
How trustworthy: people in your workplace or school	
How trustworthy: strangers	
Confidence in police	**Confidence in public institutions**
Confidence in judicial system	
Confidence in health care system	
Confidence in school system	
Confidence in welfare	
Confidence in government	
Voted in the last federal election	**Voting**
Voted in the last provincial election	
Voted in the last municipal or local election	
Past year: member/participant in religious affiliated group	**Religious involvement**
Frequency of religious attendance of the respondent	
Importance of religious/spiritual beliefs in how to live life	
Past year: member/participant in any other type of organization	**Volunteering**
Past year: did unpaid volunteer work for any organization	
Average number of hours of volunteering per month	
Past year: member/participant in political party or group	**Political party involvement**
Past year: volunteered for political party	
Past month: has done a favour for a neighbour	**Neighbourliness**
Past month: has received a favour by a neighbour	
Past year: searched for information on a political issue	**Political sensitivity**
Past year: expressed views by contacting newspaper or politician	
Past year: spoke out at a public meeting	
Past month: gave help teaching, coaching, practical advice	
Confidence in bank	**Confidence in private-sector institutions**
Confidence in major corporation	
Past year: member/participant in sports or recreation organization	**Engagement in recreational activities**
Frequency of participating in group activities and meetings	
While in grade/high school, participated in an organized team sport	
Past year: signed a petition	**Irregular political activism**
Past year: participated in a demonstration or march	
Number of friends (neither relatives nor close friends)	**Social networks**
Past month: frequency of seeing friends	
Past year: member/participant in cultural organization	**Cultural-community engagement**
Past year: member/participant in school or neighbourhood association	
Confidence in business people	**Donation (of time/money)**
Past year: donated money or goods to an organization or charity	
While in grade/high school, belonged to a youth group	
Past year: member/participant in a union or professional association	**Engagement in self-interest activites**
Past year: member/participant in service club or fraternal organization	
Frequency of following news and current affairs	

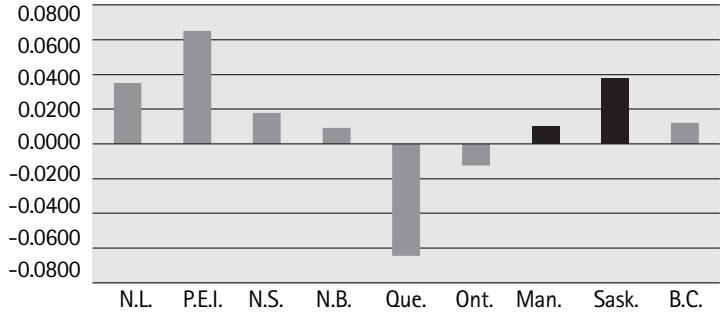
FIGURE 1 (CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

Social capital endowments, all other provinces compared to Alberta, 2003[a]

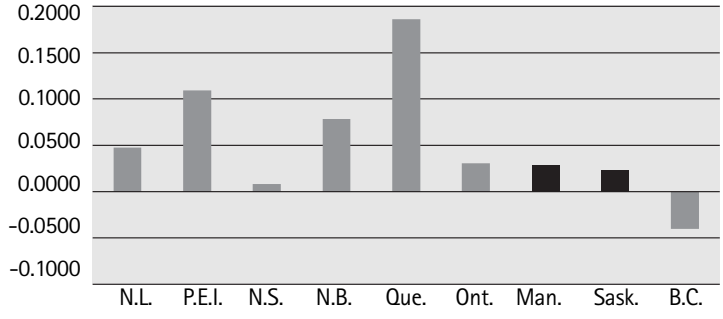
Voting



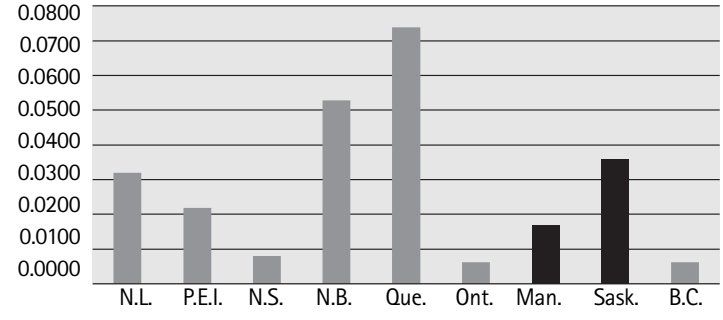
Social trust



Confidence in public institutions



Confidence in private-sector institutions



consists of the responses of more than 25,000 Canadians to an array of questions pertinent to social engagement, making it an extremely rich source of data for social capital research.

Dimensions of social capital

Table 1 lists all 15 dimensions of social capital that have been identified, as well as the variables associated with each of those dimensions (for details regarding the technical procedures that were used, see Kazemipur 2008a and 2008b). To facilitate the discussion of these dimensions, they are labelled as follows: 1) Trust; 2) Confidence in public institutions; 3) Voting; 4) Religious involvement; 5) Volunteering; 6) Political party involvement; 7) Neighbourliness; 8) Political sensitivity; 9) Confidence in private-sector institutions; 10) Engagement in recreational activities; 11) Irregular political activism; 12) Informal social networks; 13) Cultural-community engagement; 14) Donation; and, 15) Engagement in self-interest activities.

Social capital in the Prairies, compared to the rest of Canada

Figure 1 shows the scores of various Canadian provinces on seven of the 15 dimensions aforementioned. These are the dimensions for which the differences among provinces were statistically significant. In all these figures, Alberta is used as the baseline, due to its relatively unique status even within the Prairies. All scores therefore show the relative status of each province compared to that of Alberta, with positive and negative values indicating a surplus or deficit, respectively, compared to Alberta. Also, the other two Prairie Provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan are shown in black bars, in order to facilitate the comparison of the Prairies with the rest of Canada.

The different charts in Figure 1 show a diverse and interesting combination. The most visible difference is noted in the voting index, for which all other provinces have scores visibly higher than Alberta, with the exception of British Columbia. Ontario is the closest province to Alberta, in terms of the frequency of voting. The relatively low scores reported for Manitoba and Saskatchewan, while putting them slightly ahead of Alberta, indicate an overall lower level of voting in the Prairies. A similar pattern can be seen for confidence in public institutions and involvement with

political parties, with the exception that Québec is the most distant from Alberta in the former and the closest in the latter.

The scores for social trust, neighbourliness, and religious involvement follow a similar pattern, in which Alberta visibly lags behind all other provinces, with the exception of Québec. This is a particularly important feature, as the presence of social trust facilitates the development of a healthy and pleasant social environment, separate from formal institutions. The confidence in private-sector institutions constitutes a third pattern, whose defining feature is the fact that Alberta scores lower than all other provinces. This is particularly worrisome, given the relative role of such institutions in Alberta's fast-growing economy.

Ethnic diversity and trust

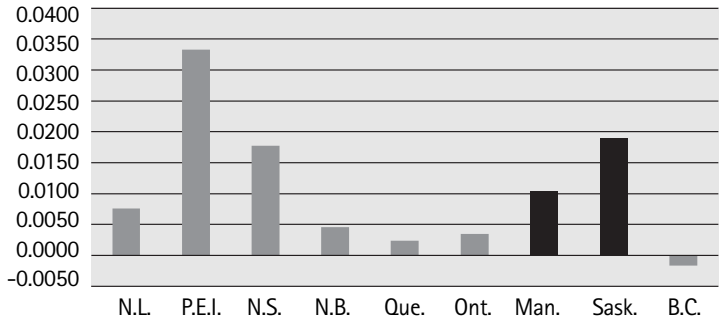
The impact of ethnocultural diversity on immigrant-receiving societies is an issue of rising interest. Most studies have shown a negative relationship between the rise of diversity and many dimensions of social capital, including trust (see Putnam 2007, also see Lloyd 2006a and 2006b, Coffe and Geys 2006, Letki 2008, Alesina and Ferrara 2000 and 2002, Leigh 2006a and 2006b, Howe et al. 2006, Aizlewood and Pendakur 2005, Kay and Johnston 2007). In a previous study, this author has shown that, in all Canadian cities except Montréal, in which a high level of ethnic diversity is associated with an extremely low level of social trust, trust is positively associated with ethnic diversity (see Kazemipur 2006). Figure 2 captures the essence of this positive association.

In a more recent study (Kazemipur 2008b), this author has examined some of the possible reasons behind the "Montréal exceptionalism," and has found that the low level of trust seems to be associated with a corresponding low level of social interactions between people of different ethnic backgrounds. In the case of Montréal, for instance, one reason behind its unusual combination of high ethnic diversity and low trust was found to be the high level of residential segregation of ethnic groups in that city. When segregation is present, the existing diversity fails to translate into social interaction and, therefore, into the development of trust among individuals of different ethnic origins, which would be particularly slow.

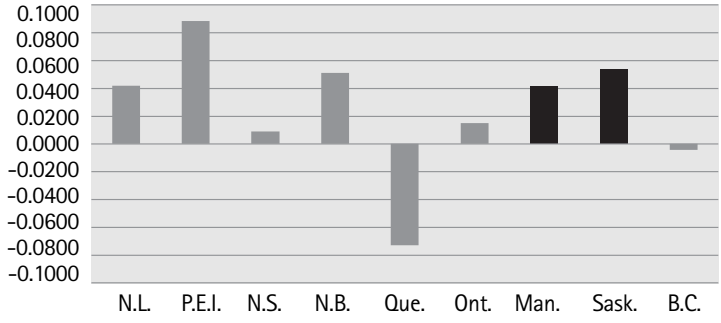
The relationship between trust and diversity in the Prairies is shown in Figure 3. The trend shows the presence of a positive association up to a certain level of diversity, and a negative association from that point on. This so-called curvilinear pattern indicates the possible change in the social environment and in the nature of relationship among the residents of a city, as a result of fast increases in its diversity. Earlier, Blalock (1967) had found a similar pattern for the views of White residents of American

FIGURE 1 (CONTINUED)
Social capital endowments, all other provinces compared to Alberta, 2003[a]

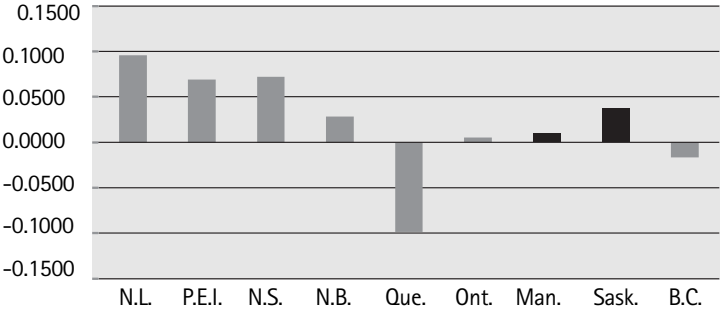
Political party involvement



Religious involvement

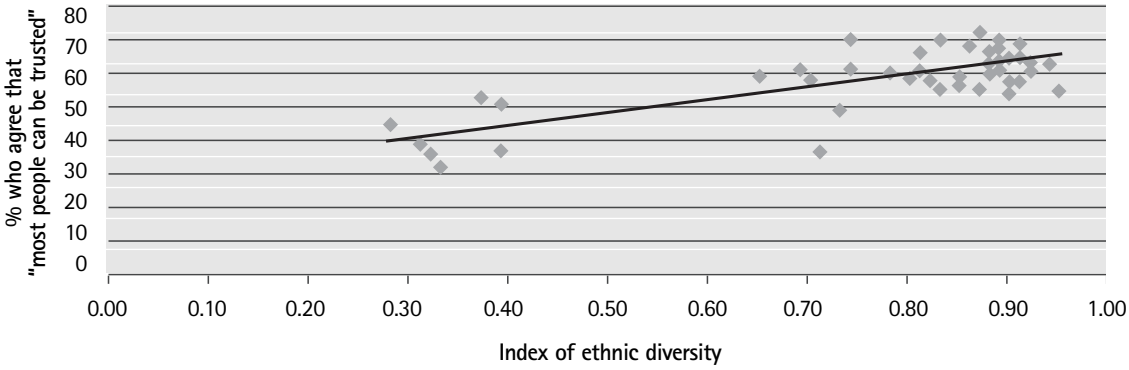


Neighbourliness



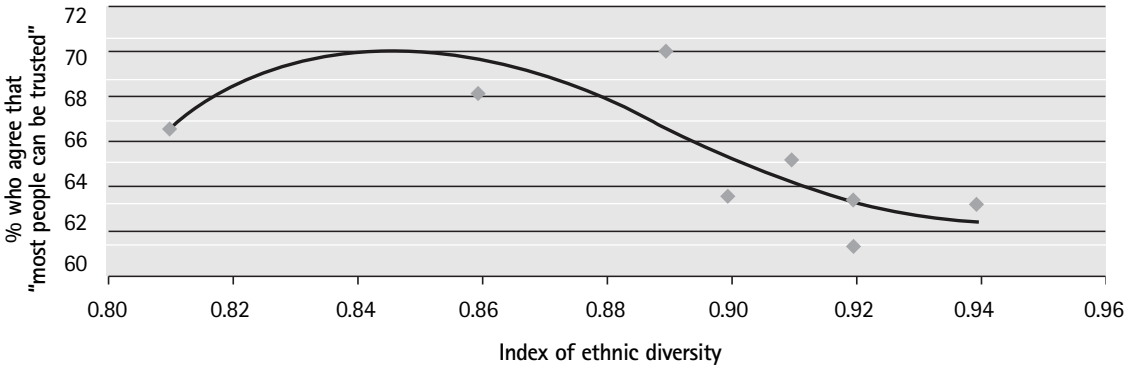
[a] Alberta is used as the baseline in all of the above figures.
Source: Author's calculations based on the Canadian General Social Survey (2003) and the 2001 Census of Canada.

FIGURE 2
Trust level and ethnic diversity, Canadian cities, 2003



Source: Author's calculations based on the Canadian General Social Survey (2003) and the 2001 Census of Canada.

FIGURE 3
Social trust and ethnic diversity, Prairie cities, 2003



Source: Author's calculations based on the Canadian General Social Survey (2003) and the 2001 Census of Canada.

neighbourhoods with the increase in the number of Black residents (see also Fox 2004, Glaser 1994). These scholars have attributed this change to a perceived threat, on the part of the White residents, of their lifestyle.

While the small number of cities included in the analysis does not allow for a definite conclusion about a possibly distinct Prairies pattern, the presence of such a pattern is certainly informative for a better understanding of the overall situation in Canada.

Policy implications

The relative economic stability of the Prairie Provinces has acted as a magnet for migrants, both local and international. As indicated by the results of this preliminary analysis, however, the social environments of these provinces do not seem to be particularly prepared to accommodate their new residents. The state of social capital, for instance, is most worrying in Alberta, as it is the fastest growing part of the region. This calls for particular attention to, and heavy investment in, the social infrastructure. The rise of ethnic diversity of the cities in the Prairies, a trend destined to continue in light of the recent influx of immigrants, also seems to be leading to a lower state of trust, unlike the general trend in other Canadian cities. The recent backlash against Sudanese immigrants in the city of Brooks in Alberta was a manifestation of some of the problems that can erupt, in the absence of an investment in the social preparedness of communities in this region. There is need of a better understanding of this issue in the Prairies – through extensive and more targeted research – so that the economic prosperity of the Prairies does not get halted by its social capital deficit.

About the author

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Based on interviews with representatives of immigrant settlement organizations and focus group discussions with 30 Filipino women in southern Alberta between 2006 and 2007 conducted through Prairie Metropolis Centre funding, this article outlines the transitional support and services used by these women in Canada as well as their use of services provided by the Philippine government.

From Temporary Workers to Permanent Residents

Transitional Services for Filipino Live-in Caregivers in Southern Alberta*

GLENDA LYNNA ANNE TIBE BONIFACIO
University of Lethbridge

About 90,000 Filipino women arrived in Canada as live-in caregivers from 1981 to 2004 (POEA 2004). In 2006, there were 6,895 live-in caregivers admitted by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC 2007), 77% of whom came from the Philippines (Abano 2007). As the richest province in Canada, Alberta continued to attract many of the 49,309 Filipino temporary foreign workers, including live-in caregivers, in 2007 (Uy 2008). This number is set to rise with the new memorandum of understanding signed between the Philippines' Labour Secretary, Marianito Roque, and Alberta's Minster of Employment and Immigration, Hector Goudreau, in October 2008 (Jaymalin 2008). Southern Alberta, with its metropolitan centre in Calgary, is the fourth most popular city of destination for newcomers in Canada (AFE 2008). Driven by oil and gas industries, Alberta has a number of middle-class households that hire Filipino live-in caregivers to care for their children, the elderly, the sick and the physically challenged.

Although the entry of Filipino live-in caregivers is facilitated by a temporary work visa with stringent conditions under the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), there is an evident desire by caregivers to move to the next immigration status level – landed immigrant – and eventually to citizen. The transition from temporary worker to permanent resident appears crucial, especially in the lives of Filipino women who pave the way for the sponsorship, settlement and integration of their families into Canadian society.

As they move from their status of live-in caregiver to permanent resident upon completion of the mandated requirements of LCP, what services are provided to Filipino live-in caregivers by community-based immigrant serving agencies and other institutions? Based on interviews with representatives of immigrant settlement organizations and focus group discussions with 30 Filipino women in southern Alberta between 2006 and 2007 conducted through Prairie Metropolis Centre funding, the following sections outline the transitional support and services used by these women in Canada as well as their use of services provided by the Philippine government. The first section presents the types of services to newcomers in Canada and the use of these services by Filipino live-in caregivers in southern Alberta.

* This is a revised version of the article "I Care for You, Who Cares for Me? Transitional Services of Filipino Live-in Caregivers in Canada," published by the author in *Asian Women: Gender Issues in International Migration* 24, 1 (spring): 25-50.

Second, the perspectives of Filipino live-in caregivers about the sources of support and services in the community are discussed. Thirdly, the role of the Philippine government in the lives of live-in caregivers in Canada is highlighted.

Services for newcomers

Services form an integral aspect in the settlement of newcomers to Canada (Omidvar and Richmond 2003). With its long history of immigration, the provision of services to newcomers in Canada by a corpus of government and non-government organizations is an essential program that aims to fully enhance newcomers' productive capacities as workers and as citizens. In the 1970s, the immigrant-serving organizations based in different communities across Canada became designated as frontline agencies mandated to respond to the challenges of a growing multicultural society (Holder 1998).

The location and types of services offered by settlement organizations contribute to their effective use by immigrants. Truelove (2000) maps the geographical location of immigrant services in Toronto and notes that these agencies are highly concentrated near transportation routes. While social services for newcomers are quite established in Census metropolitan areas and in medium-sized cities in Canada, studies indicate that barriers – such as language, cultural insensitivity in the delivery of services, lack of information and financial constraints – exist for many immigrants in terms of accessing these resources in their communities (Guo 2006). As a result, ethnic-based organizations mediate the service gap through the provision of culture-specific programs.

Community services for immigrants in Canada, according to Ng (1988: 89), often reflect how the state reproduces power relations, particularly in "how people relate to one another." The types of services available to immigrants represent the positioning of this group of people into certain modes of activities; those outside of these set program structures, such as temporary migrant workers or live-in caregivers, remain invisible agents of change in their migration experience.

LCP creates a pool of labour that is gradually moving between two opposite streams of membership in the Canadian polity, from non-citizens to citizens. This movement of status necessarily requires a transitory phase fulfilled by the provision of services by different agents of the state and civil society. As productive contributors to the economies of host societies, states have the moral obligation to assist foreign resident workers, according to Bell (2001: 26), in "putting [them] on the road to citizenship."

