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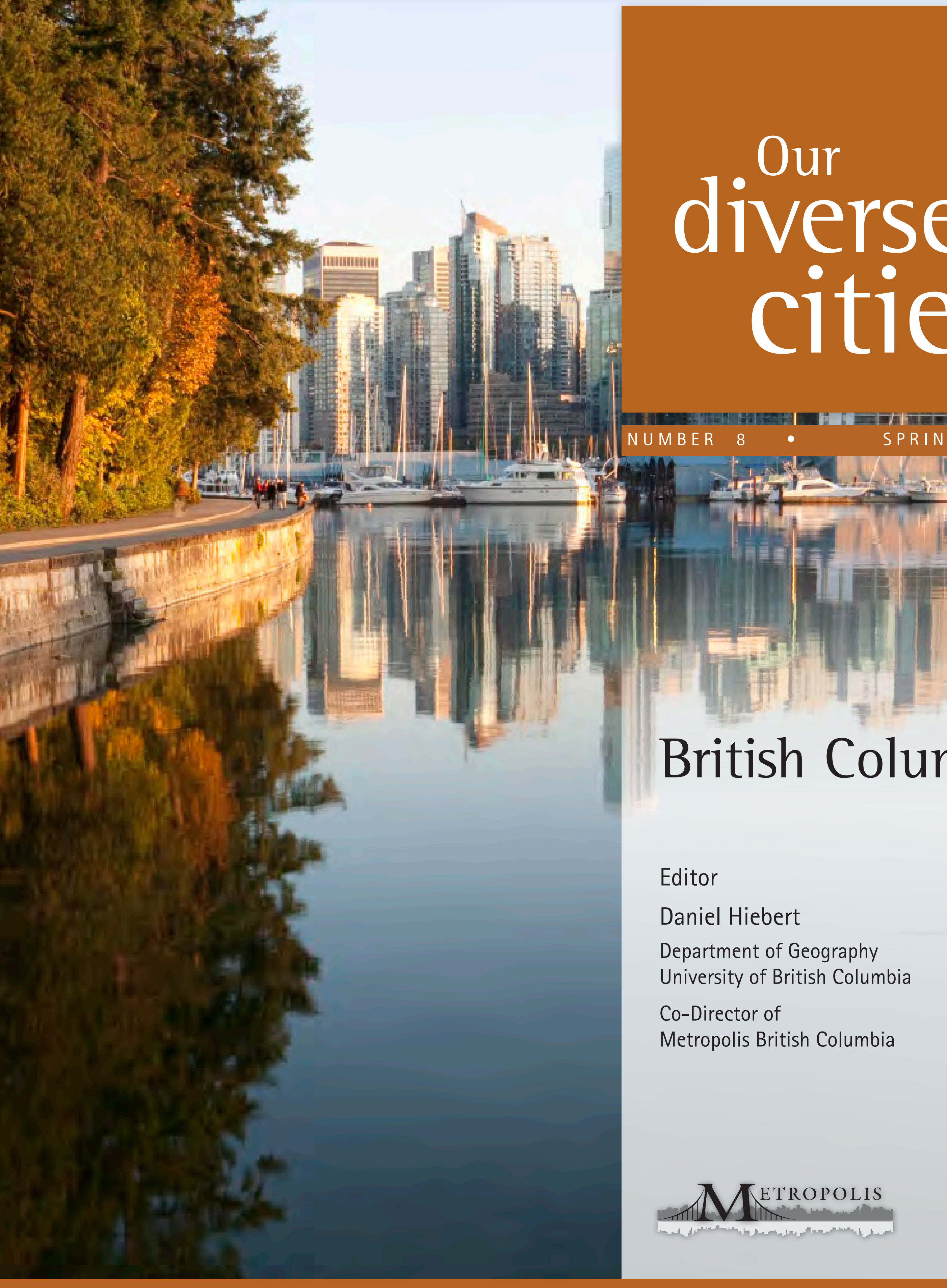

Our diverse cities

NUMBER 8 • SPRING 2011

British Columbia

Editor

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Table of Contents

NUMBER 8 • SPRING 2011

3 Introduction and Executive Summary
by Julie Boyer and Daniel Hiebert

9 WelcomeBC: Settlement and Integration Services in British Columbia
by Province of British Columbia

Section 1 – Economic Integration Issues

15 The Economic Integration of Immigrants in Vancouver
by Daniel Hiebert

23 Transnational Networks of Business Immigrants Between East Asia and British Columbia
by David Ley

28 Immigration Policy and Attitudes Toward Temporary Foreign Workers in Vancouver
by Dominique M. Gross

34 Immigration Policy and Attitudes Toward Temporary Foreign Workers in Vancouver: A Policy Response
by Citizenship and Immigration Canada

35 Do Immigrants Enhance International Trade? Examining Australian and Canadian Perceptions of the Immigration/Trade Nexus with India
by Margaret Walton-Roberts

43 Business-Economic Development and Immigration: Existing S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Initiatives and Its Vision for the Future
by Thomas Tam

Section 2 – The Challenge of Social Integration

47 Learning to Live Together
by Charles Ungerleider

54 They Were Always Such Nice Boys: Religion, Radicalization and Securitization in Canada and Beyond
by Paul Bramadat

59 Helping Young Francophone Africans to Integrate in Francophone Schools in Vancouver
by Marianne Jacquet, Danièle Moore, Cécile Sabatier and Mambo Masinda

65 Education Outcomes of Chinese and Punjabi Students in British Columbia: Do Immigrant Enclaves Matter?
by Jane Friesen and Brian Krauth

Table of Contents

Section 3 – Fostering Welcoming Communities

71 WelcomeBC: Embracing a Strategic Shift in the Delivery of Information Services
by Shelley Motz

76 Response to the Changing Landscape of Settlement in Greater Vancouver: The Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement Project
by Marc Larrivée

82 Fostering Collaborative Approaches to Meet the Settlement Needs of Newcomers
by Ryhan Mansour and Natasha Beg

84 Welcoming Newcomers: The Vancouver Mayor's Working Group on Immigration
by Baldwin Wong

87 Neighbourhood Houses in Vancouver: Crossing Boundaries in the Community
by Sean R. Lauer and Miu Chung Yan

Section 4 – The Special Story of Refugee Integration

93 Changing Faces, Changing Neighbourhoods: Government-Assisted Refugee Settlement Patterns in Metro Vancouver 2005–2009
by Lisa Ruth Brunner and Chris Friesen

101 Belonging and Community Building Among the New African Diaspora in Vancouver
by Gillian Creese

106 Post-IRPA GARs from Aceh: An Analysis of Refugee Integration Five Years On
by Lisa Ruth Brunner, Jennifer Hyndman and Chris Friesen

Section 5 – Immigrant Settlement Across the Province

113 Understanding Immigrant Experiences in B.C. Communities: A Driver Model of Engaged Retention
by Mandeep Bains, Ben Pollard and B.C. Stats

119 Hidden Avenues of Immigration: Experiences of Mail-Order Brides in Northern British Columbia
by Catherine Nolin, Anisa Zehtab-Martin and Greg Halseth

127 New Canadians in Search of Affordable Rental Housing in Central Okanagan, B.C.
by Carlos Teixeira

134 Francophone Immigration in Minority Settings: Productive Collaboration
by Caroline Duvieusart-Déry

139 "In the Smaller City, a Settlement Worker Wears Many Hats": Understanding Settlement Experiences in Kamloops, British Columbia
by Julie Drolet and Jeanette Robertson

Introduction and Executive Summary

Julie Boyer and Daniel Hiebert

It is with great pleasure that the Metropolis Secretariat, together with the Metropolis British Columbia Centre of Excellence, bring you the 7th edition of *Our Diverse Cities*. This issue is the fifth produced in collaboration with a regional Metropolis Centre of Excellence for the dual purpose of examining the impact of immigration and diversity on a specific region of Canada and showcasing the research findings of the Metropolis Centre of Excellence in this region. It completes a five-part series of regional perspectives on immigration and diversity in Canadian communities, each released in conjunction with a national Metropolis conference hosted in a particular region.

The *Our Diverse Cities* series was launched in 2004 to bring together various findings and viewpoints from researchers, policy makers at all levels of government and civil society on a specific theme related to immigration.

The first edition, produced in collaboration with the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, looked at the growth of our cities and the impact of immigration on their demography; arts and culture; health; housing; infrastructure, development and planning; parks and recreation; political participation; and policing and justice.

The second edition focused on immigrants in second and third tier cities. This compilation of case studies from Canada outlined challenges to immigrant integration in these centres and innovative policies and programs to overcome the challenges.

The analytical assessment of the impact of immigration in Canada would not have been complete without dedicating an edition to the rural context of immigration. In the third *Our Diverse Cities* edition, the authors looked at the socio-economic integration of immigrants in rural areas and the impact of diversity on these small centres' policies, programs, economies and cultures.

The first, second and third editions of *Our Diverse Cities* therefore gave us a glimpse, through three different lenses, of the impact of Canada's immigration program and policies. We hope that the short issue-specific articles on pointed themes have proven to be a useful tool for academics to use in their classes, for policy makers to use in their daily work (as a resource to familiarize themselves with a new issue or researcher or to use as an environmental scan in the preparation of briefing materials), and for representatives of non-governmental organizations to use as a guide to best practices.

Our second series of *Our Diverse Cities*, launched in 2007, followed the same format and included articles from the three sectors engaged in the project, but this time structured within regional contexts.

The Ontario edition looked at the demographics of the province, settlement challenges faced by newcomers, economic integration pathways and newcomers' civic engagement.

The Atlantic Region edition brought a new angle to *Our Diverse Cities* by introducing us to the importance of social networks in the recruitment, integration and retention of immigrants in these provinces.

It was in the Prairies Region edition that our contributors focused on the role of host communities in the integration of newcomers and presented us with "Made in the Prairies" solutions that included innovative partnerships and arrangements for service delivery.

The Quebec edition shed light on the unique characteristics of the immigration program in this province but also the socio-economic integration challenges it shares with the rest of Canada. The contributors provided us with insight on the reasonable accommodation debate and an explanation of the importance of culture, religion and language in Quebec's immigration program.

The articles in the British Columbia edition will introduce you to the unique challenges faced by this province, but also the successful practices that have been established over time. The themes of the previous editions of the regional *Our Diverse Cities* will be further developed, but within a new geographical context.

The companion piece to this introductory article outlines the extensive array of services associated with WelcomeBC. Since 1998 when the first agreement was signed between British Columbia and the federal government, the province has assumed responsibility for settlement and integration services (with one exception: the federal government retains jurisdiction over the Resettlement Assistance Program for government-sponsored refugees).

The WelcomeBC program seeks to deliver services in ways that promote rapid social and economic integration for newcomers. As in the rest of Canada, many of the services available to newcomers are actually delivered by a diverse group of service providers, in this case through contracts administered by the provincial ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development (RESD). The fundamental management philosophy behind the WelcomeBC program is led by the concepts of "evidence-based programming" and "return on investment." As these phrases imply, over the past decade, the RESD has increased its capacity to monitor the services it delivers and adjusts them to balance the twin objectives of comprehensiveness and efficiency. Current priorities emphasize language acquisition for newcomers, labour market accessibility and the promotion of inclusive communities (see more on this point below).

Several articles explore the economic side of the integration equation. Daniel Hiebert employs the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) to summarize the economic situation of newcomers in the Metro Vancouver area (home to approximately nine out of ten recent immigrants to British Columbia) specifically, labour market earnings and utilization of social assistance. He shows that the earnings of newcomers are significantly below those of the general population but that this outcome varies widely between different admission categories. As might be expected, those who were admitted through the Skilled Worker Program are more rapidly integrated in the labour market than other groups, while the situation for Business Class immigrants appears to be particularly troubling. In general, newcomers in Vancouver are very unlikely to depend on social assistance, which may indicate a positive integration experience or, perhaps, reflect stringent accessibility criteria for the British Columbia welfare system.

David Ley explores the story of Business Class immigrants in more detail, based on his recent larger study of "millionaire migrants." He argues that there are a variety of barriers to entrepreneurship for this group in Canada, and that few are able to replicate the significant success they had achieved prior to migrating. In fact, prospective immigrants are aware of these challenges and apparently do not apply to the program with the expectation of making major investments in Canada. Their motivations are generally related to non-economic issues, such as the environment, the political culture, the tertiary education system and the quality of life available in Canada. One of the major immigrant settlement organizations in the

Vancouver area, S.U.C.C.E.S.S., has taken this issue to heart and has established programs to assist newcomers who are interested in entrepreneurial pursuits in Canada. This program is explained by Thomas Tam, as well as the ambition of S.U.C.C.E.S.S. to generalize its local program across the whole of Canada.

Dominique Gross discusses a different aspect of Canada's economic immigration program by analysing the large increase of temporary foreign workers (TFWs) in British Columbia. She is particularly interested in the attitudes of workers in Metro Vancouver's construction industry toward TFWs. Significantly, she finds that the scale of the TFW program is greatly overestimated by construction workers, who believe that TFWs represent a threat to their wages and working conditions, when the proportion of TFWs in the sector is actually quite small. Her analysis demonstrates a gap between the TFW program and public awareness, which could undermine confidence in the immigration system more generally. The challenge of assembling precise data on the TFW program is outlined by the Immigration Branch at Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) in its policy response to the Gross article.

Finally, from an economic point of view, Margaret Walton-Roberts investigates the relationship between immigration and trade by contrasting the experiences of Australia and Canada. Both have received large numbers from India, but Australia appears to have capitalized on this process much more. The number of Indian immigrants settling there is smaller than in the Canadian case, but despite that, trade between Australia and India is far larger and growing more rapidly. Walton-Roberts believes that this outcome is related to the nature of immigration, to a degree. That is, immigration to Canada from India has been dominated by the family reunification process, while Australia has admitted a higher proportion of economic immigrants. But her explanation does not stop there, and she emphasizes the different practices of the two countries with respect to visitor visas and temporary migration. According to the informants of her study, it is much more difficult to obtain a business travel visa for Indian entrepreneurs who wish to visit Canada than in the Australian case, so the development of trade relationships is easier for the latter country. Moreover, Australia has been much more successful in attracting international students from India. Walton-Roberts argues that the combination of characteristics in Canada's temporary and permanent immigration systems limits the "value-added" component of immigration (trade) from India.

The issue of social integration is introduced by the next set of articles. Charles Ungerleider's article provides an important starting point for such a discussion by reviewing the key building blocks of Canada's "normative environment" of social justice and cultural inclusion. The mix of policies introduced after World War Two has established multiculturalism as an overall framework for intercultural relationships, but in step with the development of human rights instruments and, especially, the Charter, which guarantee individual freedoms. Ungerleider concludes by reminding us that there are still unmet challenges for social cohesion in Canada.

Paul Bramadat pursues a particular aspect of these challenges by commenting on the dialectical relationship between security and religious radicalization that has emerged in Canada and, more generally, throughout the world. He encourages us to be mindful of the pitfalls associated with essentializing religion (e.g., "all Muslims believe …" or "all Christians believe …") and highlights the importance of digital culture in enabling "parallel societies" and therefore in sustaining groups that have become radicalized.

Marianne Jacquet, Danièle Moore, Cécile Sabatier and Mambo Masinda focus on the small but growing number of Francophone sub-Saharan Africans settling in British Columbia and consider their engagement with the education system. They find that academic and cultural disconnects are major barriers to academic integration. In addition, the lack of teacher training and resources that take into consideration cultural differences and potential emotional and physical trauma experienced prior to immigration, prevent the academic integration and success of these youth. They recommend enhancing collaboration between school and family, using the

cultural expertise from community organizations and contextualizing issues prior to identifying solutions to improve these outcomes.

Jane Friesen and Brian Krauth tackle another aspect of education as an element of integration. They examine the performance of children from Punjabi and Chinese backgrounds in the Metro Vancouver school system. They begin by noting that the degree of ethnocultural concentration in schools is actually greater than that in residential neighbourhoods since parents are eligible to place their children in schools outside their traditional "catchment" zones. They discover that there is an "enclave effect" whereby the performance of students in schools with a high ratio of Punjabi-speaking pupils is reduced while that of students in schools with a high ratio of Chinese-speaking pupils is increased. Given the inconsistent outcomes associated with enclaves, there is no simple "policy fix" to this issue.