In southern Alberta, the key services to immigrants include information and orientation, interpretation and translation, community referrals, support services, public awareness and other community initiatives in "various aspects of life in Canada" (LIS 2005). However, the settlement services are markedly designed for immigrants and refugees and, generally, not for temporary foreign workers in Canada. Live-in caregivers are classified as economic immigrants, one of the three main types of clients (aside from refugees and family class immigrants), for the purposes of the Immigration Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) and are mandated to be part of settlement services, including access to private and public agencies (CIC 2005, CIC n.d.). According to the representative of Lethbridge Immigrant Services, live-in caregivers are "eligible for all the services that any other newcomer in Canada is eligible for, including an entire suite of integrated service programming, information and orientation services on virtually any aspect of living within the community." However, in the last five years, not a single Filipino live-in caregiver or family from this group has, received any form of settlement service in Lethbridge.

According to the Saamis Immigration Services Association (SISA) in Medicine Hat, the terms of the settlement agency's contract with the federal and provincial governments define the eligibility of people able to access their programs and services. Filipino live-in caregivers in Medicine Hat have not used the programs and services offered by SISA. One of the probable reasons for this is that Filipino live-in caregivers already have facility in the English language. As disclosed by the representative of SISA, "if they come on their own and have language skills, they can access the services on their own and don't need our referral or our help."

The Global Friendship Immigration Center (GFIC) in Brooks has been operating over the last five years and caters mostly to refugees from Africa; many are on a secondary migration path to undertake work at Lakeside Packers. With recent cuts in their funding, the centre mainly provides referral services. Albeit Brooks is also becoming the secondary work site of former live-in caregivers, only one Filipino woman visited the immigration centre, an occurence that is, according to the GFIC representative, "very rare." In

Filipino live-in caregivers in the study reveal that most of those who were terminated a few months after starting the LCP were not eligible for employment insurance. None of them were aware of any type of service provided by the government for temporary shelter.

this case, the employer contacted the centre, even donated money, to inquire about the services they could provide to the live-in caregiver.

Compared to other areas in southern Alberta, Calgary offers many live-in caregivers more post-LCP employment choices at better wages. In fact, all of the live-in caregivers who participated in the study moved from rural sites to accept work in Calgary. As of November 2006, the major programs offered by the Calgary Catholic Immigration Society (CCIS), one of the nine immigrant serving agencies in Calgary, included business, employment and training services; community development and integration; resettlement and integration services; and family and children services. Specifically, these resettlement and integration services consist of an airport reception and clothing program; an integrated services program; the Margaret Chisholm Resettlement Centre; a resettlement assistance program; and a health care program. The number of Filipinos who use these programs and services is, according to the CCIS representative, "fairly low." Filipino women usually seek their services after the live-in work requirement is completed, when they have already attained permanent residence status. As noted by a representative of CCIS, these women access "some of our job training programs, career counselling programs; sometimes they come in as employees because we operate two childcare centres, and most of these women will qualify as licensed childcare workers." However, the low turnout of Filipinos, in general, and live-in caregivers, in particular, raises the issue of relevant programming and services during the two-year live-in work period and beyond.

Access to settlement services is limited by the number of years already spent in Canada. According to the CCIS representative, "the rule for this is we can serve people in their first two years in Canada, and we have to keep the percentage of people who are non-permanent residents down." From this practice, the live-in caregiver who has spent the first two years after arrival in Canada under constraining work situations would not qualify.

While settlement programs and related services are well established in cities, none are found in smaller towns like Cardston, High River and Picture Butte. There are no public transit services operating in these areas either. Sources of information about settlement seem to be public libraries.

Filipino live-in caregivers and community services

From Picture Butte to Calgary, no Filipino live-in caregiver in the study group accessed any relevant services provided by settlement agencies during the LCP contract period. Contributing factors include the apparent lack of awareness among Filipino live-in caregivers about existing services in their respective communities and the relative isolation brought about by the nature of their work. For example, live-in caregivers are usually at work during regular hours from Monday to Friday, which coincide with the business hours of many organizations.

If not to immigrant service providers, where do Filipino live-in caregivers go to seek assistance in the community? There are four main sources of services and support for Filipino live-in caregivers in southern Alberta: family and friends, Filipino associations, recruitment agencies and faith-based communities.

Family and friends

Friends include other Filipino live-in caregivers they have met in public places like shopping malls, parks, schools and churches; another Filipino whose name and contact information is provided to them while in the Philippines or in another country and those they meet during social gatherings of Filipino associations. The informal social network of friends and family seems to be the "common way" for immigrant women to connect with services available in the community (Neufeld et al. 2001: 13). Those in need of immediate housing and financial support as a result of a sudden termination of contract or while waiting for another work permit to be issued resort primarily to their small circle of friends in the community for assistance. Filipinos adhere to the fundamental personality trait, or value, called *kapwa* (fellow being), which defines their social relationship (Marcelino 1990). This appears to be

most visible among Filipinos in the diaspora who extend goodwill or *pakikipagkapwa* (Aquino 2004) to other Filipinos in dire need of assistance.

Filipino associations

The Filipino community is a growing immigrant community in Canada. Filipino associations are found in major cities and localities and are loosely organized according to region, religion, dialect, business and sports interest, to name a few (Silva 2006). In Calgary, the *Filipino 2004 Telephone Guide* listed 38 Filipino associations. The Filipino associations in Calgary and Lethbridge, however, do not offer formalized services to live-in caregivers. Most associations are sources of social events where Filipinos establish new friendships and recreate those they left behind in the Philippines.

Recruitment agencies

Recruitment agencies provide some formal assistance to find another employer in cases where the former employment arrangement fails due to death, termination, abuse or other circumstances. However, these agencies do not provide any form of assistance for problems encountered during the course of the live-in caregivers' employment for the next two years. Still, Filipino live-in caregivers rely on the social network of friends, coming from the same agency, and relatives to help them out in times of need.

Church and faith-based communities

Among the Filipino diaspora, the church is a symbol of continuity of cultural habits like, for many Catholics, going to Sunday mass. Aside from fulfilling this cultural practice, it is a place to meet a *kababayan* (Filipino compatriot) in a foreign land. Roman Catholic churches become centres of social interaction for many Filipinos seemingly displaced by migration. In places where there is no Catholic church, some women residing in rural communities recognize the Christian cross as a welcoming symbol to meet other Canadians. The church is another public space, aside from shopping malls and libraries, that is open during their days off on the weekend.

Filipino spirituality is a significant factor in coping with uncertainties of life in Canada. Shimabukuro, Daniels and D'Andrea (1999) examine the ways spiritual beliefs and traditions have an impact on the psychological development of people from ethnic communities. In the case of Filipino live-in caregivers, spiritual expressions like attending mass provide a strong connection with the cultural and the familiar.

Personal agency

While the Filipino caregivers in this study primarily sought the support of friends and family during their transition from temporary workers to permanent residents and for problems they encountered under the LCP, more than half of these women relied on the information provided to them at their port of entry to Canada. Those who arrived in Vancouver and Toronto received a package of material about settlement in Canada with a list of government agencies and contact telephone numbers for different kinds of services (e.g., health, taxation).

But knowledge appears to be different in practice. Many Filipino caregivers expressed disappointment with the delayed responses from government toll-free numbers, with wait times of more than five minutes, with selections provided by an automated attendant instead of a person. Desperation made them rely on their friends and associates in the community to assist them with their concerns. Those with no family relations to contact have to seek out their own social groups to find solutions to their problems, especially in dealing with abusive employers or when finding themselves with no employer during the LCP tenure. There is a prevailing belief that government agencies cannot provide immediate shelter and income support in the case of terminated employment. Filipino live-in caregivers in the study reveal that most of those who were terminated a few months after starting the LCP were not eligible for employment insurance. None of them were aware of any type of service provided by the government for temporary shelter.

The role of the Philippine government

In the Philippines, a compulsory Pre-Departure Orientation Seminar (PDOS) for overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) ensures that all those who are departing have an understanding of the "culture and living and working conditions" (Rodriguez 2005, DFA 2004) of destination countries, including Canada. As of February 2006, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) supervises the PDOS on the following topics: "travel regulations, immigration procedures, cultural differences, settlement concerns, employment and social security concerns, rights and obligations of Filipino migrants" (CFO 2007). PDOS appears to be general in perspective, although a few private

agencies offer country-specific programs and focus on the behavioural attributes of Filipino workers, particularly "disciplining Filipinas" (Rodriguez 2005: 20) in foreign countries or how best to project the image of a Filipino worker in the host society.

During their overseas deployment, Filipino migrant workers in Canada and elsewhere are primarily under the protective mantle of the OWWA through its "backbone" services, the repatriation program and workers' protection (Agunias and Ruiz 2007: 14). An on-site legal assistance service to OFWs became available in certain countries in 2006. No office is, however, based in North America. The international offices are located mainly in Asia and the Middle East, with a few based in Europe, and generally in the temporary labour-receiving states of these regions. Canada is, in contrast, a traditional immigrant-receiving country for Filipinos.

The extension of government services to live-in caregivers in Canada is dependent on the official registration of the Filipino caregivers with the appropriate Philippine agencies. This becomes problematic when live-in caregivers arrive from a third country like Singapore or Taiwan and are unable to register their secondary migration to Canada after leaving the Philippines. Even those who are registered find themselves in a quandary over what services to expect from the Philippine government. Wickramasekera (2002: 28) notes that a labour-sending country "can do little in helping its workers in foreign countries." In general, the Philippine government is ineffective in defending the rights of its citizens overseas (Parreñas 2001).

By far, the main services provided by the Philippine government to live-in caregivers in Canada involve the administration of passports and facilitating other bureaucratic requirements for Filipino citizens. According to a 2006 interview with the Consul General in Calgary, live-in caregivers receive help submitting documents, including the authentication of documents. However, the Consulate General assisted in the cases of live-in caregivers who violated the terms of the LCP and who were eventually deported. Because the Philippine government lacks the financial resources to hire lawyers to defend live-in caregivers experiencing brushes with the law in southern Alberta, the Calgary Consul General simply recommends a lawyer. At the time of the interview, the consular office in Calgary was coordinated by a private firm owned by the Honorary Consul General whose staff provides administrative services to Filipinos on an appointment-only basis.

Conclusion

Filipino live-in caregivers venture down an often-challenging road to become citizens. However, the transitional services accessed by Filipino caregivers in southern Alberta expose the irrelevance of standard settlement and integration programs provided by immigrant serving agencies. For instance, the admission of Filipino caregivers into Canada under the LCP demonstrates their knowledge of the English language; the fact that no Filipino woman in the study group ever sought the support of settlement agencies points to a "service gap" relating to the particular needs of live-in migrant temporary workers. The available programs and services assume and construct a certain type of immigrant, one who is not necessarily reflective of the particular needs of live-in caregivers.

There is an official disconnect between all participants of the LCP: the government, the private recruitment agencies, the employer and the Filipino live-in caregiver. These women are provided with pre-departure training in the Philippines while their Canadian employers are, generally, not properly informed about the roles, rights and duties of the live-in caregivers. Live-in caregivers are admitted by virtue of a federal initiative and their services are crucial in the daily lives of many middle-class Canadian families. Thus, specific programming and a critical evaluation of the existing services suited for this type of privatized work should take place because, after all, universal designs and particular realities rarely coexist.

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As important and essential as the programs and services provided by immigrant-serving organizations are to this community and to the thousands they serve, they alone cannot carry the responsibility for making and re-making our immigration and employment policies.

Spider Webs, Diversity and Inclusion*

GAYLA ROGERS
University of Calgary and Urban Alliance

By way of background, I lead one of the largest schools of Social Work in Canada. The University of Calgary Faculty of Social Work is dedicated to changing lives (both those of our students and those of the people they will serve); to finding solutions to society's most challenging, messy and overlooked problems; and to making a difference in the lives of people and communities, especially those who are vulnerable, troubled or traumatized. I am also a leader of the Urban Alliance, a unique research partnership with the City of Calgary, which is designed to enable the transition of research into on-the-ground action and government policy.

Nine years ago, when I became the Dean, the Faculty embarked on a deliberate, collective journey. Initially cast in terms of being ethnically sensitive, we soon evolved our thinking in order to become culturally relevant to our student body and to the populations we serve as part of our profession. This was followed by an anti-racism and anti-oppression stance regarding our curriculum and policies affecting the Faculty. To be clear about our position, we articulated a strategic goal that stated: "Social justice is promoted and diversity is acknowledged, respected, celebrated and infused in all we do."

This has had a transformative impact on the Faculty, both inside and out. I think it would be fair to say that every one of us has taken a personal journey of reflection and re-learning – so that what we teach and how we teach it, what we research and how we research it, have been impacted by our vision: Creating social well-being and just societies.

As an organization responsive to diversity, we have made significant progress in areas such as: student recruitment, faculty and staff hiring, teaching practices, research projects, and community service contributions. Attend a Social Work convocation ceremony and you will see one of the most diverse student bodies crossing the stage. Look at our faculty's résumés and you will see extensive work being done with community agencies to improve services and programs for immigrants and refugees all across the province.

I'm sharing this because all of us have a stake in diversity and inclusion; and every organization, every industry, every government department can and must become diversity-responsive and inclusive. We must, if economic and social well-being is to be achieved for all people who come to this great city, province and country; and we must, since the sustainability of our workforce and the strength of our society depends on immigration.

As important and essential as the programs and services provided by immigrant-serving organizations are to this community and to the thousands they serve, they alone cannot carry the responsibility for making and re-making our immigration and employment policies.

Our economy is not well served if educated immigrants are underemployed or unemployed.

* This article is based on a keynote address given by the author at the Annual General Meeting of Immigrant Services Calgary on June 7, 2007.

Our social fabric is not well served if immigrants experience prejudice, racism and systemic barriers to settlement and integration. Our communities are not well served if they become ghettoized, "siloed" enclaves, rather than part of our society's vibrant and vital mosaic.

Our education system is not well served if we take the true meaning of "public" out of our schools and, in so doing, reproduce stereotypes, fear of the "other," or supremacy of one religion or culture. We need to truly resource public education, ensuring all children and youth have access to learning languages – not just English or French, but the language of respect, the language of inclusion, the language of mutual understanding. As noted Canadian jurist, the Honourable Rosalie Abella, so eloquently stated: "Is there a more majestic goal for human rights than this – a world where all children wear their identities freely, with pride and in peace."

So immigrant-serving agencies are central in addressing the multiplicity of needs of immigrants and refugees in our community; but, we cannot become complacent knowing they are there, doing their job. And, we certainly cannot become complacent when financial support for these very agencies and programs is uncertain, unstable or unpredictable.

The obstacles facing immigrants, whether inland or new, are daunting and multifaceted. Everything from learning a new language, to obtaining housing, settling kids in schools, and building a social network is intimidating. Finding work that is fulfilling as well as lucrative, getting professional and academic credentials recognized, and accessing training and education for new and additional credentials is unbelievably complex. Preserving customs of one's culture of origin while adapting, adjusting and adopting to new traditions can be unimaginably difficult.

In short, it can be overwhelming for newcomers to navigate the hurdles in the way of building a new life and a future in order to fully participate and contribute to the social, economic and cultural life of their new homes. Not to mention coping with the emotional strain, psychological stress and social isolation involved in dislocation and relocation – especially if the migration was traumatic. There are no quick fixes, to be sure. Just as there isn't one program, or one approach, or one solution to meet the disparate needs of immigrating men, women, children and youth.

Many, who immigrate, need a full range of services provided by immigrant-serving organizations. Some arrive and settle with seemingly little disruption or difficulty. And rather than using services, they are the ones who develop the services and volunteer in their communities to help others. All, who immigrate, have the potential to give, contribute and build our country like those who came before. So how do we respond to these differing needs? And how do we foster and enable this potential to be realized?

Just as it is not fair to depict all immigrants as "needy," it is incumbent upon us to ensure that needed services are accessible and available. Delivering these services requires effective public policies, cooperation from all levels of government, full recognition of human rights, and the political will to make it happen. Where does that political will come from? It comes from citizen engagement. It comes from all of us realizing that we all need to be part of the solution. As Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel declared: "The road to Auschwitz was built by hate, but paved with indifference."

There is no question that there are those among us who care for the disadvantaged, the displaced, and the needy like no other generation before. In fact, this city is full of such people. Although there may never be enough, we have social programs and agencies that are the envy of the world; and their aid crosses borders, religions, languages and ethnicities. We have advanced in many positive ways that speak to the caring nature of humankind.

But as General Romeo Dallaire warned: "Normal humans can be transformed by the power of a corrupt philosophy and by fear." So against this backdrop of compassion, there is a dark side, a barbaric side, a violent and inhumane side that inflicts pain and suffering on others, or else a side that simply turns away in the blind apathy of indifference. This is our challenge, this is our collective battleground.

There is an Ethiopian proverb: "When spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion." This caught my attention because it spoke to me as a metaphor and a message. We are not alone in our fight for social justice and human rights as long as we connect as a network, a web if you will, with those who also want to tie up our version of the "lion": oppression, exclusion, intolerance, injustice, discrimination and racism.

So in the name of prosperity, in the name of opportunity and in the name of humanity, we

must embrace diversity and fight for inclusion. Indeed, that is the only war worth fighting.

The Urban Alliance team is a spider web that is focused on both understanding what to do and how to make "what we know" real in the lives of Calgarians in the decade to come. Check us out at <www.urban-alliance.ca>.

About the author

GAYLA ROGERS is Dean of the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Calgary, one of the largest schools of social work in Canada. She is also co-Chair of the Urban Alliance, an innovative partnership between the City of Calgary and the University. Gayla is a well-known and well-published social work educator, researcher and scholar.

A 2002 survey of over 560 Alberta employers showed that while employers believed respecting human rights was good for business, they wanted to learn more about the legal responsibilities for human rights, how to resolve human rights complaints within their own organizations and which strategies help build more inclusive workplaces.

Public Education and Partnership

Commission Initiatives to Build Welcoming Communities and Combat Racism and Discrimination in Alberta

CASSIE PALAMAR
Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission

While the majority of adults responding to a survey in Alberta reported that they felt that human rights are well protected in the province,[1] we know that others feel excluded, marginalized, experience discrimination and are not able to fully contribute (Cooper and Bartlett 2006). There is growing diversity in Alberta communities and human rights issues are becoming increasingly complex. Resolving and settling human rights complaints is one important pillar of the work of a human rights commission. As, or arguably more important, is the work done through education and in the community to address these issues. Just as understanding and collaboration around prevention issues are the stepping stones to creating workplaces that are free of injury, they are key to creating organizations and communities that are free of discrimination, welcoming to immigrants and members of diverse groups, and where everyone feels that they belong.

This article provides an overview of some of the educational programs and partnership initiatives that the Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission[2] has undertaken with the goal of fostering equality, reducing discrimination and helping to build welcoming and inclusive communities and workplaces for all Albertans. Its programs go beyond education about human rights law, to include working with communities, organizations and other partners

[1] In 2006-07, 88.1% of respondents reported that they believed human rights were well protected in Alberta (Alberta Finance and Enterprise 2008: 69).

[2] The Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission is an independent commission of the Government of Alberta reporting through the Ministry of Culture and Community Spirit. Its mandate is to foster equality and reduce discrimination. It provides public information and education programs, and helps Albertans resolve human rights complaints. The Commission undertakes educational and community initiatives with financial support from Alberta's Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Education Fund. The Education Fund provides financial assistance to organizations and public institutions, and to the Commission, for educational initiatives that foster equality, promote fairness and encourage inclusion in the community, and support the reduction of discrimination and barriers to full participation in society for all Albertans.