The next set of articles is dedicated to exploring a number of innovations in integration through the use of social marketing in British Columbia. Shelly Motz of the Ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development (RESD) explains the new strategies introduced in WelcomeBC following a thorough evaluation of the program in 2008. A variety of new marketing and outreach tools have been designed to, first, recruit newcomers to British Columbia and, second, inform them of the settlement services available to them. This has involved, for example, the use of Internet "microsites" geared specifically to the information needs of potential immigrants in particular parts of the world (e.g., dedicated sites reaching the Punjab state of India are distinct from those accessible to individuals from South Korea, ensuring that information is tailored to the needs of each group) and a growing use of social media and new technologies to advertise language education programs open to newcomers in British Columbia.

Marc Larrivée provides a discussion of the Step Ahead program that was introduced in British Columbia in 2008, with funding provided by the RESD to a consortium of five not-for-profit agencies led by MOSAIC. Step Ahead builds on a case management approach where 11 dedicated "mobile counsellors" visit refugee families in their homes to address their needs. The program has been designed to foster self-determination among refugees and to assist them in overcoming multiple barriers, including literacy and health concerns. The usefulness of the program in identifying potential problems, and dealing with them, as early in the integration process as possible is noted by Ryhan Mansour and Natasha Beg, from the CIC Integration Branch, in their response to the Larrivée article.

Another innovative approach to the integration question is described by Baldwin Wong in his overview of the approach to newcomers developed by the City of Vancouver. The Mayor struck a working group for this purpose in 2005 and the group was rejuvenated in 2009 with a more extensive mandate. In 2007, the Mayor's Working Group on Immigration (MWGI) submitted a report that was endorsed unanimously by Council and that included several important ingredients, notably a vision statement on the role of newcomers in the city. After a brief reduction in its activities, the rejuvenated MWGI pursued three objectives: a mentorship program where city staff can share expertise with professionally trained newcomers; a program of dialogues between First Nations and newcomers; and capacity building for the city to learn more about and develop responses to new immigration policies (at the moment, attention on this front is being devoted to the rapidly growing number of TFWs locally).

Sean Lauer and Miu Chung Yan consider the evolving role of a venerable institution. Neighbourhood houses have existed in Vancouver for over a century but have recently come to emphasize their role in fostering cross-cultural interaction at the local level. As always, the sentiments of universal programs such as multiculturalism can only be fully realized if local institutions take part (a point that is often insufficiently appreciated by those who frame policies at the national

or provincial levels, as well as academics who analyse policy outcomes). Neighbourhood houses in Vancouver bring people from many cultures together in the programs they develop and increasingly, this process is incorporated in the design of these programs.

With these larger processes in mind, another set of articles is devoted to the specific issue of refugee integration in British Columbia. The first, by Lisa Brunner and Chris Friesen, uses administrative data collected by ISSofBC (a major not-for-profit settlement organization in Vancouver) to document the early settlement trajectory of government-assisted refugees (GARs). This project is made feasible by the fact that all the GARs destined to B.C. by the federal government are welcomed by ISSofBC, which provides accommodation for their first few weeks in Canada at one of its facilities. ISSofBC has made an effort to collect information on the subsequent housing acquired by GARs and this new information reveals that many are drawn to a few small areas of Metro Vancouver that offer low-cost housing, primarily in the private sector. This housing is often inadequate for the needs of refugee households, but few alternatives exist. Brunner and Friesen wonder whether the enclaves of poor refugee households that are developing suggest a potential for future socio-economic problems.

This question is especially pertinent for the group of African newcomers that is the focus of Gillian Creese's article. She uses the term "hypervisible" to describe this population, which numbers nearly 30,000 in the Metro Vancouver area. She argues that African newcomers are fragmented into myriad subgroups since they come from many countries and have varied linguistic and cultural characteristics. Yet they are generally homogenized in policy discourse and, perhaps even more importantly, in everyday reactions to their settlement in Canada. An alarmingly high proportion of the group has experienced discrimination, for example. Creese emphasizes the important role of female support networks that are emerging among African newcomers.

Lisa Brunner, Jennifer Hyndman and Chris Friesen report on another group of refugees who face considerable challenge in their integration process. Canada brought a group of refugees from the Aceh region of Indonesia and in this article, we see a first glimpse of the experience of this population five years after arriving. The most important outstanding issue for these individuals, which colours everything about their life in Canada, is the continuing problem of learning English sufficiently to find work and to communicate more broadly with others around them. There is evidence of progress in this respect, but their language deficit remains considerable.

A group of articles dealing with issues that are locally specific is collected in the final section of this edition of *Our Diverse Cities*. In the first, Mandeep Bains, Ben Pollard and B.C. Statistics describe the efforts made by the British Columbia government to encourage newcomers to settle in non-metropolitan areas of the province and, once that happens, to ensure that they feel a sense of welcome. To inform and monitor related policy and program decisions, the RESD commissioned a large survey of approximately 4,500 individuals to provide a baseline of social attitudes about immigration and diversity in communities across the province. The survey will be repeated in a few years to see if programs designed to help people develop cross-cultural understanding have made an impact (this is an example of efforts made to develop "evidence-based policy" noted in an earlier article). Analysis of the first wave of the survey shows that there is a fairly strong correlation between community characteristics (which can be affected by policy) and the feeling of belonging expressed by newcomers. These characteristics play a lesser role, however, in determining whether or not newcomers decide to "put down roots" in the community. No doubt the second wave of the survey will provide more evidence on these questions.

Catherine Nolin, Anisa Zehtab-Martin and Greg Halseth alert us to an issue that has probably escaped the attention of most policy makers and analysts alike: the settlement of "mail-order brides" in remote communities across British Columbia. It is worth noting that this is a global phenomenon and that the same process is occurring with increasing frequency, for example, throughout the more economically developed parts

of Asia, such as the agricultural regions of South Korea and Japan. The authors worked with community organizations to recruit 38 interviewees for this project and highlight the experiences of two of their research subjects to demonstrate that outcomes differ profoundly for individuals who are brought to Canada in this way.

Access to affordable, adequate housing is a core element of the settlement and integration process, an issue explored by Carlos Teixeira for Kelowna, a rapidly growing city in the central Okanagan region. In many parts of Canada, small and medium-sized cities are struggling to retain their population and eager to attract immigrants for their demographic survival. In contrast, Kelowna and the surrounding region are experiencing substantial in-migration of the Canadian-born, many to enjoy the amenities of the region after they retire. The result has been a spectacular increase in the cost of housing, a development that makes it particularly difficult for newcomers to settle and stay in the city.

Caroline Duvieusart-Déry of CIC examines an issue that was introduced by Jacquet and her colleagues, namely, the retention of Francophone newcomers in British Columbia. The province has the largest proportion of Francophone immigrants, approximately 6%, outside Quebec and after the province of Ontario. Its recruitment efforts have been successful to date and the focus is now on integration and retention.

Although the Canada-British Columbia Agreement on Immigration gives the province the lead on the delivery of settlement services, the Government of Canada works closely with the province on this file through the Regional Francophone Immigration Steering Committee.

Duvieusart-Déry also describes the multiple partnerships, programs and frameworks in place to foster the vitality of Francophone communities outside Quebec.

The final article in the set is provided by Julie Drolet and Jeanette Robertson, who discuss the provision of settlement services drawing on the experience of Kamloops. This is another example of a partnership between an academic and a community organization, a type of research fostered by Metropolis British Columbia. The landscape of formal settlement services offered to newcomers in Metro Vancouver has developed over close to half a century. It is virtually impossible to replicate such an elaborate matrix of organizations and services in small centres, so policy makers and practitioners must make difficult choices in deciding what to do in these places. Drolet and Robertson show that needs in smaller centres are highly varied, just as they are in Canada's metropolitan centres, suggesting the necessity for a continuum of services keyed to the needs of individual immigrants and their families.

* * *

We hope the articles in this collection will provide readers with a sense of the complexity of issues facing newcomers to British Columbia as well as the breadth and depth of efforts on the part of the government and the not-for-profit sector to address them. The private sector is also involved, particularly in the form of the relatively new Immigrant Employment Council of British Columbia and ALLIES, but no doubt interest will grow as knowledge of the need for immigrants in the labour force becomes more widespread.

We also hope that readers will gain an appreciation for the scope of the research sponsored and supported by Metropolis British Columbia. Most of the articles in this publication derive directly from the use of public resources in this way. For this reason, we gratefully acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the consortium of federal and provincial partners that have provided funds to Metropolis British Columbia.

WelcomeBC: Settlement and Integration Services in British Columbia

Province of British Columbia

Abstract: WelcomeBC, the province's strategic framework for addressing British Columbia's immigration imperative, brings together immigrant settlement services under a single umbrella. Building on the solid experience, partnerships and delivery system developed in B.C. since 1998, the province revised the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework in 2009–2010 with the view to better respond to immigrants' needs, ensure program sustainability in a context of fluctuating funding, and strengthen accountability and return on investment with the establishment of a new performance management framework.[1]

British Columbia's Immigration Imperative

For generations, new immigrants have viewed British Columbia as a destination of choice. Each year, B.C. welcomes approximately 40,000 new immigrants from over 175 countries who speak 150 languages, one-third of whom are children and youth.[2] In addition to seeking opportunities for themselves and their families, newcomers bring entrepreneurship and innovation and contribute to the social, civic and cultural fabric of the province's communities and workplaces. Welcoming newcomers and their families so that they may live, work and thrive in British Columbia is the goal of WelcomeBC, a goal made more significant given the economic climate and B.C.'s immigration imperative.

In the short term, economic conditions have resulted in a higher unemployment rate than has been experienced in recent years. However, forecasted labour market pressures remain as a result of the ageing population, a rapidly growing knowledge and innovation economy and increased globalization. Between now and 2019, immigrants will be needed to fill approximately one-third of the 1,126,000 job openings in B.C.[3] Approximately 60% of new immigrants are now arriving from the Asia Pacific region through Canada's Pacific Gateway.[4] While B.C. continues to embrace a global, multicultural approach to attract more immigrants, the province also recognizes the important of retaining newcomers and building an environment where communities actively support and participate in the integration of immigrants into community life and workplaces.

While there are many successes, socio-economic indicators continue to point to significant barriers that impact newcomers' full participation in Canada. WelcomeBC works to address those barriers, support positive settlement and lead to long-term integration and inclusive communities in B.C.

WelcomeBC

Under the Canada and British Columbia Immigration Agreement (the Agreement[5]), Citizenship and Immigration Canada transfers funds and responsibility to the Province of British Columbia for the design, administration and delivery of settlement and integration services for immigrants and refugees. These services are delivered under the framework of WelcomeBC. With an increase in federal settlement funding since 2005–2006, services offered by WelcomeBC have been expanded and enhanced with a renewed emphasis on successful outcomes.

1. This article is based on the WelcomeBC Settlement and Integration Services 2009–2010 Annual Report. The full report can be found at www.welcomebc.ca.
2. Data source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Landed Immigrant Database System.
3. "BC Labour Market Outlook 2009–2019" was developed by the Province of British Columbia to provide regionally based data and trends on B.C.'s labour. Details can be found at www.workbc.ca/docs/BCLMOutlook.pdf.
4. Data source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Landed Immigrant Database System.
5. First signed in 1998 and previously called "Agreement for Canada–British Columbia Co-operation on Immigration."

Figure 1

WelcomeBC has three strategic lines of business: English Language Development, Settlement and Inclusive Communities, and Labour Market Participation. Three foundational elements are key to successful planning, implementation and evaluation.

1. Partnership and Sector Development

The engagement of multiple sectors and a network of partners and service providers are critical to achieve success throughout the immigration pathway (from pre-arrival to longer-term integration). The range of partners and service providers in B.C. has expanded to over one hundred contractors, employing 1,200 workers. WelcomeBC supports key umbrella organizations: ELSA Net, an affiliation of adult English-language service providers, the Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of B.C. (AMSSA) and the Immigrant Employment Council of B.C. Each plays an important role in supporting and developing a strong and cohesive sector. In addition, a number of partnerships across B.C. ministries help build capacity and knowledge within the government to better respond to the settlement and integration needs of newcomers.

2. Research and Innovation

Policies and programs are based on best practice, academic research, sector and expert consultation, and piloting new innovations. To strengthen evidence-based programming, the province continues to pursue and implement its research agenda to better support policy, planning and evaluation, such as:

- Longitudinal study of English Language Services for Adults (ELSA) clients to empirically test pathways, outcomes and the economic benefits model;
- B.C. Labour Market Supply and Demand Model, used to inform immigration policy and planning as well as labour market development and post-secondary policies;
- Immigration data, fact sheets and resources to support planning, and utilized by other ministries and communities to assist in capacity-building work; and
- Metropolis BC research and policy forums.

3. Accountability and Return on Investment

Under WelcomeBC, each line of business and program area has, or will have, a performance logic model and performance management framework specific to intended outputs and outcomes. The achievement of these outcomes is influenced by a variety of demographic, social and economic factors as well as the fiscal environment. However, by focusing on strengths and adopting the right *quantity* and *quality* of programs, WelcomeBC makes a substantial contribution to those outcomes.

B.C. also ensures that the WelcomeBC outcome measurement framework supports national work and the development of national settlement outcomes to inform future policy decisions and remain reasonably comparable to other services across Canada.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT:

B.C. immigrants will have access to English-language training and gain language skills relevant to the labour market and communities they live in.

English literacy and speaking ability are the most important skills for immigrants to advance their social and economic success. Of 133,000 working-age immigrants who came to B.C. between 2005 and 2009, approximately 39,000 (29.2%) arrived without official language abilities.[6] With more immigration coming from non-English-speaking countries, this percentage may increase in the years ahead. Although most immigrants are highly skilled and educated, a lack of English-language skills prevents their full integration in workplaces and communities. WelcomeBC supports English-language training for adults through a variety of approaches.

2009–2010 Key Actions

English Language Services for Adults (ELSA) and English-as-a-second-language (ESL) training in public post-secondary institutions – Delivered through 39 service providers across the province. Approximately 18,000 immigrants received training in 2009–2010. WelcomeBC continues to support 17 public post-secondary institutions in providing basic to advanced classes for approximately 8,500 immigrants a year. These classes enhance learner capacity to bridge into academic and training programs and the labour market.

Alternative Service Delivery for English-Language Training – WelcomeBC recognizes that a multifaceted, community-focused approach is essential to supporting the integration of all family members. Alternative service delivery models have been piloted, including volunteer conversation classes and Immigrant Parents as Literacy Supporters, which helps parents support their children's literacy.

Regional Access to English-Language Training – In communities where there are smaller numbers of immigrants with limited or no access to English-language classes, WelcomeBC has increased alternative training opportunities through volunteer tutoring services delivered by the English-as-a-Second-Language Settlement Assistance Program in 39 regional locations, with capacity to serve over 57 communities.

2009–2010 Key Achievements

- Increased regional access to English-language training for adults from 29 communities to over 57 throughout B.C.
- Provision of a wider range of English-language training offerings—from classroom to online curriculum—that match demand.
- Increased English-language services to 17,990 clients (up from 12,000 in 2006–2007).
- Partnership with PPSIs to articulate and align course levels in institutions with provincial adult language programs.
- Expansion of the English-as-a-second-language for adults advertising campaign to promote uptake of programs.
- Client satisfaction and outcomes survey (2010)[7]: 96.3% of respondents who participated in Literacy to Level 3 ELSA activities, 99% of respondents who took part in Levels 4 and 5 (workplace), and 98% of respondents who participated in Levels 4 and 5 (regular) indicated that the ELSA program helped them very much or somewhat with their life in Canada.

6. Data source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Landed Immigrant Database System.
7. As part of a performance evaluation process, four iterations of client satisfaction and outcomes surveys were conducted with end-user clients, the most recent being in 2010: http://www.welcomebc.ca/wbc/service_providers/programs/settlement_program/reports/clientsat.page.

SETTLEMENT AND INCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES: B.C. immigrants will have access to enhanced immigrant settlement services and be part of welcoming communities that accelerate their social and economic integration.

Integration is a two-way process involving commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in B.C., and welcoming and adapting to new peoples and cultures on the part of communities. Across B.C., many communities are proactive and welcome social and cultural diversity. However, and not unlike other jurisdictions, newcomers continue to face challenges to successful integration. WelcomeBC responds to these challenges with generic and targeted programs, including those that encourage welcoming communities and that address issues of racism and discrimination.

2009–2010 Key Actions

Community Settlement Information and Support Services – WelcomeBC continues to provide funding to more than 30 service providers to support the early settlement and integration of over 40,000 newcomers a year into B.C. communities and workplaces. This includes Settlement Workers in Schools targeting immigrant youth and their families, serving over 40,000 clients a year in 21 school districts representing one thousand schools. The B.C. Newcomers' Guide to Resources and Services is available in eleven languages.