The Commission produced a newspaper-style publication called Human Rights in Alberta *that explains the protection offered under Alberta's human rights legislation, and the work of the Commission. It features plain language, photo-stories and art to help make the information easy to understand for all Albertans, irrespective of their literacy level.*

on initiatives that advance the goal of full civic engagement.[3] It does so within a community development framework that is reflected in community input, involvement, cooperation and collaboration that are characteristic of many of its programs and initiatives. These initiatives are also informed by the "pathways to change" model that is being used by an increasing number of equality-seeking organizations in Alberta to guide their work in developing outcome-oriented projects and strategies to effect positive changes leading to full civic engagement (Cooper 2007).

Because of the continuing high volume of employment-related inquiries and complaints, and because of the significant percentage of complainants citing discrimination on the grounds of disability and gender, as well as race, colour, ancestry and place of origin,[4] much of the Commission's educational efforts are focused on strategies designed to reduce discrimination in employment and build respectful and inclusive workplaces. A 2002 survey of over 560 Alberta employers (Howard Research and Instructional Systems Inc. 2002) showed that while employers believed respecting human rights was good for business, they wanted to learn more about the legal responsibilities for human rights, how to resolve human rights complaints within their own organizations and which strategies help build more inclusive workplaces. These findings led the Commission to expand its program of educational resources to include more comprehensive and in-depth resources on topics identified through the survey. Topics addressed have included the duty to accommodate, human rights in the hospitality industry, and resolving human rights issues through mediation in the workplace.

Accessibility is an important consideration for human rights commissions. One recent initiative supports adults that have traditionally been difficult to reach: adults whose English literacy skills are weak, including immigrants and adults for whom English is a second language. In partnership with Alberta Advanced Education and an advisory group drawn from the community, the Commission produced a newspaper-style publication called *Human Rights in Alberta* that explains the protection offered under Alberta's human rights legislation, and the work of the Commission. It features plain language, photo-stories and art to help make the information easy to understand for all Albertans, irrespective of their literacy level. This is the first publication of its kind on this topic in Canada, that we are aware of. An accompanying guide for teachers and tutors includes suggestions for discussion topics, references to related resources on human rights, and reading and writing exercises to use with students. An audio version has also been produced so that individuals can listen as they read along. Sixty thousand copies of the publication have been distributed among settlement agencies, ESL programs, literacy programs and other community organizations and programs across the province. As others have become aware of the publication and its easy-to-read and attractive format, it has found new audiences outside of those for whom it was designed.

To support organizations in building respectful and inclusive workplaces, the Commission offers a series of six workshop modules on key human rights topics, a program and curriculum that other commissions have looked to as a model. Every year, approximately 3,000 Albertans from a wide range of organizations participate in about 100 different workshops, each customized to their needs. Non-profit organizations that offer programs to immigrant professionals in

[3] Cooper (2007: 1) defines "full civic engagement" to mean "that groups and individuals, regardless of their membership in a diversity group, fully participate in, benefit from, and exercise influence in all aspects of society without encountering discrimination, racism, or other barriers, either discrete or system."

[4] In 2007-2008, 82% of complaints opened cited section 7, the area of employment practices, and 16% of the grounds cited involved race, colour, ancestry, and place of origin (Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission 2008).

order to prepare them to find jobs in their area of expertise are using the program to help educate them about human rights in Alberta workplaces. Partnerships have been developed with a number of large employers to support their efforts to create inclusive work environments, by offering multiple sessions so that all of their staff members can participate. Presentations at post-secondary institutions have helped prepare students entering the workforce. In addition to customized workshops, the Commission also consults with organizations that are developing human rights and inclusion policies.

In order to publicly recognize the work that some employers are doing in building inclusive and respectful workplaces, and to encourage others to do the same, the Commission has partnered with the Alberta Chambers of Commerce in their Alberta Business Awards of Distinction program. Each year, the Commission-sponsored Diversity Leadership Award of Distinction recognizes and honours organizations that embrace diversity in their workforce, encourage respect and inclusion, and work toward eliminating discrimination and barriers to employment. Recipients of this award have included a broad range of organizations, including large oil companies, a small hotel, a post-secondary educational institution and a community-based not-for-profit agency. Showcasing the award finalists and recipients demonstrates the positive impact of diverse and inclusive work environments on attracting and retaining employees, on increasing customer satisfaction and enhancing corporate citizenship.

Working with the Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination

Because racism and discrimination occur in tangible ways in communities where people live and work, the Commission is working with local governments and other partners to align efforts through the Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination (CMARD). The Commission serves on the Canadian Commission for UNESCO's pan-Canadian working group that developed and launched CMARD, the Canadian version of UNESCO's International Coalition of Cities Against Racism. The Alberta Commission was one of the partners and organizers of the coalition's national launch in June 2007 at the Federation of Canadian Municipalities Conference in Calgary.

The Commission has championed and promoted CMARD to potential member municipalities, partners and community organizations involved in combating racism and discrimination from its inception. The Commission has developed an Alberta version of a CMARD information booklet that outlines the ten common commitments and sample actions that municipalities can initiate, provides a model declaration for municipalities to sign when they join the coalition, outlines the legal human rights framework that provides the foundation for CMARD, and explains how municipalities and other organizations and individuals can become involved.

Six Alberta municipalities are currently members of CMARD, the largest number of municipalities that have joined in any of the Western provinces (Brooks, Calgary, Drayton Valley, Edmonton, Lethbridge and the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo) and are making real progress in developing action plans to combat racism and discrimination in their communities. Other municipalities have indicated their interest in joining. The Alberta Urban Municipalities Association (AUMA), the umbrella organization for urban municipalities in Alberta, has endorsed the coalition, and has created a "Welcoming and Inclusive Communities Toolkit" to assist its members in developing strategies to advance their work in this area. Members and partners also participated in a capacity-building session organized by the Commission, in partnership with the Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies (Toronto) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance (Los Angeles).

To improve communication and coordination among all three orders of government and other organizations that are involved in attracting and retaining newcomers to Alberta and combating racism and discrimination, the Commission, the province and the AUMA have launched a three-year "Welcoming and Inclusive Communities" (WIC) partnership. This innovative partnership will establish networks to exchange knowledge and ideas, identify needed tools and resources, and support collaboration across issues and regions. It will include communication and outreach to promote WIC initiatives and resources, serve as a source of information and support for municipalities as they implement their own plans, and encourage municipalities to become more welcoming and inclusive and join

Because of the intersection of different grounds in discrimination, initiatives that are not specifically targeted to immigrants or members of diverse ethnocultural communities can still be effective in addressing persistent patterns of inequality that affect members of these groups.

CMARD. Finally, it will evaluate the progress and outcomes of these efforts.

Other initiatives

Recognizing the potential of television to reach new larger audiences, the Commission partnered with Global TV Alberta and other partners to develop a media-based social marketing initiative that encourages individual Albertans to think about how they could make a difference in building welcoming and inclusive communities. The "Help Make a Difference" initiative consists of a series of 60-second and 30-second public service announcements (PSAs) featuring Albertans from diverse backgrounds speaking about their experiences and perspectives of diversity and human rights. They have had a wide reach among television viewers across Alberta. A Website[5] provides more information about the initiative, offers resources such as a DVD and a complementary teacher's guide, enables visitors to view the PSAs and learn about steps they can take to build stronger intercultural relations within their own communities. Qualitative research with focus groups including immigrant adults and youth has shown how meaningful these PSAs are to members of ethnoculturally and linguistically diverse communities. This initiative has been a model for other commissions considering how to reach larger audiences.

Understanding the importance of reaching out to youth, the Commission has partnered with educators from other human rights commissions across Canada to develop an interactive, Web-based educational initiative to engage young Canadians in learning and dialogue about human rights to mark the 60th anniversary of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The initiative offers information about contemporary human rights issues, the work of human rights commissions, the legislative frameworks underlying human rights, practical ideas for youth wanting to promote and protect human rights, and interactive features such as discussion boards, an online art gallery, and calls to action. The initiative was developed in collaboration with the youth-interest organization TakingITGlobal, which operates an online youth forum, and the Edmonton-based John Humphrey Centre for Peace and Human Rights. The Alberta Commission is proud to have led the committee that developed this initiative.

Because of the intersection of different grounds in discrimination, initiatives that are not specifically targeted to immigrants or members of diverse ethnocultural communities can still be effective in addressing persistent patterns of inequality that affect members of these groups. Mental and physical disabilities make up approximately half of the grounds cited in human rights complaints in Alberta, and affect members of all ethnocultural communities. To support the full participation of students with disabilities in post-secondary education and student life, the Commission partnered with a group of Alberta post-secondary institutions, disability service providers, disability advocates, and students with disabilities to develop a publication called *Accommodating Students with Disabilities in Post-Secondary Institutions* to address their needs for information. This resource is now in widespread use in post-secondary institutions in Alberta, and according to an evaluation of users, it has been helpful in increasing knowledge about the law, influencing students to seek accommodation, raising institutions' awareness about the duty to accommodate students with disabilities, and supporting policy change within post-secondary institutions.

The Commission has collaborated with provincial departments or other governments to partner with them to produce publications or to provide input into their publications. One very popular publication resulted from a three-way partnership between the Commission, the provincial employment ministry, and the federal government, to provide a "one-window" resource for Albertans looking for information about the impact of pregnancy and adoption on employment benefits and entitlements, and the human rights

[5] <www.helpmakeadifference.com>.

implications of which many are not aware. *Becoming a Parent* has served as a model for partners in at least two other jurisdictions who have adapted it for their own audiences. The Commission has provided input into Alberta Employment and Immigration's publications on diversity and skilled workers, and rights and responsibilities in Alberta workplaces.

The Commission's Website[6] is a key information channel, supporting individual visitors wanting to learn about human rights in Alberta, as well as helping Commission staff respond efficiently to the tens of thousands of inquiries received each year. Because of its importance, the Commission has just completed a multi-year, multi-phased redevelopment that expands the Website so that it better reflects visitors' needs and provides improved access to information on preventing discrimination and building inclusive workplaces and communities. To support stakeholders and interested parties in staying up-to-date on changes in human rights law and in Commission programs and services, the Commission was one of the first such organisations in Canada to publish an electronic newsletter.

The initiatives outlined in this article are only some of the educational and partnership initiatives in which the Commission is involved. There are others which could be further discussed in another article, including involvement in a multi-sectoral partnership to develop a provincial strategy to combat hate crime and bias, and strategies to improve awareness and strengthen relationships with one of Alberta's major urban Aboriginal communities.

Protecting human rights and promoting fairness and access is complex and difficult work across multiple dimensions and with multiple and diverse stakeholders. While much has been accomplished, much still remains to be done. There is the continuing challenge of building awareness among Albertans about the extent and impact of the discrimination and exclusion that some people face in the province; encouraging organizations to move from becoming concerned about human rights only when an issue arises, taking positive action to build human rights policies into their workplace; engaging organizations and communities in the complex and difficult work of becoming more welcoming and inclusive; supporting municipalities and partners in building their capacity to combat racism and discrimination; and building awareness about human rights and diversity and the work of the Commission. Progress requires a long-term commitment to achieve real change among all those involved in the human rights system. The Commission, the business sector, public institutions, government and community organizations, all have a role to play and share responsibility with individual Albertans in building respectful and inclusive communities where everyone feels like they belong and can participate.

[6] <www.albertahumanrights.ab.ca>.

About the author

CASSIE PALAMAR is the Director of Education and Community Services, Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission. She serves on the Canadian Commission for UNESCO's pan-Canadian working group for the Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination and chairs the Public Education Partners network of the Canadian Association of Statutory Human Rights Agencies.

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Over time, the City has been quite successful in two key areas of this sector in an incremental manner: first, in establishing the requisite internal organizational, policy and program frameworks, and second, in establishing some important partnerships and working relationships with the provincial and federal governments, as well as community-based organizations in various sectors.

Cultural Diversity, Race Relations, Immigration and Integration in Saskatoon

The Process of Developing Institutional Arrangements*

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During the past two decades, the City of Saskatoon has become increasingly proactive in dealing with issues related to cultural diversity, race relations, immigration and integration. This article provides an overview of the major initiatives undertaken by the City during the past 20 years in dealing with these issues. For analytical purposes, the City's initiatives are grouped into those undertaken from 1989 to 1999 and those undertaken from 2000 to 2008.

This article reveals that whereas the major initiatives undertaken prior to 2000 focused primarily on establishing the organizational, policy and program frameworks related to cultural diversity and race relations, those initiatives undertaken since 2000, and particularly since 2004, have also focused on the attraction, retention and integration of immigrants and refugees. The article reveals that the impetus for the City's decisions to launch various initiatives was, initially, provided by the lobbying efforts of ethnocultural organizations aimed at establishing a municipal committee to deal with such issues and, subsequently, by the work of the committee that was established in response to those lobbying efforts.

Over time, the City has been quite successful in two key areas of this sector in an incremental manner: first, in establishing the requisite internal organizational, policy and program frameworks, and second, in establishing some important partnerships and working relationships with the provincial and federal governments, as well as community-based organizations in various sectors.

Saskatoon's diversity

Although Saskatoon's population is not as diverse racially or ethnoculturally as that of the metropolitan centres of Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, it is diverse and its diversity has been, is, and will continue to be significant (Garcea 2008). The 2001 and 2006 national

* The authors would like to thank Lynne Lacroix, Manager of Community Development for the City of Saskatoon, for her valuable support and suggestions for the production of the article.

Census both revealed that Saskatoon's foreign-born population makes up approximately 8% of the population, the visible minority population approximately 5% and the Aboriginal population, approximately 10%. Saskatoon has a higher proportion of Aboriginal people among the cities with over 50,000 residents (Statistics Canada 2001, 2006). During the past decade Saskatoon residents came to understand and accept the prospect that the proportion of Aboriginal people would increase because the birthrate of Aboriginals in Saskatoon and the migration rate of Aboriginals to Saskatoon were higher than for non-Aboriginals. More recently, they also came to understand and accept that the local economic boom would increase the number of immigrants and migrants of various racial and ethnocultural backgrounds, which would likely increase racial and ethnocultural diversity in Saskatoon. The precise effects of various factors such as Aboriginal birthrate, the influx of more Aboriginal people from other parts of the province and the country, and the influx of non-Aboriginal immigrants and migrants from elsewhere are still unknown. However, there is a widespread belief that it is leading to an increase in the diversity of Saskatoon's population.

Initiatives undertaken from 1989 to 1999

Between 1989 and 1999, Saskatoon undertook several major initiatives to establish both an organizational framework and a policy and program framework related to cultural diversity and race relations.[1] The foundations for the organizational framework were laid on April 10, 1989, when City Council adopted the recommendation of its Legislation and Finance Committee to establish a Race Relations Committee (RRC). The creation of the RRC marked the culmination of two years of lobbying by cultural organizations (the Saskatoon Multicultural Council and the African Cultural Congress of Saskatchewan, etc.) who felt that such a committee was essential in dealing with existing and emerging issues in that sector.

Over the next few years, the RRC worked on developing its organizational framework and concentrated on clarifying its mandate and establishing three sub-committees. Initially, the RRC established only the Policy and Program Review Subcommittee and the Community Education and Action Subcommittee. Two years later, it established the Aboriginal Relations Subcommittee in recognition of the relatively large proportion of Saskatoon's population that is of Aboriginal descent. In keeping with the RRC's mandate, these subcommittees began reviewing the City's existing policies and programs related to personnel management, law enforcement, leisure services, housing and community services, education and training, use of municipal facilities as well as planning and zoning, and recommending improvements to them (or developing new ones).

In 1991, the RRC was able to convince the City that a Race Relations Program Coordinator was needed to provide the requisite administrative support. When the City agreed to this, the RRC applied for and obtained two grants for this purpose from the federal government's Secretary of State. The administrative support provided by the Coordinator "enabled the Committee to produce the *Renters' Handbook*, develop a number of initiatives to mark the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination – including a community conference, expand community consultations and initiate a program to encourage Aboriginal participation on City Boards, Committees and Commissions." In March 1993, City Council approved the budget to make the coordinator position a permanent part of the administration. The City did so despite the fact that at that time it was downsizing and no new positions had been created for five years. The coordinator, who reported directly to the city commissioner, had the dual role of supporting the work of the RRC and developing and delivering educational and support programs for City employees. During a major reorganization undertaken in the 1996-1997 fiscal year, the City also established a small Race Relations Section and a Race Relations Resource Room that contained material for use by employees, students and the general public.

Between 1989 and 1999, Saskatoon also made considerable progress in developing the cultural diversity and race relations policy and program frameworks. These efforts began in 1992 when the RRC recommended to City Council that an Equity and Anti-Racism Policy be developed, and culminated five years later on December 1, 1997, when City Council adopted the Equity and Anti-Racism Policy. That policy was based largely on the City

[1] The information provided in this section is largely drawn from *Tenth Anniversary Report of the City of Saskatoon Race Relations Committee 1989-1999 Celebrating a Decade of "Living in Harmony"* (Saskatoon 1999).

The report entitled Building Saskatoon to Become a Global City: A Framework for an Action Plan *recommended that the City undertake a leadership and coordinating role in promoting immigration to Saskatoon and also in ensuring that the settlement and integration needs of newcomers are met.*

of Scarborough's Race Relations Policy, which Saskatoon's city officials and members of the RRC deemed to be the most useful model among all of the policies they had examined. The policy, which applied to City Council and the City Administration, functioned as an "umbrella" policy, which supplemented, rather than supplanted, existing policies dealing with specific areas such as workplace harassment and employment equity. That policy remained in place until 2004 when, as discussed in the next section of this article, the City of Saskatoon replaced it with a new policy.

Saskatoon's progress received national recognition in 1996 when it was awarded the Federation of Canadian Municipalities' First Annual Race Relations Award. This award not only affirmed the value of the work that had been done, but provided the impetus to do more and to do it better in subsequent years.

Initiatives undertaken from 2000 to 2008

Between 2000 and 2008, the City was able to consolidate and build on the initiatives of the previous decade. Its efforts in this respect started in 2000 when the City broadened the mandate and membership of the existing Race Relations Committee, and renamed it the Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Committee. The membership was expanded to include a broader mix of community members as well as elected and appointed city officials. The function of the Committee is to monitor and provide advice to City Council on issues relating to the Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Policy. The Committee consists of 18 members appointed by Council for a term of one or two years. The appointments are balanced to ensure that at least 50% are representatives of visible minority groups. The Committee includes:

- One member of the Public School Board;
- One member of the Separate School Board;
- The Chief of Police or his designate;
- One member of the Saskatchewan Intercultural Association;
- One member of the Saskatoon Health Region;
- One representative from the Métis community;
- One representative from the First Nations community;
- One representative from the Community Resources Department;
- One representative from the Department of Corrections and Public Safety;
- Up to eight representatives from the general public;
- Up to two City Councillors.

Saskatoon's cultural diversity and race relations policy

Four years later, City Council approved the Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Policy (CDRRP). Its vision statement declares that "The City of Saskatoon will work with community organizations, business and labour, all orders of government, and other stakeholders to create an inclusive community, where ethnocultural diversity is welcomed and valued and where everyone can live with dignity and to their full potential, without facing racism or discrimination" (Saskatoon 2004a). The CDRRP also articulates four general community outcome statements: the workforce will be representative of the population of Saskatoon; there will be zero tolerance for racism and discrimination in Saskatoon; community decision-making bodies will be representative of the whole community of Saskatoon; there will be awareness, understanding and acceptance in the community of various cultures in the city. These outcomes are echoed in those parts of the City's corporate business plans produced since 2000 that deal with multicultural cooperation and Aboriginal partnerships (Saskatoon 2004b, 2006, 2008). The business plans also noted the need for the City to work with the federal and provincial governments as well as the Saskatoon Regional Economic Development Authority (SREDA), both to increase the volume of immigration to

Saskatoon and to match immigrants with specific employment opportunities.