Vulnerable Immigrant Populations – WelcomeBC recognizes that vulnerable immigrant populations, such as refugee families and their children, at-risk youth, young adults, women and seniors require unique services to accelerate their community participation. WelcomeBC supported five pilot initiatives, developed in partnership with six different ministries, and targeted at meeting the diverse needs of vulnerable immigrants.

Welcoming and Inclusive Communities[8] ***–*** In 2009–2010, WelcomeBC supported over 80 locally led projects in 33 communities, contributing to a welcoming environment where newcomers want to stay and raise their families. Local governments are engaged in the development of these initiatives to strengthen their role in building inclusive communities.

EmbraceBC – EmbraceBC works to deepen cross-cultural understanding for all B.C. communities through various models of community engagement and capacity building. This includes numerous initiatives such as community dialogues on multiculturalism, cultural diversity training, and arts engagement and interfaith bridging.

WelcomeBC.ca portal – The award-winning[9] WelcomeBC.ca is a one-stop website for newcomers, immigrant-serving agencies and welcoming communities with multilingual information on moving, living, working, investing or studying in B.C. It contains new tools for communities to welcome other cultures and nationalities, and for service providers to support the integration of newcomers.

2009–2010 Key Achievements

- Approximately 130,000 immigrants received settlement information, referral, orientation and labour market services across B.C.
- 5,000 vulnerable immigrants and refugees, including multibarriered families, at-risk youth, seniors and refugee children accessed new targeted programs.
- 87 Welcoming and Inclusive Communities projects around the province were implemented.
- 309,679 clients, newcomers and the communities that support them accessed the WelcomeBC.ca portal for services in 2009–2010, a 34% increase over the previous year.

8. The Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program was recognized as the next best practice at the Second G8 Experts Roundtable on Diversity and Integration.
9. The Institute of Public Administration of Canada awarded the 2009 Bronze Innovative Management Award to the WelcomeBC.ca site and its creators in August 2009.

- The 2009–2011 Training Initiatives Plan was implemented to support the enhancement of skills and knowledge of over 1,200 staff in funded agencies.
- Client satisfaction and outcomes survey (2010):
  - 91% of settlement and information program clients surveyed feel that they have obtained information and support relevant to their settlement needs, an increase from 81% in 2007;
  - 81% of community bridging clients surveyed reported improved confidence and ability, an 8% increase over 2007.

LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION: B.C. immigrants' international education, skills and experience will be used and valued in B.C.'s labour market and economy.

B.C.'s economic recovery and the future strength of its economy are directly linked to a strong work force, and its work force growth is dependent on immigration. In addition to English-language barriers, many immigrants continue to experience a lack of recognition of their international skills, training and experience. The unemployment rate for recent immigrants in 2010 was 9.9% compared to 7.2% for the Canadian-born in B.C., and the unemployment rate for very recent immigrants was 13.2%, almost double that of the Canadian-born.[10]

2009–2010 Key Actions[11]

Workplace-focused English-Language Training – WelcomeBC continued to support and pilot programs for industry-specific sectors such as accounting and construction, including an online curriculum launched as E-Work. Programs that have been successfully implemented include a professional communications program for internationally educated health professionals.

Connecting Immigrants to Employment – Skills Connect for Immigrants Program connects immigrants to jobs that build on their international education, skills and experience. Based on program evaluation recommendations, Skills Connect expanded to cover all industry sectors, broadened the eligibility criteria to include lesser skilled immigrants and increased targets from 1,700 to 2,300 immigrants a year. Labour market information and referral services were also expanded through immigrant-serving agencies to ensure that immigrants have access to reliable, up-to-date and relevant labour market information and support services.

Foreign Qualifications Recognition – B.C. built on the more than 50 projects and initiatives supported to date by B.C. regulatory bodies that license occupations and other key partners to eliminate systemic barriers, leveraging resources to achieve these results.

B.C. Employer Engagement – Working in partnership with the Immigrant Employment Council of B.C., employers were provided current information on attracting, hiring and retaining immigrants, as well as the tools and resources required to successfully integrate immigrants into B.C. workplaces.

2009–2010 Key Achievements

- More than 5,500 immigrants have received workplace-focused English-language training in at least ten sectors that will assist them in successfully integrating into the B.C. labour market.
- 2,438 new participants were accepted in Skills Connect programs in 2009–2010 since 2006.
- 78% of Skills Connect program participants have been successfully attached to the labour market.
- More than 40,000 immigrants across B.C. have accessed tailored labour market information and referral services every year.

10. Data source: estimated from Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey monthly data.
11. This section does not capture all the province's actions to support the labour market participation of immigrants, but rather focuses on those that are funded with federal funding transferred under the Agreement.

- More than 30, or 50%, of all B.C. regulatory authorities post competency profiles and clear pathways to certification online to facilitate the recognition of international qualifications and the labour market integration of immigrants in B.C.

Official Languages

WelcomeBC supports settlement and integration services for Francophone newcomers, including the Connection Centre for Francophone Immigrants, a referral service for French-speaking newcomers; French-speaking settlement workers; the Settlement Workers in Schools Program operated under the Conseil Scolaire Francophone in Greater Vancouver; and ELSA classes delivered by Francophone instructors at the Educacentre College in Vancouver.

The Future

WelcomeBC was implemented through the engagement and contributions of many partners—immigrant settlement agencies, communities, employers and industry associations, other immigrant-serving organizations as well as local governments and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. B.C.'s continued success will be determined by the experience, opportunities and outcomes of B.C. immigrants and these continued partnerships.

In 2009–2010, B.C. improved its performance measurement system and continued to develop WelcomeBC programs to reflect today's environment. In 2010–2011 and onward, the continued review of pilot projects, evaluation and consultation will serve to inform new program designs, directions and investments to ensure that new immigrants and communities are supported in the integration process.

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The Economic Integration of Immigrants in Vancouver[1]

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Vancouver has undergone two major transformations in the past half century that have been sufficiently far-reaching to touch almost every aspect of city life: the shift from a resource- to a service-driven economy, and a rapid rate of population growth that has increasingly been fed by immigration. The first has resulted in a dramatically different economy that is still affected by resource markets but no longer dominated by jobs in industries associated with resources, construction and related activities. The second has resulted in a much larger urban population drawn from nearly all corners of the earth, with attendant challenges in socio-economic and cultural inclusion. These trends have intersected, meaning that recent immigrants to Vancouver have had to find ways to navigate an information-driven economy that has privileged certain types of skills and ignored others.

The arrival of newcomers in Vancouver, in relatively large numbers over a sustained period, is strongly registered in the economy, since immigrants account for more than half the growth of the metropolitan labour market. Moreover, thousands of immigrants have established businesses across a wide spectrum of industries that includes prosaic services such as taxi driving and house cleaning; businesses that capitalize on cultural distinctiveness such as restaurants; and complex and lucrative services such as financial management. Some of these enterprises have been remarkably successful while others struggle. It is clear, however, that with fewer immigrants, Vancouver's economy would likely be less integrated into global circuits of investment and trade. With fewer immigrants, it is also likely that the economy of Vancouver would have taken a different evolutionary path.

The purpose of this article is to provide basic knowledge about the economic impact of immigration on Greater Vancouver.[2] I begin with a statistical overview of metropolitan immigration trends, which will draw upon the census and administrative data collected by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Differences between Vancouver and the other major immigrant settlement centres—Toronto and Montreal—will be highlighted.

The economic outcomes of immigration will be explored through a unique data source, the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB), which has been created by matching, for each individual, information provided at the time of landing with tax statements filed in subsequent years. Although the IMDB is not a perfect data source, it enables us to document the participation of immigrants in the labour force as well as their entrepreneurial activities. Most importantly, unlike the census and other available sources, the IMDB records the class of admission for each individual in the data set.

I conclude by summarizing the "big picture" of immigrants in the Vancouver economy, which will generally corroborate the many studies of Canadian immigration that paint a bleak picture of integration in the economic sphere. However, I believe that the IMDB also provides a counterpoint to this prevailing view, and suggests that the economic situation of immigrants may not be as difficult as it is generally portrayed.