In keeping with those community outcome statements, Saskatoon has undertaken, since 2004, a series of important initiatives related to immigration and integration. The impetus for those initiatives was provided in 2004 by the CDRRC when it recommended that the City commission a report on Saskatoon's needs for immigrants and the needs of immigrants in Saskatoon. The CDRRC also recommended that the City should explore funding opportunities from key federal and provincial agencies involved in the sector. These recommendations were approved by City Council on November 29, 2004. The following year, City officials successfully negotiated an arrangement with their provincial and federal counterparts to coordinate and share the costs for undertaking community consultations and producing a report on immigration and integration. The tri-level steering committee worked closely in overseeing the consultations and the production of the report, which began at the end of 2005.

The report: *Building Saskatoon to Become a Global City*

The resulting report, entitled *Building Saskatoon to Become a Global City: A Framework for an Action Plan*, recommended that the City undertake a leadership and coordinating role in promoting immigration to Saskatoon and also in ensuring that the settlement and integration needs of newcomers are met (Pontikes and Garcea 2006).

The report provided an analysis of the following matters: the factors in attracting, integrating and retaining immigrants; the needs of Saskatoon for newcomers; the needs of newcomers; the needs of newcomer and community serving agencies; and the needs of governmental agencies. It also contained options designed to enhance Saskatoon's capacity in the following five areas, as well as a number of corresponding recommendations:

- Planning and coordination of immigration and integration initiatives;
- Recruitment of newcomers in both other countries and other provinces;
- Reception of newcomers upon arrival to Saskatoon;
- Economic integration of newcomers;
- Community integration of newcomers.

Finally, the report contained recommendations for the City to establish a system that would enable it to provide leadership and coordination. These recommendations included: 1) developing and implementing an immigration and integration action plan that was consonant with other action plans, especially those that affected the Aboriginal population; 2) establishing an organizational framework within City Hall to provide leadership and support in developing and implementing such an immigration action plan; 3) establishing a tri-level coordinating committee of municipal, provincial and federal officials; and 4) establishing consultative and coordinating mechanisms both on a sectoral and an inter-sectoral basis.

In April 2007, after receiving the aforementioned report, City administration produced a five-point action plan, consisting of next steps, which was approved by City Council. These five steps are the basis for the proposed action plan (Saskatoon 2007a, 2007b):

- Continue to collaborate with the federal and provincial governments to develop a Saskatoon-specific response around the issue of recruitment and retention of newcomers to the City of Saskatoon;
- Expand the scope of the response plan to include strategies related to both immigration and migration to our city;
- Develop a governance model for the development of the detailed response and sustainability plan;
- Summarize current initiatives within Saskatoon and Region that serve newcomers;
- Development of a public communications campaign to increase the awareness and understanding of immigration.

The City subsequently submitted proposals and has received funding from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Government of Saskatchewan's Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour – Immigration Branch. The key expected outcomes, as of October 2007, included activities that would move forward Council's approved recommendations as well as the hiring of an immigration community resource coordinator (Saskatchewan 2008). Two major initiatives were launched in 2008 that would help Saskatoon develop and implement an immigration action plan.

Gap analysis report and visioning conference

The first initiative was to develop an *Immigration Action Plan Gap Analysis Report* (Insightrix 2008b). This included an in-depth review of the *Building Saskatoon to Become a Global City* report; further literature review to complement the previous report; discussions with other municipalities; in-depth interviews with agencies, ethnocultural groups and funders; and the hosting of a one-day Visioning Conference. The Conference involved representatives from various sectors to discuss what they considered to be the key issues and options for producing a cohesive action plan. This process ensured community engagement identifying and prioritizing the 28 recommendations that resulted from this exercise. These recommendations are summarized in the report based on suggested timelines, possible entities involved, initiatives already underway and suggested expansion of the activities or funders. The top three recommendations, in terms of frequency of expression, were: the creation of a comprehensive and user-friendly immigration Website; the development of a newcomer's guide; and the establishment of a centralized resource centre. Also included as part of this report is the Checklist for Immigration Action Plan (Insightrix 2008a). The checklist contains suggestions for improving the system in six major areas: promoting Saskatoon as a good place to work and live; facilitating the economic integration of newcomers; improving settlement services; improving social and civic integration of newcomers; and improving the City's policies, programs and processes so that they can provide better services and more opportunities for newcomers.

The sector-based forums

The Gap Analysis initiative led to the identification of a broad-based strategy for an action plan designed to attract, retain and integrate newcomers to Saskatoon. To advance the implementation of various aspects of the action plan, another important initiative undertaken by the City was the organization of a series of sector-based forums to which representatives from key stakeholder organizations in each of the following sectors were invited: Policing/Justice; Education; Health; Economic Development/ Employment; and Settlement and Housing. The overall purpose of these forums is to provide representatives of various governmental and non-governmental organizations in each sector with an opportunity to share their knowledge of existing initiatives, arrive at a shared understanding of additional initiatives that must be undertaken, and develop strategies for undertaking constructive initiatives on a collaborative, or at least coordinated, basis.

Future initiatives

In early 2009, after the sector-based forums are completed, the City of Saskatoon intends to host a sector-to-sector forum, with the objective of sharing information on ideas generated at each of the previous forums and to foster collaboration within and across the various sectors. The City will also have to consider what other initiatives it will undertake in this policy sector. Undoubtedly, whatever it does will be based either on what is suggested at those forums, and in the two major reports that have been produced in the past two years. Moreover, the City's choices in this respect will depend on a combination of two major factors, namely the preferences of the participants in the sector-based forums and the willingness of the federal and provincial governments to continue to partner with the City in developing and implementing various initiatives. All indications are that the City is likely to continue to perform a leadership, facilitative, supportive and coordinative role in this sector. Elected and appointed City officials believe that the best contribution the City can make is to help the multitude of governmental and non-governmental agencies in this sector perform their respective functions. In short, the City wants to support, rather than supplant, all such agencies performing key functions in this sector.

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The desire to promote the effective integration of immigrants into the labour force saw the City take steps to address its own human resource practices and to examine opportunities to support integration efforts with employers in the region.

Municipal Roles in Immigrant Integration: The Edmonton Experience

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City of Edmonton

In the spring of 2005, Edmonton City Council identified immigration and settlement as a strategic priority for their coming three-year term. The newly elected Mayor, Stephen Mandel, was concerned that immigration to Edmonton had stagnated while other cities, most notably Calgary, were experiencing sharp increases in their immigrant numbers.[1] The Edmonton region was experiencing significant developments in the energy sector and suffering from a concomitant labour shortage. At the same time, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) was predicting that by 2011, 100% of all labour force expansion in Canada would have to come through immigration (CIC 2001). This forecast heightened concerns that failure to attract a skilled workforce to the region could potentially threaten economic growth.

At the same time, City Council and the City administration were concerned about the diversity of its workforce in relation to the broader population of the city and region and the capacity for the City to more effectively attract and integrate immigrants and visible minorities into its workforce. According to the 2006 Canada Census, Edmonton, as a city, had a population of 730,372 and, as a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), had a population of 1,024,820 (Statistics Canada 2008). At that time, visible minorities made up 22.9% of the city population and 17.1% of the CMA. Foreign-born residents made up 22.9% of the city population and 18.5% of the CMA. The City of Edmonton 2006 Employee Diversity Census saw 13% of its workforce self-identify as non-White, a significantly lower proportion than the population it serves. As well, despite the fact that recent immigrants to Edmonton were at their prime working age and had better credentials than their Canadian-born counterparts, they had lower employment rates and higher unemployment rates.

In order to more closely examine these issues, Council asked the Prairie Metropolis Centre to conduct research on potential municipal actions for attracting and retaining immigrants to the city. With funding from CIC, the research was completed. In November 2005, the research report and its 27 recommendations were presented to the Edmonton City Council (Derwing et al. 2005).

City Council responded by appointing then councillors Michael Phair and Terry Cavanagh to further review the report and return to Council with specific recommendations for action. At the same time, the City Manager allocated resources to the City of Edmonton's Office of Diversity and Inclusion and an additional Diversity and Inclusion Consultant was hired to support Council's work.

[1] Citizenship and Immigration Canada statistics show that while Edmonton and Calgary's immigration numbers were nearly equal in 1995, within a decade more than twice as many immigrants were choosing Calgary over Edmonton.

The report's recommended actions that fall within a municipality's jurisdiction were identified, best practices in other municipalities were researched and public consultations were held in March 2006. Nearly 80 people, representing immigrant groups, settlement agencies and other orders of government, gathered at the Edmonton Public Library to reflect on the recommendations and to provide guidance and support to the two councillors in their efforts to identify priorities. The policies and practices of other municipalities were presented and participants broke into small groups to identify priority actions for the City to consider.

In April 2006, councillors Phair and Cavanagh returned to City Council with a report recommending that the City further explore potential initiatives in the areas of labour attraction, public awareness, information services, community services and human resources. Council approved the recommendation and also directed the Administration to examine municipal policy options in the area of immigration and settlement. The Office of Diversity and Inclusion (ODI) established a cross-departmental working group that included representatives from the City's Community Services Department, Human Resources Branch, Communications Branch, as well as a representative from the Edmonton Economic Development Corporation's (EEDC) workforce development cluster.

Through additional public consultation, policy analysis and program development, the Administration returned to City Council in November 2006 with recommendations to implement a number of immigration and settlement initiatives and a policy framework to guide the implementation of the new programs and services. In December of that year, Council approved a budget that provided tax levy funding to several ongoing initiatives and directed the Administration to return to Council with immigration and settlement policy options. In May 2007, Council approved an Immigration and Settlement Policy focused on seven municipal service and program areas that relate to the attraction and retention of newcomers to the city: economic integration; intergovernmental relations; service access and equity; planning and coordination; communication, public awareness and education; community building and inclusion; and immigrant women. Responsibility for the implementation of the policy rests with the City's ODI.

Economic integration

The desire to promote the effective integration of immigrants into the labour force saw the City take steps to address its own human resource practices and to examine opportunities to support integration efforts with employers in the region. The City's Human Resources Branch created an outreach program and hired a human resource consultant (HRC) to work specifically toward creating a workforce that better represented the ethnocultural demographics of the region. The individual chosen, an immigrant herself, had substantial experience creating bridging and workplace integration programs for immigrants. She has since developed and implemented an immigrant internship program that has hosted eight interns in the City's Human Resources Branch and Transportation Department. Several of the interns are now in permanent positions with the City while the others are in the process of completing their internships.

The HRC facilitates job fairs in settlement agencies and other community settings familiar to immigrant and refugee populations and delivers seminars in the community that provide valuable information to immigrants on the City's job application processes. With provincial funding and through contracts with educational institutions, the consultant is also providing specialized support, such as cultural diversity training and language programs, to City business units where labour shortages are particularly acute or where there have been concerns expressed by immigrants about barriers to accessing jobs with the City. The HRC has developed an employment access program that includes working in partnership with a local community college and immigrant employment service to deliver job skill and language training directed toward increasing the number of immigrants working for the City's transit and medical emergency services. Curriculum is currently being developed and the program will commence in May 2009 with a second intake scheduled for September 2009. Edmonton Transit Services has contributed substantial resources to the project.

The City also worked in partnership with EEDC, local employers and community stakeholders in the creation of the Edmonton Region Immigrant Employment Council (ERIEC). Inspired by the success of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC), the City co-chaired, together with EEDC, a planning committee that

The City and provincial and federal governments have worked together to publish a Newcomer Guide to Edmonton, *to operate a New Arrival Information Centre and develop and implement the Racism Free Edmonton Action Plan.*

completed a feasibility study and created an interim plan of action. Working with a local consultant, the committee was able to secure funding from multiple partners and establish a board of directors for the organization. ERIEC hired an executive director and commenced operations in September 2008. As ERIEC will complement and, in some cases, actively support the City's human resources initiatives, in 2009 the City is providing $25,000 in partnership funding to ERIEC.

Intergovernmental relations

In 2005, the Alberta provincial government released its immigration policy framework, *Supporting Immigrants and Immigration to Alberta.*[2] The document includes a commitment to collaborate with municipalities in attracting and retaining immigrants. Recognizing the opportunity, Mayor Mandel has engaged in efforts to build collaborative relationships with federal and provincial ministers responsible for immigration. At the same time, the City's Office of Intergovernmental Affairs and Office of Diversity and Inclusion participated in various provincial planning bodies that examined issues related to economic and population sustainability. Despite municipal participation in a sub-committee devoted entirely to immigration and its link to economic sustainability, in 2007 a Canada-Alberta Agreement on Immigration was announced. This agreement committed the other orders of government to a "dialogue on the appropriate role of municipalities in program and policy development" (CIC 2007). To date, no such dialogue has taken place.

The City has, however, achieved much greater success at the administrative level. In 2006, the ODI developed a staff position devoted entirely to matters related to immigration, settlement and multiculturalism. ODI-initiated cross-departmental and intergovernmental relationships have resulted in funding partnerships with the various orders of government. The City and provincial and federal governments have worked together to publish a *Newcomer Guide to Edmonton*, to operate a New Arrival Information Centre and develop and implement the Racism Free Edmonton Action Plan. These partnerships are with Alberta Human Rights, the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Education Fund, Alberta Employment and Immigration, Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Canadian Heritage.

Planning and coordinating for improved service access and equity

In 2005, the City Manager established the Office of Diversity and Inclusion. Since closing its Diversity Initiatives Office in 1997, the City continued to experience problems in the areas of human resources and service access related to exclusion and barriers to employment and service. The ODI is functionally located within the Deputy City Manager's Office and reports directly to the City's Senior Management Team (SMT), which is made up of the City Manager, the Deputy City Manager and the general managers of all City departments. ODI staff worked with the SMT to develop the City's diversity and inclusion goals, which address building a workforce reflective of the city's communities. Working with a cross-departmental working group, the ODI further developed the Diversity and Inclusion Framework and Implementation Plan,[3] which contains a broad strategy as well as tools for achieving the City's diversity and inclusion goals. A broader Diversity and Inclusion Policy was presented to the City Council and approved in late 2008.

Diversity and Inclusion Teams are currently operating in each department, looking at ways to amend policy, practice, programs and services in ways that will meet the needs of a diverse workforce and population. Included in this is a

[2] The Policy Framework specifically references support for municipalities. This document can be viewed at <http://employment.alberta.ca/documents/WIA/WIA-IM_framework_overview.pdf>.

[3] This is an internal City document. Copies can be obtained by contacting the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at 780-496-5779 or officeofdiversityandinclusion@edmonton.ca.

focus on the needs of a more culturally diverse population. The City's Immigration and Settlement Policy and initiatives align with these goals and provide a foundation for better meeting the needs of the various ethnocultural groups choosing to live, work and play in the Edmonton region.

Communication, public awareness and education

Through the research undertaken by the Prairie Metropolis Centre (PMC) and further best practice research and community consultation, it became abundantly clear to City Council and the Administration that the City would need to step up its efforts to communicate what it could offer to potential immigrants, including services for their effective settlement into the community. The PMC research indicated that newcomers chose Edmonton because of its employment opportunities, education institutions and quality of life. The City partnered with EEDC to establish a labour attraction Website, <www.movetoedmonton.com>, which highlights these particular elements of life in Edmonton and points out to newcomers and potential newcomers the type of support available to them should they choose to move to Edmonton. The Website includes video vignettes in seven different languages where recent immigrants share what it is they appreciate about life in Edmonton.

The City has also developed a *Newcomer Guide to Edmonton*, published in eight different languages: English, French, Mandarin, Spanish, Arabic, Hindi, Punjabi and Vietnamese. It was publicly released in October 2008 and complements the City's 3-1-1 service, launched in January 2009, which offers on-line telephone interpretive services in over 150 languages. This service provides information to all citizens, both established and new, on all City services, as well as referrals to relevant community services. Both of these services indirectly support the operations of the City's recently opened Citizen and New Arrival Information Centre, located in Edmonton City Hall. At the Centre, 3-1-1-certified agents offer in-person support by providing information on the city's services and referrals to relevant community-based settlement services. The Centre is being promoted and the Newcomer Guide is being made available at key points throughout the city, such as libraries, visitor centres, airports, settlement agencies and some community services agencies. As the Newcomer Guide and New Arrival Information Centre align well with the Welcoming Communities section of the Alberta Government's immigration policy framework, they have received grant support from Alberta Employment and Immigration.

Community building, inclusion and the needs of immigrant women

During public consultations, the City was reminded time and again that the best recruitment strategy was a strong retention strategy. Immigrants choose to locate in cities where they have relatives or friends who share positive stories related to their arrival and settlement into the community. Newcomer groups identified challenges that could potentially undermine the City's efforts to welcome immigrants, refugees and their families. Immigrant organizations lacked the resources necessary to operate programs that supported the social, cultural and educational needs of these new arrivals. Immigrant groups were unable to find space to host programs and, at times, faced outright discrimination in trying to secure space in community-based facilities. The tireless work of newcomers often went unrecognized, and many communities were experiencing volunteer burnout. There was also evidence that many newcomers do not need or may not be eligible for services from the settlement agencies and sometimes lack engagement with City and other services that could effectively meet their settlement needs.

Using information and community support gained from significant consultations with immigrant groups and representatives of settlement agencies, the City established several new initiatives through its Community Services Department. The first is the operation of a grants program directed toward emergent immigrant and refugee groups. Unique among Canadian municipalities, it provides grants from a pool of $450,000 to organizations providing everything from heritage language education programs, homework clubs, sports programs and cultural event programming.

The second initiative includes an array of supports to assist immigrant groups in their efforts to access space in the community. A space rental subsidy is currently available to organizations faced with financial barriers to accessing office or programming space. The City is also compiling a comprehensive listing of public and private spaces available to immigrant groups and developing a toolkit to help members

of these groups develop the skills in accessing this space. Discussions are underway to determine how the staff of the department might help address situations where these groups face discrimination. In 2007, City Council approved a Declaration of Membership in the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination. Council recently approved an action plan that will address these and other forms of racial discrimination in the community. In order to address some of the acute challenges facing the city's African communities, the Mayor's Office and Community Services Department worked with community groups to establish an African Centre in one of the surplus public schools. The Mayor's Office and Community Services continue to examine the possibility of building a multicultural facility to also address some of these needs.

Finally, Community Services is looking at establishing a program that recognizes the significant contributions made by immigrants to the quality of life in Edmonton's communities. Still in its developmental stages, the program hopes to create ways to honour those individuals and groups who give their time and energy to projects that help the City achieve its goal of attracting more immigrants and retaining them in the community.

Conclusion

There is evidence that the initiatives described above are creating positive outcomes for both the City and its newest arrivals. The City hosts Immigration and Settlement Community Gatherings twice a year at City Hall, and the numbers attending continue to grow. Evaluations of the events indicate that newcomers and service providers feel more and more aware of the supports and services available to immigrants and their families and appreciate the attention being paid to their needs. The City is becoming increasingly aware of the challenges facing these communities and the gifts and skills their members have to offer the city, both in the workforce and at the community level. These constructive relationships and clear policies continue to provide a solid foundation upon which the City can build communities where every citizen feels respected and included, and newcomers can achieve the quality of life they expect when they choose Edmonton as their new home.

About the author

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The City of Winnipeg is the second largest employer in the city. At the beginning of 2008, the City of Winnipeg had just under 8,300 paid employees, including permanent, temporary, part-time, casual employees and students. Like the people of our city, the people of our public service come from many backgrounds and we value this diversity.