1. This article is excerpted from Daniel Hiebert, "The Economic Integration of Immigrants in Metropolitan Vancouver," *Choices* 15(7) (2009): 2–42.
2. In this article, the terms "metropolitan Vancouver" and "Greater Vancouver" will be used interchangeably to refer to the large urbanized area that includes and surrounds the City of Vancouver. Most statistics reported here are drawn from Statistics Canada and its defined Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). Occasionally, reference will be made to Metro Vancouver (until recently called the Greater Vancouver Regional District), a grouping of 21 municipalities and one electoral area, which is currently the same area as the CMA.

Vancouver IMDB data, 1989–2005

Most of the published research on immigrant economic participation in Canada has been conducted on a national scale and has been based on census data. For this study, I have been granted access to a file drawn from the IMDB that includes all immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1989 and 2004, who filed a non-zero tax return based on their income for 2005 (i.e., their return would have been filed in 2006), and who gave Vancouver as their primary place of residence during that tax year. Immigrants arriving in 2005 were excluded on the grounds that the income they reported for 2005 would not be for the full year. It is also important to note that the IMDB is based solely on individuals who filed a tax return and therefore excludes immigrants who receive very low incomes. Moreover, any analysis of the IMDB is predicated on the assumption that income is fully and accurately reported by individuals in their tax forms, when we know that there are many individuals (immigrants as well as those born in Canada) who attempt to hide their actual income from tax authorities.

In any case, just under 320,000 individuals were included in the data set and, for each individual, the following information was extracted for analysis:

- Sex
- Age (10-year cohorts starting at 15 years old)
- Year landed in Canada (four categories over the 1989–2004 period)
- Source region (nine categories)
- Admission category (nine selected categories)
- Level of education at the point of landing (five categories)
- Language capability at the point of landing (yes/no for official language facility)
- Sources and amount of income (total, employment, self-employment, social assistance)

Profile of Newcomers in Vancouver

Table 1 shows the composition of recent immigrants in Vancouver compared with corresponding figures for Toronto and Montreal. Note the scale of immigration for Vancouver compared to these other major metropolitan areas, far behind Toronto but significantly ahead of Montreal for the 1989–2004 period. Vancouver receives its approximate "share" of family class immigrants and those who are admitted through the Skilled Worker Program (plus their dependants) and, as noted, few refugees versus a large number of business class immigrants. The contrast between Vancouver and Montreal is particularly striking: Montreal receives a much larger proportion of skilled workers and refugees, and a very small number of business class immigrants. Toronto has a somewhat more "average" profile compared with Canada as a whole although, like Montreal, it does not attract a large share of business class immigrants.

Table 1: Admission Class of Immigrants Landing 1989–2004, Indexed to Canadian Average (2005 IMDB), in Percentages

	Vancouver	Toronto	Montreal
Total Number	319,915	825,925	253,040
Family Class	97	103	85
Skilled Worker (PA)	91	98	130
Business (PA)	254	70	57
Skilled Worker (S&D)	98	105	93
Business (S&D)	241	74	66
Refugee	56	93	118

Source: IMDB, special tabulation.

Note:
PA: Principal Applicant
S&D: Spouse and Dependants

These general settlement patterns should lead us to expect relatively favourable economic outcomes associated with immigration to Vancouver, given that immigrants are admitted into the skilled worker and business classes when they show evidence of economic adaptability. We should also expect that immigration would propel economic growth in Vancouver, especially given the injection of entrepreneurial energy and capital that is supposed to be generated by business immigrants

Income Differences Across Admission Classes

IMDB statistics reveal a clear relationship between admission class, human capital and income. Principal applicants to the Skilled Worker Program are assessed according to the points system and have, by a substantial margin, the highest levels of education and facility in an official language (with one important exception that will be discussed later; Table 2). Skilled worker immigrants also had particularly high levels of employment and self-employment. Just over 73% of men who submitted a tax statement in 2005 reported that they received employment earnings, and 18.6% received self-employment earnings. The corresponding figures for women principal applicants were 70.8% and 13.3%. These are high figures considering the population average. Despite the challenges faced by these immigrants in the labour market, their considerable human capital—as measured by education and language facility—translated into much higher income levels than was the case for any other group (50% above the average for men, and more than 65% above the average for women).

This is definitely not the case for family class immigrants, a group that includes a high ratio of younger and older individuals. Women constitute the majority of those in this group who settle in Vancouver and, relative to all immigrants, few in the family category arrive with a university degree or the ability to communicate in an official language. Significantly, the "income penalty" for this group is not especially large, especially when human capital characteristics are considered, with an average declared annual income of approximately $900 (about 4%) below that of all immigrants. This gap is larger for women than men. Why is this group apparently better off than might be expected? One clue is provided in the labour market participation statistic for those in the 25–64 age category (not shown in Table 2): the proportion of family class immigrants receiving employment income is just 2.4% less than that of skilled worker principal applicants (PAs), and far higher than the corresponding statistic of any other category. I speculate that this outcome reflects the social capital of individuals who are admitted to Canada through family reunification. They, by definition, join members of their family who are already here and who, presumably, can help them find work quickly. This work may not be especially well remunerated, but with such a high level of labour market participation, income levels are above what could be expected given the human capital of the group.

It is particularly interesting to compare the income dynamics of the spouses and dependent children who accompany skilled worker PAs versus family class immigrants. We might expect the characteristics of these two groups to be very similar. After all, many of the family class immigrants would have been sponsored by individuals who entered Canada as skilled workers. Moreover, the two groups have broadly similar demographic profiles: the number between 25 and 64 years old is roughly three-quarters of the total population of each group. Although the educational attainment and language facility in English or French are much higher for the spouses and dependants of skilled workers compared with family class immigrants, their level of income is lower, especially when we isolate the 25–64 age group (not shown in Table 2).[3] This discrepancy may be related to the question of social capital discussed earlier. While family class immigrants are able to rely on close relatives to help them enter the labour market, this may not be true for the spouses and dependants who accompany skilled workers.

3. This general pattern holds when we look specifically at men (all age groups) but not women (all age groups).

The economic characteristics of those entering as business class immigrants will surprise many readers. Few of the principal applicants who enter Canada in this category, it seems, would pass the full points assessment required of skilled workers since only roughly one-quarter have completed a university degree and only one-third can communicate in an official language. The income level of business class immigrants is the lowest of all groups, with the exception of the spouses and dependants who accompany them when landing in Canada. This finding accords with those of Hiebert (2002) and Ley (2003), using earlier data at the national scale, and suggests that business class immigrants are not achieving economic success despite their considerable entrepreneurial background or significant wealth. This pattern of low income is consistent for men and women. The low level of income for this group is no doubt tied to its weak level of labour market participation, whether as paid employees or self-employed individuals.

In Table 2, the refugee category is subdivided into two quite different groups: those who are selected abroad and sponsored either by the Canadian government (government-assisted refugees, or GARs) or private groups (privately sponsored refugees, or PSRs), and those who travel to Canada on their own and claim asylum here (LCRs, or landed-in-Canada refugees). The former group is provided with enhanced settlement services compared with all other immigrants, which in particular includes financial assistance for their first year in Canada while they are expected to take language training and other orientation services.[4] In a sense, GARs and PSRs are given the possibility of delaying their entry into the labour market while adjusting to Canadian circumstances. The situation of LCRs, on the other hand, is quite different. These individuals only officially land in Canada (and are entered into the IMDB) after they have been granted either refugee status or leave to remain in Canada on compassionate or humanitarian grounds. In other words, they would have lived in Canada at least a year and in many cases, considerably longer before entering the database. Presumably, they could have acquired language facility and other forms of human capital during this time, an expectation that appears to be validated by the exceptionally high percentage who are able to communicate in an official language, for both men and women.

Few GARs and PSRs arrive in Canada with a university degree or facility in English or French. Given these constraints, the level of income of this group is remarkably high compared with other immigrants. In the 25–64 age group (not shown in Table 2), the income of GARs and PSRs is less than $1,000 below the average for all immigrants. However, there are a number of factors that need to be taken into consideration when assessing the economic situation of this group. First, the proportion of women is low, and when GARs and PSRs are disaggregated by gender, the picture becomes slightly less positive. Secondly, the ratio of social support in the income of GARs and PSRs is higher than that for other immigrants (see below). And, finally, although this issue cannot be explored using the IMDB, it is clear *on the ground*, working with refugee groups, that GARs and PSRs are often in large family units, and the income figures reported here would be shared with more people than those for other categories of immigrants. Yet despite these important caveats, the fact remains that GARs and PSRs receive more income than might be expected given the circumstances of their arrival and their educational and linguistic preparation for Canada.