Building a Successful Workforce for the Future

Winnipeg's Equity and Diversity Initiatives

JACKIE HALLIBURTON
City of Winnipeg

Winnipeg: A diverse city

Winnipeg, the capital city of Manitoba, is becoming a very diverse city. According to Statistics Canada, in 2006 Winnipeg had a population of 633,451 (Statistics Canada 2008). Since 1998, Winnipeg's population increased by 25,000, or 4.0%, and it will continue to experience modest population growth relative to other large Canadian cities. This growth is largely due to immigration. Historically, Winnipeg has been the choice destination of approximately 80% of immigrants settling in Manitoba (City of Winnipeg 2007).

Winnipeg's labour force is expected to undergo major changes in the long term, partly because of the ageing population. Fortunately, immigration to Winnipeg and to the province as a whole has been quite successful in the last few years. In 2007, immigration to Manitoba increased by 9%, reaching 10,955 immigrants, the highest level in 50 years. Since 1999, Manitoba has received more than 60,500 immigrants (Manitoba Immigration Facts 2007). According to a long-term forecast, migration will become an increasingly important factor in population growth, and Winnipeg's ability to attract new migrants will become a key determinant of its future economic potential (Conference Board of Canada 2007).

Winnipeg's Aboriginal population is significant in size. According to the 2006 Census, the City of Winnipeg has the largest Aboriginal population of all major cities in Canada. Indeed, Winnipeg's Aboriginal population stands at 63,745, and currently accounts for approximately 10% of the city's population.

The City of Winnipeg: Commitment to equity and diversity

The City of Winnipeg is the second largest employer in the city. At the beginning of 2008, it had a staff of just under 8,300 paid employees, including permanent, temporary, part-time, casual employees and students. Like the people of our city, the people of our public service come from many backgrounds and we value this diversity. More than ten years ago, we launched our Equity and Diversity Initiative to help build and maintain a more diverse and equitable workforce.

Our organization does not have a stand-alone policy for diversity. Diversity is a part of how we view and manage our human resources and is reflected in our Human Resource Strategic Plan (HRSP). Approved by Council in 2001, it outlines our HR vision, which incorporates the importance of diversity. In other words, diversity is built into all of our HR related policies, directives and practices.

When we treat people equally, we ignore differences. When we treat people equitably, we recognize differences. In order to create equity, differences are recognized, respected and accommodated when reasonably possible.

Our equity and diversity efforts are centered on three main goals:

- Diversity: valuing and capitalizing on employee differences;
- Equity: creating a fair and respectful workplace;
- Creating a diverse workforce: organizing activities that help us recruit and retain a diverse group of qualified applicants (including employment equity).

Diversity

Diversity is about differences (such as race, gender, family status and education) between all people, and not just designated group members. People are distinct because they differ in religions, education, sexual orientation, cultures, styles, belief systems, ways of thinking, and much more. By valuing these differences, we emphasize fairness for all and treat each individual with dignity and respect.

The diversity approach is an inclusive strategy for all employees and makes good business sense for the City. A diverse workforce that is reflective of the community it serves will better understand the needs of citizens. Our goal is to successfully manage and motivate a highly diverse workforce.

Equity

Equity is about treating people fairly. When we treat people equally, we ignore differences. When we treat people equitably, we recognize differences. In order to create equity, differences are recognized, respected and accommodated when reasonably possible. To accomplish this, we need to find ways of increasing our understanding of cultures, religions, learning styles, and so on. We also need to find ways to manage conflict, which is a natural outcome of an increasingly diverse workforce.

Four groups in Canada have been identified as having faced arbitrary and unfair employment barriers. Historically, these unfair employment barriers have resulted in higher unemployment rates and concentrations in jobs that are lower paid and have less chance of advancement. These groups are women, Aboriginal people, visible minorities and persons with disabilities. Employment equity strategies focus on removing barriers, finding ways of increasing the number of qualified applicants hired from these four groups and working with community organizations that provide job readiness training in order to obtain employment.

We have adopted an employment equity "Statement of Commitment" that speaks to the importance of addressing historical wrongs. That is why we continue to say that we are an employment equity employer. One day, maybe in the not-too-distant future, we won't need to state that we are an employment equity employer. Instead, we will say that we are committed to diversity, which is inclusive of all. Currently, because we still have some gaps in the representation of designated group members in some occupations, we still have a focus on employment equity.

Action plan for creating a diverse workforce

Senior Management endorsed the Action Plan for Creating a Diverse Workforce in September 2002. It was developed following an employment systems review that included a workforce analysis designed to identify under-representation of designated group members. The Action Plan reflects initiatives that address how the City will effectively value and manage diversity.

All departments are responsible for ensuring that they help create a more diverse and respectful workplace. Each department reports annually on their activities and efforts. This information is then used to create our annual "Diversity Report Card," which describes our activities and reports on the progress made with respect to designated group representation. The following are some highlights from our 2006-2007 Diversity Report Card:

- The Action Plan for Creating a Diverse Workplace is working well but some areas for improvement have been identified – in particular, the need for all departments to

participate in creating internships, and the need to identify and remove barriers to attracting and hiring persons with disabilities;

- Overall representation of designated groups has remained stable;
- In 2006, the City's rate or share of hires exceeded that of the labour market for all designated groups except for persons with disabilities, who remain under-represented in the applicant and hiring pools;
- Outreach efforts have increased, with particular emphasis on informing youth about the types of careers available at the City of Winnipeg.

Specific initiatives and projects

Annual summer youth career awareness camp
Since 2004, the City of Winnipeg has hosted a five-day summer camp for youth between the ages of 12 and 15. The purpose of the camp is to expose youth to the large variety of careers available at the City and to reinforce the "stay in school" message, as many of the jobs require post-secondary education. Four of the five camps targeted Aboriginal youth, while immigrant and refugee youth were invited to the fifth.

Field assistant project
This is a partnership with the City's Assessment and Taxation Department, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC), the Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF) and the Canadian Union of Public Employees. AMC and MMF are providing financial support and resources so that up to four individuals are able to obtain a certificate in Real Property Assessment through distance education. Once these individuals successfully complete the certification, they will be offered employment in the Property and Taxation Department as field assistants. Discussions are now underway with another agency that supports recent immigrants to see how we might be able to work with them.

Aboriginal Scholarship and Services Awards Program
Our Planning, Property and Development and Corporate Support Services Departments, in partnership with the Winnipeg School Division, offer a scholarship and service award program for Aboriginal Junior High and Senior High School students. The program provides, among other things, summer employment, job shadowing, professional mentorship and other support to Aboriginal students who display interest and capacity in municipal planning and related fields.

2008 Internship Fund
The City of Winnipeg established a fund to support the creation of internships in 2008. The goal of the program was to provide students with meaningful paid summer work that could lead to further study or provide a paid internship for someone who has academic credentials but lacks experience, for a recent immigrant or for a person with a disability. Where possible, the City partnered with external funders to create these internships. To date, a total of ten internships have been created for Aboriginal youth, immigrants and persons with disabilities.

Foreign Engineer Program
The Internationally Educated Engineers Qualification Program (IEEQ) provides a route for immigrants with engineering credentials obtained outside of Canada to meet part of the licensing requirements for professional engineering practice in Manitoba. This is a program offered by the University of Manitoba, and the City participates by providing paid employment opportunities for engineers admitted to the program.

The Community Service Worker Program
This is a paid work experience project run by the Community Services Department. It assists individuals in gaining work experience and acts as a stepping stone for future employment. The project is designed to provide a meaningful work experience in a supportive work environment. Most of the participants are Aboriginal people and new immigrants. They are placed in community clubs to perform janitorial duties for up to six months. Program benefits include: current and Canadian work experience, up-to-date résumés for all participants, referrals to alternate employment, education and training opportunities and paid job-search days.

Networking groups
The Aboriginal Employee Group meets regularly and identifies ways of supporting Aboriginal culture and creating understanding and awareness of this culture. The Winnipeg Police Service supports a Women's Network that deals with issues specific to women officers, including

recruitment, mentoring, retention and promotion. As well, Females in Transit meets to discuss and resolve workplace-related issues faced by women in the department; the group is supported by Transit management.

Citizen Equity Committee
Established in 2001, the Citizen Equity Committee advises the mayor and Council on equity and diversity issues related to City of Winnipeg policies, procedures and services. Members include nine citizens, two councillors and one representative from the provincial or federal government.

Information and support for newcomers
An information package for Aboriginal citizens and newcomers (immigrants and refugees) is available on the City of Winnipeg's Website. The site contains information about City of Winnipeg services that would be of special interest to newcomers.

The future

Key issues for the City of Winnipeg in the coming years include: the changing demographics of the labour market (an ageing workforce, more immigrants and Aboriginal people seeking employment); the likelihood that the workforce will continue to contract; and the challenge of providing diversity-related training in the face of other competing training needs, such as changing technology. These issues mean that building a diverse workforce for the future remains as important as ever.

About the author

JACKIE HALLIBURTON has been working with the City for Winnipeg for 23 years, first as a public health nurse and for the last 12 years, as the City's Equity and Diversity Coordinator.

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Half of the children of newer immigrant families live in poverty and the average earnings of highly educated accountants and engineers entering EMCN's bridging programs in the year previous hover around $15,000.

Snapshots from Edmonton

Immigrants in a Rapidly Changing City

JIM GURNETT
Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers

Just north of Edmonton's downtown core, there's a little brick building. It has sat derelict for years, next door to a homeless shelter and, increasingly, in the shadow of the new 28-storey office tower that is under construction. The old railway that ran past the building, bringing thousands of immigrants from Europe via Pier 21 to begin new lives in Alberta, is gone, its former lands rapidly filling with expensive condominium developments. But in the streets surrounding the old Immigration Hall, the continual human change of Alberta's capital city is evident. The Greyhound station, a few blocks away, is where families now step out into a city that has attracted them, often from elsewhere in Canada, with tales of this "end of the rainbow" country where there are jobs and affluence for the taking.

Today those families are probably from Africa or Asia and have not just stepped off the boat, as was the case 50 and more years ago. They have quite likely been in central Canada and experienced disappointment and struggle for a year or more prior to pursuing the beckoning boom out West. As they carry their bags to a nearby immigrant service organization seeking assistance, they walk through neighbourhoods where the streets are bustling with the businesses of the Chinese and Southeast Asians who have preceded them. Add to this picture the rapidly growing population of Aboriginal people, who have moved from rural reserves and settlements that offer no future and no safe water, and who now outnumber the shrinking stock of affordable housing in the area. They watch these newcomers while waiting in line at day-labour agencies for jobs that pay a fraction of what it costs to live in Edmonton. Aboriginal people have been pushed aside on the land that was first theirs.

Others arrive flying high above Immigration Hall as their flight arriving from another continent lines up for a runway at Edmonton International Airport. They have made a thoughtful choice, waited years, and are confident about the opportunity that 3% unemployment rate offers, and about the value of their professional education and experience. The first seeds of doubt for them may be sown as they ride into the city on Gateway Boulevard in a taxi, chatting with the highly experienced Somali physician or Pakistani geologist who is their driver...

Some of the migrants who arrived in Edmonton in the days of Immigration Hall look at this new reality with concern. When the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (EMCN) opened a new building in 2008, in a neighbourhood where many older, retired, European immigrants live modestly in the homes they have had for decades, it received anonymous phone calls saying that we were not welcome, and that the people associated with us were not wanted in the area. But others remember their own struggles and are generous in their welcome. European immigrants from half a century ago are volunteering their time day after day to tutor newcomers from Central Asia when they could be playing cards or crafting with friends at a seniors' centre.

If we know that our own lives are messy, disorganized, uncertain, and ambiguous much of the time, it should not be difficult to realize that the same probably holds true for people who are making huge changes in their lives as they embark upon their new life in Canada.

The contrasts abound in Edmonton. Wealthy first-generation immigrants are major real estate developers and leaders in professional fields of all sorts, including the spectacular new Mazankowski Heart Institute. A child refugee became a four-term Member of Parliament and Chair of the Government Caucus in Ottawa. But Campaign 2000[1] says half of the children of newer immigrant families live in poverty and the average earnings of highly educated accountants and engineers entering EMCN's bridging programs in the year previous hover around $15,000 mark.

During the past three years, after years of neglect, both the Province of Alberta and the City of Edmonton have developed major policy frameworks expressing the importance of immigrants and their commitment to these newcomers. In Alberta, more municipalities have joined the UNESCO-based Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination than in any other province.

The boom times in Edmonton have been very good for some, but immigrants arriving in recent years are facing steep slopes in their ascent to the good life. The rapid escalation of rental costs has made it difficult to maintain housing that is adequate, affordable, healthy and secure. Fifteen years ago, the near-elimination of social housing funding in Edmonton exacted a terrible cost, with more low-income affordable housing disappearing than was constructed. Thousands of modest walk-up apartments in urban core neighbourhoods were converted to condos and sold to a young, new, middle class who wish to live downtown, especially as the cost of suburban housing has skyrocketed. Far too late, provincial law began to limit rent increases to one per year; however, in doing so, it placed no ceiling on the size of this single increase. Provincial welfare rates, which determine government-assisted refugees' allowance rates during the first year of their arrival, are the lowest of all provincial rates in Canada and are far below the cost of living in Edmonton.

But the stories of Alberta narrated in other parts of Canada remain rosier than is the reality, and newcomers keep arriving.[2] When questions are raised about the resources to assist such newcomers, the official position is there is no way to accurately measure the number of immigrants coming as secondary migrants to Alberta from the provinces where they have landed, so federal funding for services to immigrants remains based on the place of landing, adding to the pressures on settlement organizations. With no housing available, families press in with others, children sleep crowded on basement floors, have no place to study, and sometimes attend several schools per year as insecure arrangements fall apart. Even facilities to prepare and store food may be inadequate for many families.

In the past three years a new phenomenon has been added to the patchwork quilt. The Temporary Foreign Worker Program was modified to admit foreign workers in low and unskilled occupations. This program was embraced by so many employers that in 2007 more temporary foreign workers came to Alberta than did permanent residents. A significant percentage of these workers report they have been charged outrageous fees by brokers to secure their jobs; many also report abusive treatment from these

[1] Campaign 2000 is a national anti-poverty public education coalition. It was formed to monitor progress on the 1989 House of Commons resolution to end child poverty by the year 2000 and produces an annual report card to provide updates on this progress. Information is available at <www.campaign2000.ca>.

[2] According to Government statistics, in 2007 approximately 20,000 immigrants landed in Alberta directly from abroad, among which 6,000 landed in Edmonton. But secondary migrants, from other parts of Canada, are not documented. Immigrant serving organizations make estimates based on the information they gather when asking those who come seeking services where they are coming from. About one-third answer from another province in Canada, while two thirds answer from another part of the world. Historically, the number of newcomers indicating that they have originated from elsewhere in Canada was about 15%, and there was a sense that the number of those arriving and leaving was somewhat equal. In recent years, however, the number of newcomers seems to be increasing, while those who leave for other parts of Canada seems to be declining.

agents. When they arrive, they often become isolated and live in fear. The idea of immigration as a contribution to the social development of a nation is being abandoned in favour of catering to the most basic of labour market demands. The list of "expedited" occupations, for which employers are not even required to demonstrate an inability to recruit people already established in Canada in order to get approval for temporary workers, has grown.[3]

EMCN and its "holistic integrated practice"

The dynamics of Alberta today are far from simple; this is especially true for immigrants. Few of us experience our own lives as simple or tidy either. If we know that our own lives are messy, disorganized, uncertain, and ambiguous much of the time, it should not be difficult to realize that the same probably holds true for people who are making huge changes in their lives as they embark upon their new life in Canada. Listening to the voices of people coming through the doors at EMCN from more than 100 places of origin in every part of the world each year, noticing how, once the invitation to share was provided, an initial reason for turning to the office is often tied to an intricate web of intersecting issues, EMCN staff, most of them immigrants themselves who have lived the same experiences, decided it was important to name the nature of their involvement with newcomers.

"Holistic integrated practice" was the term chosen to describe how the organization worked.

Hundreds of internationally educated engineers and accountants have moved from low-skilled, low-paying jobs to professional employment with the support of EMCN's bridging programs (Photo: Jim Gurnett).

A commitment was made to a vision of EMCN as contributing to a democratic and intercultural Edmonton as opposed to only being a settlement services agency. More than curious vocabulary, this language has become a framework for the organization's work. This framework has dictated EMCN's three-fold mission: to provide services enabling immigrants to be successful in their own lives; to work towards educating and supporting change within the dominant culture to gradually broaden the narrow perspective of "Well, they're here now so they need to learn how we do it here;" and to make efforts to see that the best public policy serves as a foundation for the full participation of the most diverse range of immigrants Alberta has ever seen.

Holistic integrated practice is dignified. It is anchored in the perspective that each new arrival is a rich addition to our life as a community, not a miscellaneous assortment of needs that are to be sent here and there to stand in line and fill in forms for services. It is also founded on the belief that receiving newcomers in this way allows each person to use individual and family strengths to map and travel a chosen route to integration and success. It takes a lot of work and courage for those on the receiving side.

In other words, the approach being left behind is the fast-food restaurant perspective on human services, where a good solid counter firmly separates the two sides, a bright attractive menu is mounted above with clear tasty choices outlined very precisely (and at exactly 11:45 a.m. each day the breakfast side rolls over and the lunch menu is displayed), and a friendly fellow in the franchise uniform asks what you'd like and whether you want it supersized or not. Holistic

[3] Most reported actions by employment brokers occur in countries of origin and not in Canada, so it can be difficult to document or address. However, the volume of problems experienced by temporary workers once they have arrived in Canada, relating to such issues as employers not complying with labour standards or changing the terms of their original offers of employment, poor housing, and health problems, has become so severe in Alberta that in 2007, the provincial government created a team mandated to respond to complaints. Furthermore, it began to fund some settlement organizations in 2008 to provide services to temporary workers similar to those provided to immigrants. As the program continues to operate and involve more people, new ambiguities and problem areas continue to be identified. These include the ability of temporary workers who bring school-age children to have these children educated in public schools, and the status of temporary workers in a workplace that enters a strike or lockout situation. A federal government "pilot project" allows employers to bring temporary workers to Alberta and British Columbia in 33 expedited occupations, which include food counter attendants, desk clerks, and even snowboard instructors, without requiring employers to demonstrate that they had not been able to find workers in Canada. This is a fundamental change in the philosophy of the temporary worker option.

If we know that our own lives are messy, disorganized, uncertain, and ambiguous much of the time, it should not be difficult to realize that the same probably holds true for people who are making huge changes in their lives as they embark upon their new life in Canada.

integrated practice is about the collective kitchen. People arrive and contribute their various offerings, perhaps with names hard to pronounce and tastes never experienced before, to a common table around which a conversation with everyone learning from everyone else takes place, tasks are determined based on skills and interests, and tasty unique meals are created together, and perhaps shared together as well.

Holistic integrated practice requires the organization's staff to know a lot about what else is available beyond their particular immediate responsibilities so links can be made and a range of appropriate services suggested and arranged in the most convenient and effective way.

Perhaps a newcomer arrives, seeking help to develop a resume that will be effective with Canadian employers. The job is not finished once that service has been delivered. Time is taken to do some analysis together to see if the employment goals of the person are too modest (or too ambitious) for their qualifications. Suggestions and liaison with good employers can be made. The invitation to share about the settlement experience more generally may lead to the person mentioning a spouse who wants to study English but has a pre-school child at home. EMCN staff can make the connection to another staff member who can help register that person for LINC classes and free childcare. The conversation goes on and the isolation and unhappiness of a junior high school youth is mentioned. This opens the door to another opportunity to connect with a member of the team working in schools, who can invite the youth to get involved in one of their programs. Oh, and the children need bicycles too? We can arrange free bikes with a partner community agency that provides sports equipment for low-income families. Then the person shares a worry that the household income currently cannot manage the rent increase they have just received. Another link can be made to a housing specialist for help applying to a provincial emergency eviction prevention program. The person mentions wishing the children were not so quickly losing their first language as they are swept up in Canada: here is an opening to tell them about EMCN's World of Story resources that provide folk tales in more than 30 languages for families to use together in literacy activities. And so the day goes.