As noted earlier, the number of refugees in Vancouver is disproportionally low compared with the rest of Canada. This is especially true of the landed-in-Canada category, of which there are fewer than 7,000 in the IMDB file

4. During their first year, however, GARs and PSRs are presented with a bill for the cost of their transportation to Canada which, for many families, can be as much as $10,000. Normally, this obligation is taken as a loan, which is interest-free if paid within a three-year period. As might be expected, this loan places a considerable financial burden on refugees and it should be noted that payments on it would be deducted from the income figures reported here.

upon which this study is based, and only about 5,700 in prime working age. LCRs have a relatively low level of university education like GARs and PSRs, but far more have language proficiency. A strong majority of LCRs are men.[5] The aggregate income level of LCRs is a little lower than that of GARs and PSRs, but this gap widens when we isolate the 25–64 age group (not shown in Table 2), and even more when we consider men and women separately. For reasons that are not immediately obvious—a point that calls for additional research—the potential advantages of LCRs (their longer time in Canada coupled with their language facility) do not translate into robust income levels. Low income for this group is particularly serious since it is unlikely that these individuals will have assets to fall back on when their income falls below that necessary to provide them with life's essentials, in contrast to business class immigrants, who also receive low incomes but who come to Canada with a substantial asset base.

Table 2: Basic Economic Characteristics of Immigrants Landing 1989–2004, by Selected Admission Class and Gender, Greater Vancouver (2005 Tax Year)

Males (all ages)	Total number	University education (%)	Knowledge of official language (%)	Reported employment earnings (%)	Reported self-employment earnings (%)	Average total income ($)
Total	154,385	30.8	52.4	63.5	15.7	22,884
Family Class	45,690	16.9	41.4	65.2	17.1	22,273
Skilled Worker (PA)	38,955	70.9	80.3	73.1	18.6	33,839
Business Class (PA)	14,565	26.8	33.1	36.3	14.3	13,513
Skilled Worker (S&D)	20,415	23.9	54.4	70.7	10.8	18,488
Business (S&D)	12,170	5.3	23.9	54.4	7.2	12,071
Refugee (GAR/PSR)	9,180	10.5	25.1	64.8	21.1	22,297
Refugee (LCR)	4,040	14.7	90.0	60.5	24.6	20,849
Females (all ages)						
Total	165,640	23.9	47.7	58.7	9.3	15,197
Family Class	58,890	15.7	35.9	56.2	7.4	12,809
Skilled Worker (PA)	18,395	63.0	83.3	70.8	13.3	25,803
Business Class (PA)	2,680	19.2	30.4	30.8	11.6	10,808
Skilled Worker (S&D)	37,315	33.3	54.9	64.1	10.5	15,092
Business (S&D)	21,915	10.0	22.7	41.4	7.8	10,243
Refugee (GAR/PSR)	7,365	7.8	19.1	62.3	11.6	15,140
Refugee (LCR)	2,710	11.4	87.3	54.4	10.3	13,787

Source: IMDB, special tabulation.

Note: PA: Principal applicant
S&D: Spouse and dependants
GAR: Government-assisted refugee
PSR: Privately sponsored refugee
LCR: Landed-in-Canada refugee

5. The preponderance of men in this category reflects a global trend: even though the majority of the world's refugee population is female, asylum movements are dominated by men, who are generally able to travel longer distances than women due to the family responsibilities of the latter group.

Use of Social Assistance

We have seen that immigrants earn lower wages and salaries than the Canadian-born, at least those who arrived between 1989 and 2004. Similarly, their total incomes are lower. Does this mean that immigrants need to rely more on social assistance as well? The simple answer is no.

Table 3 shows that very few immigrants in Vancouver receive social assistance, only 1.5%. This ratio is actually below that of the general population.[6] The comparison between Vancouver and the other two major immigrant reception centres in Canada is quite instructive. A far higher proportion of immigrants to both Toronto and Montreal receive social assistance (nearly 5 and 8 times, respectively). And yet the labour market earnings and total income level of immigrants in Toronto are actually higher than those in Vancouver, and house prices are marginally lower (though rental costs are slightly higher).

How do we explain this apparent paradox of lower incomes, higher housing costs and much lower welfare rates in Vancouver compared to Toronto?[7] There are two major possible reasons. First, immigrants in Vancouver may have a much higher asset base so that they would not qualify for social assistance despite low income levels. Unfortunately, there are no comprehensive statistics on assets, appropriately disaggregated by immigrant status, available to test this conjecture. The only data on this issue were collected in the first wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, for which respondents were asked to indicate the amount of savings they had six months after their arrival in Canada.

As I have shown in another study, based on these data (Hiebert et al. 2006), business class immigrants transfer considerable wealth to Canada and are therefore somewhat insulated from the problems that accompany low income. Given that Vancouver receives a high ratio of business class immigrants compared to the other major cities, the need for social assistance would be somewhat lower. But this factor cannot explain most of the variation between the three cities since the ratio receiving social assistance is much higher in Toronto and Montreal even when admission class is held constant.

Secondly, the gap in welfare use may be associated with differences in accessibility to this service. Although it is beyond the scope of this study, it seems abundantly clear that social assistance is simply more difficult to secure in British Columbia than in other Canadian provinces. This is a point that is repeatedly made by those who advocate on behalf of the poor (e.g., Klien and Pulkingham 2008). Key changes in the social assistance system in the mid-1990s initiated a reduction in the number of recipients, a trend that was accelerated by a subsequent redefinition of criteria in 2002. The number of welfare recipients in B.C. declined from just under 370,000 in 1995 to 149,300 in 2005. Certainly, economic conditions improved over this period but, arguably, not for the very poor.

According to Statistics Canada, 23.3% of the metropolitan Vancouver population were classified as living with low incomes in 1996, a figure that declined to 20.8% in 2001 and that was again 20.8% in 2006.[8] The 2001 and 2006 calculations were made on the basis of income received in 2000 and 2005. During that period, the number of welfare recipients in B.C. fell from 262,400 to 149,300. That is, the need for social assistance remained approximately the same, but the number receiving it fell dramatically.

The pattern of social assistance use across admission categories is largely predictable. The proportion receiving welfare among those entering as family class immigrants was approximately the same as the average for all immigrants. Those admitted as economic immigrants rarely received welfare, while the rate of use was far higher for refugees, whether sponsored or LCRs.

6. In 2005, 149,300 people in B.C. received welfare ("Employment and Assistance" is the official term used) or approximately 3.7% of the population (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, *Social Assistance Statistical Report: 2005*; available at http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/cs/sp/sdc/socpol/publications/reports/sd10-3-2004e/page14.shtml).
7. In Montreal, earnings and incomes of immigrants are lower than in Vancouver, but housing costs are also much lower.
8. These figures were extracted from the "Community Profiles" Web pages of Statistics Canada.

Table 3: Rates of Social Assistance Use, Immigrants Landing 1989–2004, by Admission Class, Canada and Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (2005 Tax Year), in Percentages

	Canada	Vancouver	Toronto	Montreal
Total	6.7	1.5	7.1	11.7
Skilled Worker (PA)	3.8	0.8	2.4	11.2
Business (PA)	1.3	0.2	2.1	1.3
Skilled Worker (S&D)	2.1	0.6	1.4	6.8
Business (S&D)	1.0	0.3	1.0	2.3
Family Class	7.9	1.4	10.5	8.8
Refugee	16.9	8.7	15.7	24.1
Refugee (GAR/PSR)	14.9	9.5	14.2	18.8
Refugee (LCR)	20.7	8.3	18.5	27.2

Source: IMDB, special tabulation.