Families from over 15 countries live together in EMCN's supported housing apartment buildings, receiving services and building a community together (Photo: Ben Lemphers).

A newcomer leaves with information, appointments, resources and a sense of belonging and having more control over his or her life. Holistic integrated service is convenient, but far more than convenient, it is the human way to work, it is based on understanding how life happens, how even a small situation can have a ripple effect in various parts of a person's life.

The open method of listening to newcomers is central at EMCN and has allowed us to observe that many refugees who come traumatized after long, terrible, experiences of violence and danger are not likely to be successful in gaining and keeping jobs, excelling in educational programs, or dealing with the complexities of daily life in a strange new culture. When no Canadian funder was prepared to recognize that settlement services included services addressing these psychological needs, EMCN secured resources from the UNHCR for this specific purpose and became one of a handful of internationally-accredited service provision agencies in Canada. Additional listening made clear that access to services during "office hours" was inadequate for many. EMCN created an approach to assisted housing, in which newcomers – especially refugees – could be part of a residential situation that both supported the continued development of independent living

skills and provided opportunities to safely develop relationships with others. This approach provided secure, affordable housing with support available, in order to ensure longer hours of service. Approximately 100 people now live in two apartment buildings that offer this model.

Listening to newcomers further revealed the deep human cost of having years of education and work experience in a chosen profession disdained in Canada; however, the steep economic cost of this reality might perhaps be less than the pain. Out of this grew EMCN's bridging programs. Careful assessments identify the many strengths of internationally-educated and experienced professionals and the particular deficiencies that might make working in Canada difficult for them. EMCN develops programs that renders these individuals fully acceptable to Canadian employers in a short period of time, by focussing on the small gaps rather than the commonly held view that people will need to "go back and start over," leaving them to find their own way. The feedback from those who have moved on to working again in their professions is that not only is there deep satisfaction when income begins to reflect one's true abilities but that families are happier, stress is reduced, and everyone can begin to partake in this new community.

Holistic integrated practice can be a challenge for funders who are familiar with a model whereby each funder supports specific programs that need to be reported in their particular framework. It can be a challenge for a community organization to weave together funding from several sources to provide this more integrated service. But as funders and community organizations learn to do this together, there is no doubt that immigrants and communities will benefit.

There is nothing mysterious or amazing about holistic integrated practice. It is a careful effort that aims to cultivate, within a community organization, the natural behaviour of caring people towards others. Edmontonians benefit from the success of newcomers, yet too many newcomers are experiencing disappointingly weak achievement in their adoptive community. EMCN is therefore convinced that it makes good sense to continue this work towards a community where each person can contribute in the fullest and best way they desire.

About the author

JIM GURNETT is Executive Director of the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (www.emcn.ab.ca) and Chair of the Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance. He is a Board member of the Edmonton Chamber of Voluntary Organizations and of the Advisory Board of the Social Work Department of Grant MacEwan College. He is also active with the Edmonton Coalition on Housing and Homelessness.

In 2006, the foreign-born population comprised 19% of Edmonton's total population... Although the Philippines, India, China, Pakistan and the United States are the top five countries from which immigrants arrive, this obscures the fact that residents of Edmonton come from more than 50 countries around the world.

Beyond Settlement

Strengthening Immigrant Families, Communities and Canadian Society Through Cultural Brokering

YVONNE CHIU
Multicultural Health Brokers Co-operative

LUCENIA ORTIZ
Multicultural Health Brokers Co-operative

RUTH WOLFE
University of Alberta

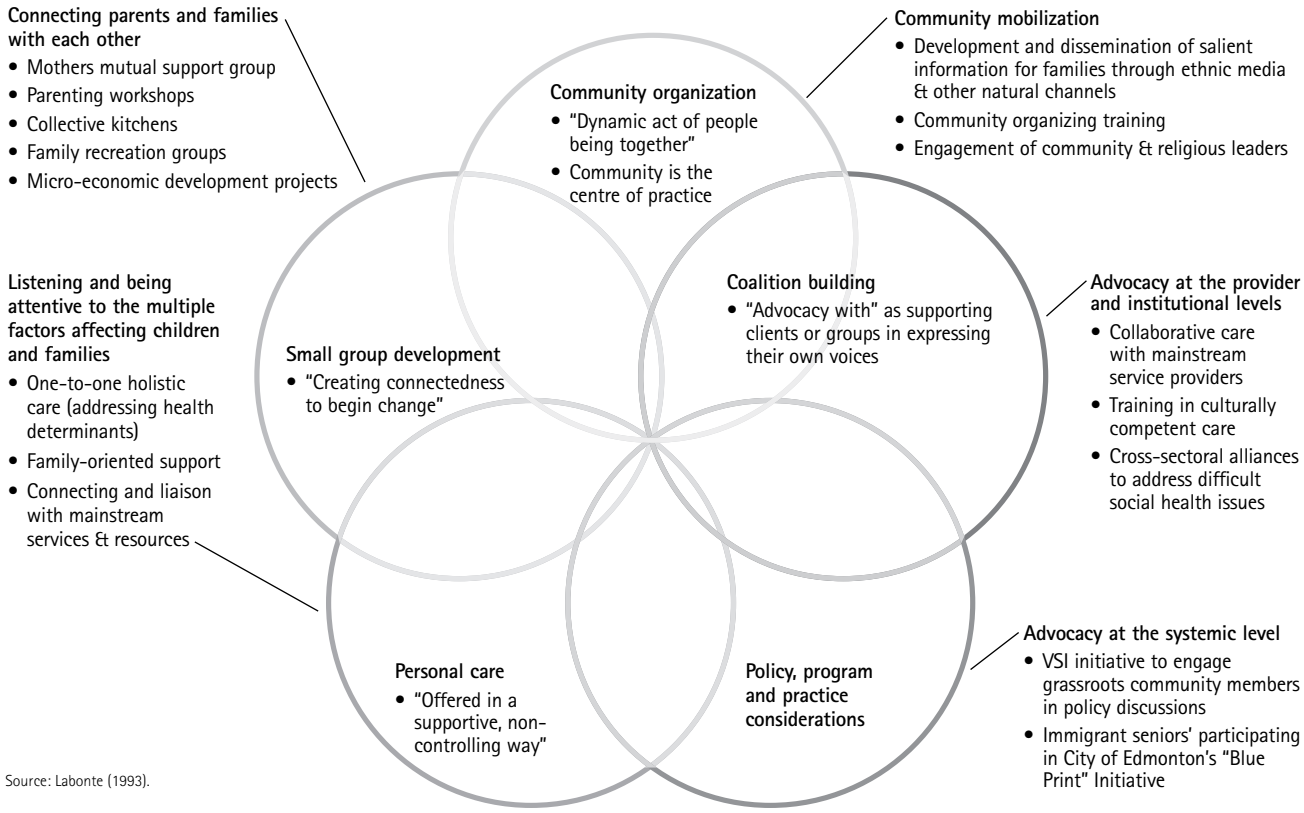
Multicultural health brokers began to emerge in the mid-1990s in Edmonton, Alberta, to address the unequal treatment and severe lack of equitable access and culturally responsive programs and policies that many minority members of their communities experienced with regard to human services (Ortiz 2003). The timing of the emergence of multicultural health brokers is not accidental. Historically, cultural brokers emerged to mediate relationships between social groups with unequal power, often straddling cultural groups and acting as "go-betweens" (Paine 1972, Szasz 1994). In the contemporary context, the need for multicultural health brokers arose at the intersection of global forces of migration, and national, provincial and municipal action and inaction. Multicultural health brokers are community members who address the immediate, urgent needs, and concerns of immigrants and refugees in their communities, while also examining underlying conditions and circumstances that may result in new programs, capacity building and system change initiatives. This article describes the work of the Multicultural Health Brokers Co-operative (the Co-op), formally established in 1998, and provides a glimpse into the conditions from which multicultural health brokers arose, and continue to grow in number. These conditions shape the unique practice of cultural brokering in support of immigrants trying to overcome the many challenges they face in a second-tier city in the Prairies (Frideres 2006).

Between 1998 and 2008, immigration to Alberta has increased dramatically, shaped especially by the economic boom. Since 1998, the proportion of immigrants to Alberta has increased by 1 to 2% annually. Most settle in the province's two largest centres, Edmonton and Calgary.[1] In 2006, the foreign-born population comprised 19% of Edmonton's total population, and Edmonton had the 6th largest share of recent[2] immigrants to Canada (CIC 2006). Although the Philippines, India, China, Pakistan and the United States are the top five countries from which immigrants arrive, this obscures the fact that Edmonton residents come from more than 50 countries around the world. More than a third (39%) of those who arrived in 2006 spoke neither English nor French upon arrival (City of Edmonton 2006).

[1] Calculations based on data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2006).

FIGURE 1

Dimensions of the multicultural health brokering practice



Source: Labonte (1993).

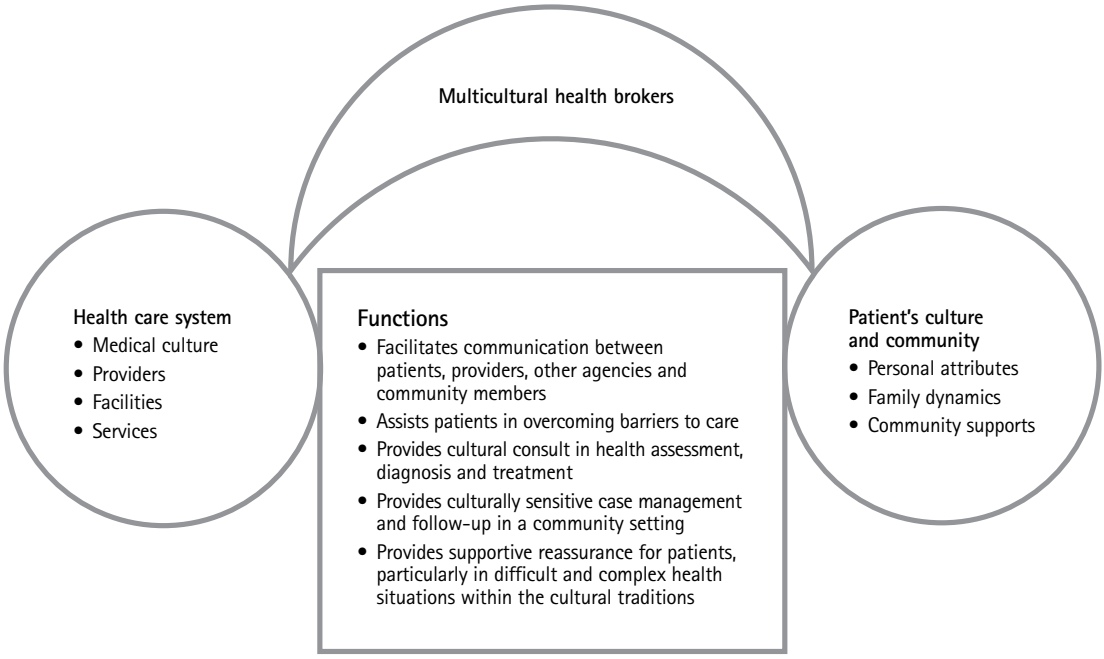
A fifth of Edmonton's population speaks English as a second language (Statistics Canada 2006).

The Government of Canada controls immigrant admission criteria, and funds a selected set of resettlement support programs and services for up to three years following the arrival of newcomers to Canada, depending on their ascribed immigration category (see CIC 2007, 2007a). Many of the challenges that immigrants face go beyond the nature, scope and time frames of government-designated resettlement programs. There are many gaps in needed services during initial resettlement, such as navigating health and social programs, and few formal supports and services to assist newcomers during the transition from resettlement to full integration in Canada, or across the life course as challenges continue to emerge (Frideres 2006, Wayland 2006). In recent years, increasing responsibility for resettlement support has fallen to immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs). Even when services are funded by the government, formalization of contractual relationships between the federal and provincial governments and ISOs has resulted in, and sometimes required, tighter organizational mandates, service parameters and accountability mechanisms, limits on the range of services provided and styles of delivery, and restrictions in service eligibility (Baines 2004, Mitchell 2007, Oxman-Martinez and Hanley 2005, Wayland 2006). The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) (CIC 2004) revealed that significant proportions of immigrants had difficulty accessing employment (70%), training opportunities (40%), housing (38%), and health services (22%) during the first six months following their arrival[3]. The 2005 LSIC data (Statistics Canada 2007) indicated that while two-thirds of new immigrants said that "life in Canada has lived up to their expectations," it remains that almost half (46%) identified finding an adequate job, and more than a quarter (26%)

[2] People who have immigrated to Canada in the last three years.

[3] Proportions of immigrants who had tried to access such assistance.

FIGURE 2
Model of multicultural health brokering for the health system



mentioned learning English or French, as their biggest difficulties since arrival.

The Multicultural Health Brokers Co-operative

Many community-based, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged to fill the gaps in the settlement sector; among these is the Co-op. The Co-op's mandate is "to support immigrant and refugee individuals and families in attaining optimum health through relevant health education, community development and advocacy support," based on principles of democratic governance, direct responsiveness and accountability, and facilitating equity and social justice (MCHBC n.d.).

Multicultural health brokers had their beginnings as childbirth educators. As a result, women's and children's health has always been an entry point for much of the Co-op's work. By establishing trusting relationships, and seeing the families' struggles from their own vantage points, brokers work under the surface of immediate issues to identify the challenges that may interfere with achieving optimal health and well-being, as well as meaningful participation in society.

During the past 15 years, the brokers have been involved in a myriad of initiatives addressing the determinants of health (Labonte 1993, Raphael 2004) across the life course, ranging from prenatal to seniors' perspectives. These efforts have engaged the Co-op in the health, social services, education, and employment sectors at municipal, regional, provincial, and federal levels. Figure 1 depicts the Co-op's conceptual framework. The number of brokers has grown from 8 to 35; they are currently working in and with the Afghani, Bosnian, Central and South American, Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin speaking), Congolese, Croatian, Eritrean, Ethiopian, Filipino, Karen, Korean, Kurdish, Iraqi, Iranian, Indian, Middle Eastern, Pakistani, Rwandan, Serbian, Sierra Leone, Somali, Sudanese, Vietnamese and Serbian communities in Edmonton.

During the past three years, the Co-op's workload has tripled, with little increase in funding or remuneration. This growth has been in response to two quite different migration trends. First, a large number of refugees have arrived in Edmonton, many of whom have experienced years of physical and mental trauma, and spent 15 to 20 years in refugee camps prior to arrival in Canada. In fact, many of the refugees currently arriving were born and grew up in refugee camps in areas such as the jungles of Thailand, in the case of Karen refugees from Burma, and are from the remote mountainous areas of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, in the case of Kurds. Such newcomers are completely unfamiliar with urban life. Many of

the women and children are illiterate in their first languages, and speak no English. Those who lived in remote rural settings in their home countries may have never seen a doctor, and many refugee camps did not provide medical or dental care. These individuals often have multiple and complex mental and physical health, as well as social, issues that interfere with resettlement.

Second, a large number of temporary foreign workers have been recruited to fill the job shortage catalyzed by the boom. Most temporary foreign workers are men, and often their wives and children are not eligible for health care coverage, rendering them extremely vulnerable in times of illness or pregnancy, or other unanticipated situations. According to provincial government projections, their numbers are projected to increase to over 30,000 annually (Alberta Employment and Immigration 2008).

Health initiatives

Pre-natal and family support has always been a primary focus for the Co-op, and a source of annually renewable health sector funding. In 2007-2008, the brokers provided pre-natal support to over 1,500 women and their families, through 95 prenatal classes in six languages, 183 parenting groups in seven languages, 1,028 episodes of one-to-one prenatal education, and labour support to 51 women. The Co-op's experience has demonstrated that for an astute broker, an entry point for service delivery is a funnel into the lives of families and communities. Within the health sector, during the past ten years, the Co-op has been involved in projects ranging from healthy sexuality and mental health to chronic disease management and cervical cancer screening to a preschool development screening initiative, as well as several research studies. In the past three years, the Co-op has been a project partner in catalyzing the development and implementation of the New Canadian Health Centre for refugees.[4]

While many newcomers undergo the pre-arrival medical assessment that is required by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, these assessments, according to international health experts,[5] are not considered comprehensive enough to indicate adequate interventions. Although most permanent residents and refugee claimants have coverage for health care, availability of services does not guarantee access to these services. Many newcomers experience significant barriers in meeting their health needs. At the most basic level, it is a challenge for anyone new to Edmonton to find a family doctor; it becomes excruciatingly difficult for someone who does not speak English and has no experience living in an urban setting in a Western society. Among the most challenging issues the brokers consistently identify is the need for comprehensive services and support to address the complex refugee health and social issues, which are exacerbated by poverty. Some brokers have identified racial and linguistic discrimination as persistent barriers for minority immigrants. According to a study that is currently underway, some brokers have said that the system is set up for people who were born in Canada and is not "fit for everyone."

Families and children

Addressing the issues of immigrant families warrants becoming involved in the region's Children Services programs, including parenting and early childhood development support, intense home visitation, support for families with children with disabilities, and, most recently, family enhancement, intervention and child protection services. The Co-op has also become extensively involved in early learning initiatives – from supporting staff to appropriately addressing the realities of families using pre-school early intervention programs to supporting parent-child literacy programs.

Emerging initiatives

The Co-op has also begun to engage in the employment sector, partly in response to the under- and unemployment of many of the people they support, including some of the brokers themselves, and partly because of the circumstances of many refugees and temporary foreign workers. The need to engage in the employment sector is deeply embedded in other issues surfacing across many immigrant communities. As youth observe that their parents' high levels of education have

[4] The New Canadian Health Centre is a multi-organization joint initiative in Edmonton to provide initial health assessment, preventive health services and primary care to newcomer refugees and immigrants. It is a small facility operating 1.5 days a week in an Immigrant Reception House with a multi-disciplinary team composed of staff and workers from Capital Health, University of Alberta Faculty of Medicine, Catholic Social Services, Multicultural Health Brokers Co-op and the Mennonite Centre for Newcomers.

[5] Committee members of the Canadian Collaboration for Immigrant and Refugee Health (CCIRH), 2008.

not resulted in commensurate employment, their optimism about the future evaporates. School dropout rates are very high, and inter-generational conflict is defined as a key issue in almost every community. Colleagues in regional Children's Services tell the Co-op that they have recently begun to see disproportionately large numbers of immigrants and refugees on their caseloads, resulting from inter-generational conflict and hopelessness. Family violence is a frequent occurrence in some communities, stemming from torture, abuse, and the violence of war.

A final area of brokering that has emerged during the past several years has been isolated seniors. Working collaboratively with a major multi-purpose seniors' NGO, the Seniors Association of Greater Edmonton, Spanish-speaking, Korean, Kurdish, Eritrean, and Eastern European seniors have been connected to English language classes and social support for the first time. Such partnership efforts gave rise to involvement in an important Immigrant Seniors Forum held in May 2008, which brought together researchers, policy-makers, program designers and seniors-serving professionals to explore with immigrant seniors the unique challenges they face. It was an opportunity to discuss important gaps in income security provisions for senior immigrants – a source of great hardship for many.

The Co-op has always been involved in intentionally fostering cross-sectoral partnerships that address the complex realities of immigrant and refugee communities. Through its involvement as a key partner in Families First Edmonton, the Co-op was part of the City of Edmonton's comprehensive long-term research project exploring the employment, immigration, housing, recreation and educational needs of low income families. This collaborative research project has highlighted the changing reality of our community: immigrants and refugees, like Aboriginal people, form a disproportionate number of people living in poverty within our community, who are falling through the cracks of the "siloed" service system. Further, existing programs and services do not adequately reflect the need for specialized and comprehensive services necessary to support full social and economic integration. It is clear that resettlement support is too short, not always provided at the right time, and insufficient. Systemic change is required to achieve the goals of equitable access to human services and community resources, and participation in society, for all immigrants.

Taking stock for the future

Having just celebrated the 10th anniversary of its formal establishment as a Co-op, it is a time to take stock and to revisit the vision for the future in light of the persistent issues facing immigrants. The Co-op's current priorities are:

- Strengthening the capacities of immigrants, whether as individuals, families or communities, to gain control over their own lives and health;
- Working for integration of multicultural health brokers throughout the health system;
- Increasing the capacities of the system and of service providers to be culturally responsive, through dialogue and training;
- Fostering opportunities to co-create creative and innovative programs and projects that address the challenges that immigrants and services experience;
- Establishing a coalition of immigrant community members to advocate for change through political involvement;
- Stewarding processes that maximize active participation and make the voices of immigrants heard.

In conclusion, cultural brokers see evidence of incremental change, which gives them cause for optimism. However, most cannot imagine a future when cultural brokers will not be needed. The persistence of many of the same issues, exacerbated by the increasing numbers of, and increasingly complex, health and social issues, have caused the Co-op to reaffirm its commitment to initiatives that are designed to support community capacity building and systemic change. As one broker puts it, "If I had it my way, I would help them. I would set them up. So from then on, they would be in control of their lives and could move on. I would prefer to help them, to really do what it takes...it keeps you alive too. It gives you hope. Otherwise, what kind of hope is there, if you only repeat things?" Another broker sums up his work this way: "Brokering is not just a job. It's bringing change and linking people to the whole system, and bringing both sides together – the system and the client – to work together towards the well-being of the individual, the family and society."

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In order to deal with increasing labour shortages, population decline and a retiring baby boomer populace, the province of Saskatchewan has implemented numerous strategies, including increased immigration targets, new training opportunities to boost employment within the Aboriginal population and the aggressive recruitment of Canadians "new and old" from other provinces.

Prairie Settlement: The Regina Open Door Society Expands to Meet Increasing Needs

DARCY DIETRICH
Regina Open Door Society

On April 25, 2008 Saskatchewan's Minister of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour (AEEL), Rob Norris, announced a new immigration target of 2,800 nominations for the 2008-2009 fiscal year. Including nominees and their families, this represents over 7,500 newcomers to the province. The Saskatchewan Immigration Branch was established only in 2001, and in that pilot year, 25 applicants were nominated. In the 2007-2008 fiscal year, the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP) issued 1,692 nominations, an increase of 435 nominations, or 34.6%, over 2006-2007. Suddenly the challenge is upon us to ensure that a province-wide strategic vision can stay one step ahead of the newcomer numbers as all sectors and institutions, from schools to hospitals to workplaces, prepare to adapt to meet the needs. In order to deal with increasing labour shortages, population decline and a retiring baby boomer populace, the province of Saskatchewan has implemented numerous strategies, including increased immigration targets, new training opportunities to boost employment within the Aboriginal population and the aggressive recruitment of Canadians "new and old" from other provinces. On a recent recruitment visit to Toronto, Saskatchewan's Premier, Brad Wall, indicated that his province has 10,000 new jobs to fill in every industry from construction to health care.

While the province of Saskatchewan is now doing much more to attract and retain immigrants, it is extremely important to ensure the support of professional immigrant-serving agencies such as the Regina Open Door Society (RODS) in order to meet the various needs of all newcomers to Regina; needs such as information, referrals and initial settlement support, services and programs.

The Regina Open Door Society

RODS is a non-profit community-based organization governed by a volunteer Board of Directors. The agency was established in 1976 by concerned members of the community who wanted to see needs-based settlement and integration services for refugees and immigrants. Beginning with one part-time position operating out of a local church basement, RODS has grown, along with its commitment to provide client-centred, strength-based services and support along the continuum of the arduous settlement experience. Having surpassed three decades of service to the community, RODS has established itself as Saskatchewan's first formal immigrant settlement agency and a nationally recognized innovator of settlement services for newcomers to Canada. RODS introduced the county's first Reception House for newcomers and was awarded the Citation for Citizenship award in 1998.

As the lone refugee and immigrant settlement agency within Regina, RODS provides a broad range of services to a highly diverse clientele, including refugees seeking haven from war and persecution and all other classes of immigrants, many arriving in rapidly increasing numbers through the SINP. RODS' traditional core client group consists of approximately 200 government-assisted refugees (GARS) resettled annually in Regina through the coordinated efforts of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), RODS, sponsoring groups, family members, volunteers and community partners.

Through various means, RODS works closely with others to create a more welcoming community for newcomers to settle in permanently. This work is a direct result of RODS' current strategic plan and expanded and enhanced services in collaboration with various funders and organizations and through the work of the Regina Settlement and Integration Coordinating Committee, which includes stakeholders from various government (all levels) and non-governmental agencies. In addition to serving the increasing number of immigrants coming to Regina through the SINP, RODS continues to work closely with CIC to continue delivering specialized services and programs for government-assisted and other sponsored refugees resettling in Regina. RODS is pleased to be part of Canada's humanitarian efforts to resettle refugees from counties such as Myanmar (Karen refugees), Afghanistan, Colombia, Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iran, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan. In cooperation with the Regina refugee sponsorship community, RODS was involved in the very successful large group-processing of Karen refugees in 2006, when a first group of 133 individuals was welcomed. This number has now grown to over 300. Over the past few years, RODS and the refugee support group also introduced *Dispelling the Myths* calendars as a public education campaign to highlight Canada's humanitarian commitments, the contributions and skills of refugees in our community and to dispel the myths about refugees, myths that, unfortunately, prevail in our society.

Program, service and overall agency development and improvement are on-going processes that RODS takes seriously. The agency is committed to keeping current and being creative in meeting changing and increasing client and community needs. Over the course of the past few years, the Board of Directors and staff have been working very hard to successfully govern and manage the unprecedented expansion and change of programs and services to better meet the specific needs of growing numbers of newcomers to Regina. Recently, the Board approved a newly developed strategic plan that is leading the organization towards heightened visibility and to make a renewed commitment to assist the community in increasing its capacity for working with newcomers. The new strategy enhances the delivery of service to clients and, at the same time, positions the agency to deal with future growth, greater numbers of clients and emerging trends and issues facing the community. RODS will continue to assist in creating a more welcoming environment, encourage intercultural awareness and illustrate the many benefits of immigration. The agency is presently developing a communication plan that will promote the organization and its services as the central gateway for newcomer settlement information and services for refugees, families and economic immigrants to Regina. Over the next few years, RODS will continue building new strategic local partnerships with all levels of government, school boards, health service providers, community organizations, private business and corporations. The agency will also continue to play a leadership role through involvement with the expanding provincial organization, the Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies (SAISIA), and, at the federal level, with the Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance (CISSA).

Services and programs

RODS provides a large number of diverse and specialized services to immigrants and refugees.[1] A team of RODS staff members also delivers

[1] These services and programs include Enhanced Assessment and Referral Project (EARP); the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP); the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP); the Host and Volunteer Program; on-site Health Assessment and Direct Referral Services to specialized care at the Regina Community Clinic; Settlement Social Worker (SSW) and Settlement Social Worker In Schools (SSWIS); Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), which serves approximately 180 adult learners daily (over 300 annually); RODS' provincially licensed childcare centre; Employment Services, including counselling, classroom instruction and sector-specific training programs; Enhanced Language Training (ELT) for professionally trained immigrants and the Saskatchewan Nominee Assistance Program (SNAP) to assist employers with settlement plans; the Summer Program for Refugee and

Over the years, RODS has delivered a multitude of project-based initiatives including programs for newcomer youth, cross-cultural parenting, family literacy and drop-in centre projects. RODS uses a results-based management approach to measure program and service success and program and newcomer outcomes.

numerous presentations each year on topics such as cross cultural awareness/sensitivity and refugee sponsorship. Over the years, RODS has delivered a multitude of project-based initiatives including programs for newcomer youth, cross-cultural parenting, family literacy and drop-in centre projects. RODS uses a results-based management approach to measure program and service success and program and newcomer outcomes. Focus groups, interviews and community consultations are conducted on a regular basis with newcomers and volunteers to ensure that services and programs are meeting client and community needs and any changes needed to improve service delivery are being made. In keeping with tradition and to stay in touch with members, clients, residents, stakeholders, volunteers and other interested community partners, RODS holds annual events to celebrate, educate and appreciate and to plan for the future. Despite RODS' rapid expansion, the staff continue to commit to events such as the annual Festive Season and Summer Picnic (celebrated annually for the past 30 years), volunteer appreciation and, in cooperation with the Regina refugee sponsorship community, the important World Refugee Day public education events in June of each year.

In order to meet the growing needs, the number of RODS staff members has grown from 35 to almost 90 in the past two years. A third location on the edge of downtown in beautiful Wascana Park will house RODS' Administrative, Family and Support, and Settlement Services. The present main location in downtown Regina will be renovated to accommodate Language Services and the RODS childcare centre. RODS' landlord, Adam Niesner, has signed a deed of gift transferring the title for this building and a partial parking lot following the end of the current lease, in March 2012. This generous gift from a forward-thinking Regina business community leader encourages RODS in its goal towards creating a truly welcoming community for all. An additional site a half block north houses RODS' Employment Services Centre. A well-established base of dedicated volunteers complements the Regina Open Door Society's culturally diverse staff. While several RODS staff and Board members proudly represent the refugee and immigrant communities of Regina – some were welcomed from other regions of Canada, many are Prairie-born, Saskatchewan-raised, dedicated, diverse professionals, and all are committed to welcoming immigrants and refugees and facilitating the successful settlement and integration of refugees and immigrants into our wonderful community.

The Regina Open Door Society recognizes that the successful integration of newcomers into our society requires the full support, involvement and participation of the community. RODS has forged strong partnerships over the past 32 years to benefit Regina's immigrant newcomers. However, in order to successfully attract and retain larger numbers of new immigrants and refugees, the entire community must be educated and encouraged to participate. It is not enough for those working or volunteering with newcomers on a regular basis to create a welcoming community. It is through the support of encouraging employers or smiling, helpful neighbours who give newcomers confidence by making them feel at home that we will witness successful settlement, retention and integration. If welcomed with effective settlement services and social supports, newcomers to Regina will quickly integrate and, in turn, give back to society in the same way that they were encouraged to participate when they arrived. The Regina Open Door Society is prepared for change in order to remain at the forefront of helping create Canadian culture and a way of life that builds on and respects existing cultural competencies, practices and traditions – while

Immigrant Children; Families In Transition (FIT), which offers professional family and individual counselling; and KidsFirst Regina, an intensive home visiting program delivered in partnership with other community-based agencies for vulnerable families with preschool-aged children.

integrating new skills, customs and ideas to help shape a uniquely diverse and vibrant Saskatchewan society.

About the author

DARCY DIETRICH, recognized both in Saskatchewan and nationally as an expert in the area of newcomer settlement and integration, has 20 years of experience in the settlement sector and is the current Executive Director of the Regina Open Door Society. He has also served as president and vice-president of the Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies.

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While geographically central in Canada, Winnipeg is isolated and has struggled against historical setbacks – realities that have together bred a culture of self-reliance and community cohesiveness. The city today has perhaps the most stable economy in Canada, never boom nor bust, but strong through its diverse nature.

Privately Sponsoring Refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba

TOM DENTON
Manitoba Refugee Sponsors

Sponsoring refugees into Canada is big in Winnipeg! Among Canada's cities, Winnipeg ranks first in its use of Canada's unique Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program (PSRP).[1] In 2006 and 2007, the city, with 2% of Canada's population, received almost 17% of Private Sponsorship of Refugees landings. The figures for new case submissions are even more startling. Forty percent of all new cases submitted in 2007 came from Winnipeg. If you exclude the Group of Five (G5) category that is rarely used in Winnipeg, the city accounted for over 56% of all new cases submitted by Sponsorship Agreement Holders.[2] The numbers appear to be trending higher in 2008. There must be reasons.

The *first reason* may well lie in the history and nature of the city. While geographically central in Canada, Winnipeg is isolated and has struggled against historical setbacks – realities that have together bred a culture of self-reliance and community cohesiveness. The city today has perhaps the most stable economy in Canada, never boom nor bust, but strong through its diverse nature (that mirrors the diversity of its people), providing consistently low unemployment figures that suggest a reasonable chance for newcomers to find jobs.[3]

The *second reason* lies in the history of refugee services in Winnipeg, and the long-time cohesiveness of its immigrant-serving community. Refugee sponsoring received its early impetus, as in many cities, through the embracing of the Refugee Sponsorship Program when it first appeared in the late 1970s, during the "boat people" crisis. Unlike many large cities, where services were fragmented, often along ethnic or religious lines, this never happened in Winnipeg. The International Centre, created in 1969,[4] dominated the immigrant services scene for many years at a time when these services were just beginning to grow as a focus for postwar government policy, particularly in the

[1] Canada's PSRP is long-standing and exemplary. Over 80 Sponsorship Agreement Holders across Canada have signed agreements with the federal government permitting them to sponsor refugees into Canada as permanent residents if they first meet Canada's selection criteria. Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAHs) are typically religious groups, ethnocultural groups or other humanitarian organizations. SAHs can auhorize their sub-groups, or Constituent Groups (CGs), as they are called (typically local parishes), to sponsor through the parent body's agreement. A separate category of groups that may submit a private sponsorship application is the Group of Five (G5) category, which allows groups of five qualifying individuals to sponsor refugees (this procedure is commonly used in Toronto, but rarely in Winnipeg).

[2] In 2007, 3,587 persons were admitted to Canada under the PSRP. In 2007, 3,028 new cases were submitted, covering 6,855 individuals. While only 880 of the new cases were G5 cases, these tend to average three persons per case submitted, while SAH cases tend to average about two persons per case. A significant percentage of sponsored individuals are rejected by Canada overseas as not meeting criteria. Figures herein were based upon data generously provided to the author by Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

[3] At the time of writing, Manitoba's unemployment rate was 3.9% as contrasted with 6.1% for Canada.

context of refugees. The Centre was non-denominational and non-sectarian, and became the meeting place for immigrant communities and home to ESL classes, as well as translation, employment, and settlement services.

As federal programming grew and dominated funding for immigrant services, the service-providing sector also grew across Canada. In Winnipeg, a small organization, the Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council, grew rapidly and, in 1993, became the International Centre. At the turn of this century, it was decided that the work was better done by separating refugee services from general immigrant services, so the two agencies separated, with "Interfaith" taking the refugee work to its new location, dubbed "Welcome Place." The two agencies face each other across Central Park and work collaboratively. Interfaith became the successor of the International Centre's Sponsorship Agreement with Ottawa, and is today the largest sponsor of refugees in Canada, with 43 Constituent Groups under its umbrella at the time of writing, and initiating more than 1,000 sponsorships in 2007.

In 1993, those persons and groups interested in sponsoring refugees decided to meet regularly to share information and challenges, and to provide mutual support. Thus the Manitoba Refugee Sponsors (MRS) was born; it has since become a major factor and focus in the private sponsorship movement in Winnipeg, and strong evidence of the community cohesiveness that has driven this program's success. In 2002, MRS was instrumental in convincing the City of Winnipeg to launch an assurance fund[5] that extends sponsors its protection when they undertake sponsorships in collaboration with Winnipeg families that wish to bring in their refugee relatives with the intention of settling in the city. This fund has been an obvious encouragement to such "family-linked" refugee sponsorships.

Federal and provincial government departments concerned with immigration have played a major role in the development of the sponsoring community's cohesiveness by working with it and lending it their support. Representatives of each department attend meetings of the MRS. The friendly sense of partnership that exists among the levels of government (including the City) and the sponsoring sector may not be unique to Winnipeg, but it is remarkable. The refugee component is a significant element in the aggressive immigration plans of the Government of Manitoba.

The *third reason* for the success of private sponsoring in Winnipeg, like successful movements anywhere, lies in the strength of the personalities who have driven it. Sister Aileen Gleason was the pre-eminent figure for almost 15 years, from the late 1980s until her retirement in 2001, sponsoring thousands of refugees under the auspices of her Roman Catholic Order, l'Institut de Notre-Dame des Missions. Her early sponsorships were conducted through the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg until 1991, when its then archbishop became alarmed with the quantity of sponsorships and its potential associated liability. So Sister Aileen transferred her work under the umbrella of the Anglican Diocese of Rupert's Land, where the work of her Hospitality House Refugee Ministry has continued ever since.[6]

Other strong figures joined this work and continue to lead it. They represent the support of faith communities in the city, principally including Anglican, Lutheran, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and United churches. They have contributed both locally and to the national refugee sponsoring scene. The work and leadership of the multi-faith Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council, led by its indefatigable director Marty Dolin, continues to provide direct and behind-the-scenes

[4] The International Centre was started by the Citizenship Council of Manitoba, an organization that began in the aftermath of World War II and the passage of the *Canadian Citizenship Act* in 1947, along with the wave of citizenship councils, which began at that time across Canada. The Council in Manitoba is the only one that survived and grew to become a major provider of immigrant services.

[5] The Winnipeg Private Refugee Sponsorship Assurance Program provided a $250,000 fund, plus annual grants for its administration, and resulted from a tripartite Memorandum of Understanding signed with the federal and provincial governments that reflected the City's interest in attracting and retaining immigrants. The first cases were registered under the program in January 2003. To date the fund has grown with interest, thousands of sponsorship files have been registered under it, and it has only had to make one payment of $400 to relocate a family from Winnipeg to a southern Manitoba town, where employment and support awaited.

[6] The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg and the Anglican Diocese of Rupert's Land are two of Canada's Sponsorship Agreement Holders. Hospitality House Refugee Ministry Inc., a CG of the Anglican diocese, is Canada's most prolific CG in sponsoring refugees.

coordination of refugee work in Winnipeg, and is a major reason of its success.

There is a *fourth reason*. Its potential exists everywhere in Canada, but there is a response mechanism that exists in Winnipeg. It goes to the heart of Canada's immigration policy. It is the demand for family reunification. Most of the privately sponsored refugees landing in Winnipeg are joining their families or extended families already established in this city.

The defining but unacknowledged reality behind the queues waiting overseas in all immigration categories to come to Canada is that they are driven by relational connections to people who are already here. Only in limited ways does Canada's current immigration policy facilitate this. The refugee sponsoring community in Winnipeg is well aware of this demand and, out of compassion and principle, is responding. But demand far exceeds capacity, not only of the sponsors but also of the PSRP itself, which has annual limits created both by policy and practicality. This is another reflection of the ongoing dilemma surrounding Canadian immigration.

Meanwhile, the refugee sponsoring community in Winnipeg is doing as best it can. It would like to do more.

About the author

TOM DENTON is co-Chair of Manitoba Refugee Sponsors and coordinator of Hospitality House Refugee Ministry in Winnipeg.

The Saskatoon Open Door Society has been providing services to immigrants and refugees since 1981. In its 27-year history, it has welcomed and provided services to refugees from around the world....More than 70 staff members carry out programming in three main areas: Language Training and Daycare; Employment; Settlement and Family Support.

Saskatoon Open Door Society: Welcoming Newcomers through the Community Host Program

JULIE FLEMING JUÁREZ
Saskatoon Open Door Society

It had been a long journey for Ali and his family. After years of running, years of uncertainty and years of struggle, he found himself in a place called Saskatoon and was hopeful that this city would become home. Still, he was scared. They were alone. His home was on the other side of the world. He didn't speak English. How would he support his family? How would they fit in? He hadn't seen anyone dressed the same. No one looked like them and no one spoke their language. Everything was different. He was worried about the snow and the cold weather. Should they move to a larger city? Ali had heard of a city called Toronto where there were lots of people from his country. Maybe he should just pack his meagre possessions and take his family. Run...one more time.

Almost all newcomers to small centres such as Saskatoon can relate to Ali's fears. It does not matter whether you are a refugee, a skilled worker, or an international student: the feeling is the same. The Community Host Program, offered by the Saskatoon Open Door Society, was designed to help newcomers overcome these fears. After all, who knows better what a newcomer is experiencing than someone who has gone through the same thing? "It's important for newcomers to be able to find existing groups who share their cultural background; in this way, they are able to obtain information that facilitates the settlement process," says Bertha Gana, Executive Director of the Saskatoon Open Door Society. "It is part of creating a welcoming environment; where you have one of your own, you are more likely to feel at home. My own personal experience as an international student speaks to this fact. The first few days were very challenging; I especially struggled with food. My thoughts went wild: did I make a mistake, can I get through this, maybe I should go back home before it is too late. Linking with a group of students from my home country made a world of difference. Community Host is the first contact that assures newcomers that this is home away from home. You feel at home knowing that there are other people from your own culture and that you are not isolated."

The Saskatoon Open Door Society has been providing services to immigrants and refugees since 1981. Located in the city of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, the agency, in its 27-year history, has welcomed and provided services to refugees from around the world, including countries such as Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Poland, El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Burma and many others. Open Door has also provided services to immigrants from around the globe, countries such as China, Japan, United Kingdom, Ukraine and several other European nations. More than 70 staff

"The fact that a volunteer from the same country and culture, who speaks the same language as they do, visits these newcomers and introduces them to other members of the ethnic community, gives these newcomers a sense of familiarity in his new country and the comforting feeling of being at home."
– Ayalah Levy, Development Worker, Saskatoon Open Door Society Community

members carry out programming in three main areas: Language Training and Daycare, Employment, Settlement and Family Support.

The Open Door Society's Host Program, funded by Citizenship and Immigrant Canada and introduced in 1990, first consisted of a one-on-one or family matching program where volunteers provided friendship, support, and language assistance in the home of the newcomer. The Host Program is constantly expanding to meet the needs of the growing number of immigrants and refugees coming to the city. Indeed, Open Door welcomes approximately 250 government-assisted refugees per year; last year, more than 5,000 clients were served through the Society's major programs. That was a 72% increase compared to the usual 5% to 10% increase of previous years.

Ten years after its creation, the Host Program added Conversation Circles to its services; to offer newcomers a safe and comfortable group environment in which to practice their language skills. More recently, the Host Program introduced the School Buddy Program, a care partner program at the elementary school level, as well as citizenship study sessions and driving practice.

Just under a year ago, the Open Door Society inaugurated its Community Host Program,[1] under which Community Host volunteers are matched with a refugee for six weeks. The first meeting, arranged with the refugee's permission, takes place within a day or two of their arrival. During this initial settlement period, the volunteer will help show the newcomer around the community and point out places of worship, ethnic stores and other services that may meet the newcomer's needs. The volunteer will offer support in the newcomer's language and familiar cultural setting and introduce him to others who speak the same language and are of similar cultural backgrounds. The volunteer helps to provide a sense of accomplishment, familiarity and home, networking opportunities, social opportunities, and basically, a reason to stay in Saskatoon. Volunteers, with the assistance of Host staff, also coordinate a social gathering such as a potluck to introduce new members to their community.

In the first eight months of the Program, volunteers were matched with 16 families consisting of 62 people. Of these 16 families, only one family from Sudan left shortly after their arrival to the city. This family had other family members in Ontario. "The Community Host Program helps ease the often difficult transition from one culture into another for immigrants and refugees. The fact that a volunteer from the same country and culture, who speaks the same language as they do, visits these newcomers and introduces them to other members of the ethnic community, gives these newcomers a sense of familiarity in their new country and the comforting feeling of being at home," says Ayalah Levy, Saskatoon Open Door Society Community Development Worker. "The volunteer, by sharing his or her own experience, provides comfort and eases the common challenges that newcomers face, including loneliness, stress and culture shock. Having a friend and a welcoming community makes a world of difference," says Ms. Levy.

Volunteers in the Community Host Program are recruited through various ethnocultural groups in the city. Saskatoon has a diverse population and several ethnocultural groups have formed cultural associations. Groups that have not formed official cultural associations often come together on their own in an informal environment for socialization and networking. Volunteers are volunteers in the pure form and do not receive any financial compensation for their efforts. The only expense they might incur during their match period is for gasoline, if they are transporting the newcomer. Newcomers

[1] Although the Program is currently offered only to government-assisted refugees, it is hoped that it will expand to other categories in the future.

receive financial assistance from CIC, so that any expenses they may incur during the first few weeks of their arrival are covered. Volunteers are asked to spend two to three hours per week with the newcomer. This is a guideline only and depends on the volunteer's availability and if there are any special community events happening during the match period.

"The biggest challenge in running the Community Host Program has been recruiting volunteers from countries where the needs are most pressing. There are volunteers who would like to help but who are already very busy building their own life in a new country," says Ms. Levy.

Current volunteers represent newcomers from Sudan, Burma (including the Karen community), Iraq, Burundi, Colombia, Somalia and various Francophone communities. Community Host volunteers, like each of the 200-plus volunteers at the Open Door, go through a complete orientation, training and screening process before they are admitted to the Program. Newcomers registering in the Community Host Program have come from several countries, such as Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq and Burundi. The two largest groups of newcomers are from Colombia and Burma – in particular, the Karen.

The Karen group is special in that it was the first group destination project, which was launched in 2006. Previously, individuals and families with designated refugee status were accepted and moved to a new country. Under the group destination project, the Government of Canada agrees to move an entire community and settle its members as a community. Saskatoon was the first Canadian city to welcome Karen refugees in 2006 and there are now more than 50 Karen families (more than 120 people) living here. As well, there are new families arriving every few months. The Karen face many challenges as the majority arrive with little education, speak little or no English, have high health care needs and very low life skills in terms of helping them to adapt to Western culture. They have lived in deplorable conditions in Thai refugee camps and need education, and support, in order to adjust to life here.

The Colombians face a different set of challenges. "Many have difficulty understanding their status as refugees," says Open Door Settlement Worker Diana Alquezar. Some of the Colombians enjoyed very high standards of living but, for political reasons, were forced to leave. It is now very difficult for them to live with only the most basic necessities and to start all over again. They are also dealing with homesickness as many have family remaining in Colombia, and they worry that those family members left behind may be the targets of political unrest. Some of them are well educated and have difficulty accepting that they need to learn English and have their education or professional certificates evaluated before they are able to seek employment in their chosen field. From April to September 2008, seven Colombian families arrived, for a total of 24 individuals.

Community hosts maintain contact with program staff and especially with the settlement worker, who works with the newcomer on a daily basis for the first few weeks. All government-assisted refugees and joint-assisted refugees go through an intensive orientation with Open Door settlement workers. These trained workers then walk through the entire settlement process with their clients, from airport reception to settlement in permanent accommodations and beyond. They assist newcomers with a multitude of tasks such as shopping and setting up house; they also provide government orientation and document preparation, education assessments and registration, and address health concerns. They provide advice and information on a variety of issues that their clients must know as they begin their new life in Saskatoon, from budget, safety, hygiene, apartment living and other topics. Host volunteers do not take the place of the settlement worker. They are viewed as a friend and a link to the ethnocultural community rather than to the community at large. Upon completion of the six-week Community Host period, home visits are carried out by Host staff to prepare the newcomer for a "mainstream" match, which although again based on friendship, places increased emphasis on language skills.

Saskatchewan's economy is booming. Associated with this boom is pressure on immigration to meet human resources demands. The number of immigrants to Saskatoon is increasing exponentially. In 2005, the Government of Saskatchewan announced the creation of the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program as a vehicle for attracting and retaining immigrants. Each year, aggressive targets are set; last year, the Program targeted over 1,500 nominations

that were expected to result in 3,000 immigrants to Saskatoon. This year's target of 2,800 is expected to attract 7,800 immigrants. Saskatoon is reported as the desired destination for over 40% of this population. All sectors of the economy are looking to immigration to fill the gap, with overseas recruitment missions being the order of the day. Ukraine, Germany, and the Philippines are among the source countries. Welders from Ukraine, 300 nurses from the Philippines, South African doctors: newcomers are making the headlines every day.

"Communities such as Pakistani, German, and Filipino are growing in Saskatoon. Community Host will be important in linking communities and in the retention of these new arrivals," states Dr. Gana.

For most of the newcomers, relocation presents many challenges, anxieties, and fears. It does not matter whether you are a refugee, skilled worker or international student: the feeling is the same.

Community Host volunteers, although very valuable in the role that they play in welcoming newcomers, are only a part of the overall picture. It is the role of each member of the community to welcome newcomers so that we can all learn and benefit from each other.

Ali's knock was met by scurrying feet inside the hotel room. A shy and questioning face appeared at the door. It was a face so familiar, a face full of questions, of concerns, of doubt. "Don't worry, my friend," Ali said. "I know how you feel. Let me tell you a story, a story that happened to me two years ago, and how I have come to call Saskatoon my home." And thanks to Community Host volunteers, newcomers are indeed coming to call Saskatoon their home.

About the author

JULIE FLEMING JUÁREZ is the Community Programming Coordinator at the Saskatoon Open Door Society. She was a volunteer with the Open Door Society in the mid-1980s and has been employed with the agency in the Host Program since 2000. Ms. Fleming Juárez and Dr. Bertha Gana developed the Community Host Program in response to the growing needs of newcomers arriving in Saskatoon as well as to the fact that many were choosing to move to other Canadian centres shortly after arrival.

In the absence of a large and well-established ethnic community and concomitant support network that one might find in a larger centre, a newcomer to somewhere like southeast Saskatchewan will be more likely to rely upon the assistance of people with entirely different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. On the other hand, such interactions among newcomers and members of host communities can foster the process of integration, which in the Canadian context is considered a "two-way" street.

Attracting Immigrants to Rural Saskatchewan

A New Experience and a Challenge Worth Meeting

JEFF PASSLER
Southeast Community Settlement Committee

Established in June 2007, the Southeast Community Settlement Committee (SCSC) is a group funded primarily by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Saskatchewan Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour. The SCSC resulted from the response, by numerous individuals and organizations in the southeast region of Saskatchewan, to a dramatic increase in the number of immigrants arriving in the area. This was a predominately rural area of the Prairies that had not seen immigration of this scale for many decades: the large number of newcomers from various nations and speaking different languages was a new experience for most people living in this part of the province. How best to respond to the newcomers was not at all clear. What was clear was that there would be – and still is – much to learn.

The SCSC, with one full-time employee working as coordinator, has numerous volunteer committee members, who represent stake-holders in southeast Saskatchewan, including government agencies, educational institutions, non-profit organizations and a private company employing immigrant workers. The committee also has members who have, themselves, immigrated from overseas. Under the umbrella of the SCSC, there are five local committees (in Estevan, Weyburn, Oxbow, Kipling/Moose Mountain and Ogema) that meet regularly to determine the needs of local immigrants and what measures can be taken to meet those needs.

The SCSC relies quite heavily on volunteers who can provide both immediate and long-term assistance to newcomers. With regards to immediate needs, newcomers have many tasks that they must attend to upon arriving, tasks that range from finding accommodation and getting hydro and phone hook-ups to opening bank accounts and enrolling children in school. To complete these tasks, volunteers who are available during regular working hours can be of tremendous help if they know where to go and what to do in order to get these tasks done. Retirees, shift workers and others who have time off during business hours would be particularly valuable for forming pools of volunteers who can provide immediate and fairly short term assistance, of perhaps a day or two, to newcomers.

Local settlement organizations have also been working toward the development of "Welcome Packages," collections of sources of information and resources to provide newcomers with

There is little point in spending time and energy developing strategies and measures that may have already been conceived and put into practice elsewhere. When we can learn from the lessons of others, we should do so.

specific information essential for day-to-day life in their new communities. A Welcome Package could contain various application forms (e.g., for a provincial health insurance card), maps of the local community and region, as well as information about various offices, businesses, banks, schools and other important services. A checklist of tasks to carry out upon arrival (e.g., setting up a bank account) and information about where to go to do these things would be an important part of the Welcome Package for both newcomers and the volunteers with whom they would be matched.

The SCSC also seeks to educate both newcomers and Canadian-born citizens about different cultures and to encourage everyone to celebrate cultural diversity. One such initiative was the Cultural Showcase that was organized together with the Estevan Comprehensive School and took place on November 21, 2008. It consisted of cultural performances, samples of foods from various parts of the world and displays where visitors learned interesting facts about different cultures. The Cultural Showcase was an opportunity for people from all backgrounds to gain a greater understanding and appreciation of different cultures, both long-established and recently arrived in southeast Saskatchewan.

The SCSC also makes referrals to appropriate government agencies. Quite frequently, current and potential immigrants and employers of immigrants will phone the SCSC coordinator seeking information. In such cases, it is important for the coordinator to refer callers to the correct department – provincial or federal – so they can get the information they require. This service will become more important as increasing numbers of people from overseas come to southeast Saskatchewan, a process explained more fully below.

A new wave of immigration – and new experiences

The Prairie Provinces experienced large-scale immigration in earlier periods when large numbers of European immigrants were invited over to farm the land. Since those days, the farmlands have long been fully occupied, and high rates of immigration to the area tapered off long ago. However, there has been an oil boom in southeast Saskatchewan: in recent years, it has been shown that the Bakken oil field, which extends partly into Manitoba, North Dakota and Montana, has much greater amounts of recoverable oil than previously thought.[1] Due to both increased world demand for oil and technological advancements that have made extraction of oil from this field more practical, this region's economy has been growing rapidly, and the corresponding need for workers has also increased greatly. At a time when the world economy as a whole is experiencing difficulties, the demand for workers in southeast Saskatchewan remains far in excess of supply. Employers cannot find nearly enough workers locally; therefore, local employers have been increasingly looking to other countries.

And so it is that, in recent years, the southeast region of Saskatchewan has seen many people arrive from countries such as Germany, Ukraine, Romania and the Philippines, to name just a few of those providing the most workers. Judging from the number of newcomers accepting invitations to come to Saskatchewan, efforts to attract people appear to have been quite successful. There are, however, several matters of which host communities should be aware.

First, we have a responsibility to treat newcomers as well as we can and to accommodate their needs as much as is appropriate and possible. This is a basic matter of human rights and dignity, one in which we cannot waver. People who come here make sacrifices, take risks and endure challenges that can be quite significant. It is only natural that the communities inviting people to come be as welcoming as possible.

Second, an opportunity exists for mutual cultural enrichment when newcomers settle in our communities. For newcomers, there is the opportunity to improve their skills in English, which is not the first language of most. So too exists the opportunity for them to be enriched by

[1] See <www.usgs.gov/newsroom/article.asp?ID=1911>.

the great diversity found in Canadian culture, which has been enhanced and made even more diverse by First Nations cultures and cultures from around the world. And as newcomers are enriched by our culture, we in turn have an opportunity to be enriched by theirs, and Canadian culture can be further enhanced and diversified.

Third, we should make ourselves familiar with the considerable efforts already made in Canada to better integrate newcomers and meet their needs. There is little point in spending time and energy developing strategies and measures that may have already been conceived and put into practice elsewhere. When we can learn from the lessons of others, we should do so. In most cases, perhaps, the lessons to be learned will be those found in larger centres in Canada. This is understandable: immigrants have moved in very high numbers to these larger centres for a long time. While a region such as southeast Saskatchewan is now experiencing immigration at levels that haven't been witnessed in the lifetime of most of the area's residents, other areas have long-standing experience with high levels of immigration. It is thus quite natural that a rural area like southeast Saskatchewan should learn a great deal from the experiences of larger centres.

Fourth, despite the lessons that can and should be learned from other locations in Canada, southeast Saskatchewan is a rather unique part of Canada, which may be both an advantage and a disadvantage in our efforts to assist and retain those who come here. In terms of advantages, much can be said about moving to a small town (the two largest communities in this region have populations of approximately 9,000 to 12,000 people). Considering the many tasks to be carried out as soon as possible upon arrival in a new country, the advantages of a small town become clear. Newcomers must get their driver's licence, find accommodations and furnishing, apply for a health insurance card, find a family doctor, buy and insure a vehicle and have it safety inspected, get utility services hooked up and find the grocery store, among many other things. All this takes plenty of time and energy, as most people who have moved to another country can attest. The list of things to do is quite long no matter where you move to. In small-town Saskatchewan, however, these tasks can be accomplished in a remarkably short time when going from one location to another involves travelling just a matter of blocks, and more often than not on foot. It is easy to learn your way around a small town in a very short time, a significant detail for newly arrived individuals or families faced with an overwhelming number of adjustments. Moreover, the overall nature of small-town life, although not preferred by all, is attractive to many. In a rural community, the quiet pace of life, the possibility of getting to know your neighbours, the absence of long commutes, of traffic congestion and of crowded sidewalks are all aspects that can prove as popular with newcomers as with others.

Despite the advantages of smaller communities, however, there are certain disadvantages that many newcomers will face in rural Saskatchewan. One would be that while some people prefer small-town living, many prefer life in larger communities. In a world where many countries have highly urbanized populations, small-town living can represent a major adjustment for many newcomers. For some people, perhaps, adjusting to rural life would create additional stress, in addition to the stress of coping with the culture shock they may be experiencing from moving from one country to another.

This last point leads us to another possible disadvantage of a rural area for newcomers. As our own SCSC co-chair recently stated, people who come to this area do not necessarily find many people who have the same cultural background or who speak the same language as them. Failure to find a sizeable group of people from one's language and cultural background may theoretically exacerbate feelings of culture shock. Presumably the presence of people from the newcomer's cultural and linguistic background can be of practical help and can be emotionally comforting for new immigrants; such a presence is not strong in this region. In the absence of a large and well-established ethnic community and concomitant support network that one might find in a larger centre, a newcomer to somewhere like southeast Saskatchewan will be more likely to rely upon the assistance of people with entirely different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. On the other hand, such interactions among newcomers and members of host communities can foster the process of integration, which in the Canadian context is considered a "two-way" street. Thus, it seems particularly important that newcomers and established Canadian citizens work extra hard to be effective cross-cultural communicators.

As increasing numbers of immigrants move to southeast Saskatchewan, our communities will

need to work hard to make newcomers feel as comfortable as possible. In doing so, it will be necessary to be both receptive to ideas from other cultures and practices followed in other communities while remaining aware of the caveat that our communities are not quite like all other communities. We will hopefully succeed in capitalizing on our advantages and attend to our limitations to the best of our abilities as we determine the courses of action of greatest benefit to us all.

About the author

JEFF PASSLER is the Immigration and Settlement Coordinator for the Southeast Community Settlement Committee. He has lived in several Canadian Prairie and Asian communities with populations ranging from fewer than 3,000 people to 11 million. As a result, he has had plenty of experience making the transition from culture to culture and from rural to urban communities and back again.









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