Note: PA: Principal applicant
S&D: Spouse and dependants
GAR: Government-assisted refugee
PSR: Privately sponsored refugee
LCR: Landed-in-Canada refugee

Summary and Conclusion

- Immigrants who qualify to enter Canada as skilled workers are, in general, well educated and have a high degree of proficiency in English or French. In Vancouver, as elsewhere in Canada, skilled workers struggle economically, especially when they first arrive. Those who cannot speak an official language do not appear to overcome this barrier over the full 16-year period included in the IMDB tabulation. Those who have an official language fare better and are rewarded for their educational achievements in the labour market although their earnings remain below those of the Canadian-born population for quite some time.
- In Vancouver as well as in Canada as a whole, business class immigrants arrive with much lower educational qualifications and less ability to speak English or French. They have the lowest labour market participation rates of all immigrant groups and the lowest employment earnings and total income levels. However, this group has a resource that is unique compared to other groups: financial capital.
- Family class immigrants, at least in Vancouver, appear to benefit significantly from their social capital, and have high rates of labour market participation and earnings levels that are not far behind those of skilled workers, despite the considerable gap between the two groups in educational attainment and linguistic preparation for Canada.
- The results for those entering Canada as refugees are perhaps the most interesting of all. The settlement services available to refugees appear to have a positive impact, and the level of labour market participation of this group is more favourable than might be expected, as are earnings (given their human capital upon arrival). Nevertheless, the income level of refugees remains far below that of Canadian-born individuals and this may be exacerbated by the large households that are typical of this group (a point not explored in this analysis).

A similar study undertaken in Toronto and Montreal would also show that newcomers in those cities also face important economic challenges. However, the specifics would be quite different. No doubt the high proportion

of refugees in Montreal would have an impact on the larger picture of economic integration, as would the different source region profiles of the two cities compared to Vancouver. For example, employment earnings of Africans in Montreal are below the average for immigrants in general, in contrast to the Vancouver situation. Also, newcomers from eastern Asia have higher incomes in both Montreal and Toronto than in Vancouver (data not shown in this article).

It is also worth mentioning a key finding of the larger study from which this excerpt has been taken. In this brief summary, I have not been able to discuss the relationship between human capital and economic outcomes. A sustained analysis of this issue reveals that the ability to speak an official language at the time of landing in Canada is vital in shaping economic integration. If selection policies do not change, and there is no immediate indication that they will, more attention must be devoted to the provision of high-quality English education that is widely available to immigrants as soon as they arrive in Vancouver. The significant increase in funding for settlement programs in British Columbia is surely a step in the right direction, but much needs to be done.

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Transnational Networks of Business Immigrants Between East Asia and British Columbia

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Abstract: This paper discusses the "millionaire migrants," wealthy business immigrants who entered Canada, particularly Vancouver, in significant numbers between 1985 and 2000. They came from the tiger economies of Asia Pacific and landed in Canada through the Business Immigration Program. They were expected to aid the economic development in Canada that had foundered badly through the 1980s. But, learning from East Asia, the immigrants (and absentee investors) placed a premium on real estate and found limited success in other business ventures. Instead, for many (not all) households, primary economic assets remained in Asia Pacific, promoting repeated transnational movement and return migration, though with a desire to remigrate to Canada when family economic resources permitted.

This paper examines transnational networks between East Asia and British Columbia, and in particular between Hong Kong and Vancouver where linkages have been strongest. In the decade between 1986 and 1996, when the small colony of Hong Kong was the leading source of immigrants to Canada, an extraordinary cohort of newcomers arrived, a cohort I have called millionaire migrants (Ley 2010). They had accumulated wealth from the rapid economic growth of the tiger economies of East Asia, from astute or fortuitous real estate development, and from entrepreneurial prowess in small and large businesses and factory operations. But what made the migration unique was not only the wealth of the households, but also the Asian location of their assets even when households were resident in Canada. This helped trigger frequent movement across the Pacific between the economic asset base in Asia and the family's living space in Canada. Typically, male household heads worked in East Asia, leaving wives and mothers on the other side of the Pacific. So the transnational "astronaut family" was also the fragmented family, generating a set of social and emotional challenges that each household met with greater or lesser success (Salaff, Wong and Greve 2010).

Connections: Assembling a Trans-Pacific Network

Migration never occurs in an institutional vacuum and it is important to position the arrival of the millionaire migrants within the Canadian economic and policy context that facilitated it. The economic takeoff of Japan in the 1960s was followed by the explosive development of the tiger economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore where annual GDP growth of 8% to 10% occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, while China entered this upward spiral in the 1980s. Meanwhile, the Canadian economy was in free fall. Deindustrialization devastated older primary and manufacturing sectors, and unemployment of over 9% prevailed for most of the 20 years after 1979, while real per capita GDP growth fell beneath 2% from 1979 to 1989, and was close to zero from 1989 to 1995. Conditions were even more severe in British Columbia: the provincial economy shrank 8% in 1982, unemployment raced toward 15% and exceeded 10% for most of the decade.

It was this desperate scenario that accelerated the appearance of neoliberal government policies in many western countries during the 1980s. The view that the market knows best and the emergence of the entrepreneurial state redefined domestic and international policy priorities. Detecting major economic opportunities in the Pacific growth region, all three levels of government undertook trade missions to East Asia, while the City of Vancouver also activated sister city status with Yokohama (Japan) and Guangzhou (South China). These initiatives deepened new institutional networks that included the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong (1977), the Canada-China Business Council (1978) and the Hong Kong-Canada Business Association (1984), each of them aiding the strengthening of trade, investment and migration opportunities. Their work was raised to a higher political and diplomatic level by the formation of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation network (APEC) in 1989, with Canada an active participant.

The reconfiguration of Canadian immigration policy was certainly part of this neoliberal political philosophy. The Business Immigration Program (BIP) was launched in 1978 with the formalization of the entrepreneur class who were obligated to start or buy a business in Canada and manage it. A significant expansion followed through the investor class in 1986, with wealthier immigrants required to undertake investments in Canadian projects. The BIP was a clearly entrepreneurial effort to attract immigrant wealth and business skills in return for an expedited route to citizenship for households, many of whom would not have qualified through other entry streams. As such, the BIP was a self-conscious expression of neoliberal policy, and indeed was criticized for offering citizenship as a commodity on the open market, with only high bidders able to qualify for the prize (Harrison 1996). Canada was not unique in this policy direction; with the diffusion of neoliberal globalization, some 30 nations adopted a similar immigration program. But in this "global immigration marketplace" (Wong 2003), Canada's business program claimed first rank, landing many more recruits than any other nation.

Recruits: Business Immigration from East Asia

The timing of the BIP was perfectly set for the needs of the rising middle class and elites in East Asia. The signing of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration established a trajectory for Hong Kong to return to Mainland control in 1997. Anxieties of what might unfold were heightened by the slaughter at Tiananmen Square in 1989. Geopolitical anxieties were also high in Taiwan with uncertainty over China's ultimate strategy for reincorporating its wayward "province" while in South Korea, the wild card of its northern neighbour created security worries. Each state, as one of the four tigers, had a substantial population with newly minted wealth. Significantly, 53% of all business immigrants entering Canada between 1980 and 2001 came from one of these three small territories. They accounted for 76% of BIP landings in Vancouver, led by Hong Kong (38%) and Taiwan (30%).

Factoring in secondary migration, some 35% of business migrants located in Vancouver over the 1980–2001 period, considerably more than settled in Toronto or Montreal. Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that the wealthiest households preferred Vancouver, for the city attracted the lion's share of the investor class, whose liquid assets were typically double those of the entrepreneurs. From available data, it seems likely that the liquid assets of business immigrants entering Vancouver from 1988 to 1997 amounted to something in the order of 35 to 40 billion dollars (Ley 2010), an extraordinary transfer of financial capital (and entrepreneurial skills) from Asia Pacific to Canada's West Coast, and seemingly an impressive endorsement of Canada's Pacific Rim economic strategy.

Much of this capital found its way into the Vancouver land market. Many of the millionaire migrants could trace their wealth to astute or lucky investments in the buoyant real estate markets of the tiger economies. Until the crash of 1997, the Hong Kong real estate market bubbled for more than a decade and Taiwan's was not far behind. Property prices in Hong Kong doubled from

1985 to 1989 and tripled again in the next five years. Inevitably, business immigrants sought to repeat in Vancouver their successes with land in Asia. Moreover, they were encouraged to do so by the vast capital flows into Vancouver development projects from large Asian investors, seeking to diversify their property portfolios. In purchasing the vast Expo 86 site on the edge of downtown Vancouver, Li-Ka Shing's immense Cheung Kong Holdings entered the Vancouver land market in 1988, accompanied by other Hong Kong titans, Henderson Land and New World Development, while Sun Hung Kai Properties bought into the prestigious Coal Harbour redevelopment on the north-eastern edge of downtown. Next to them, at the entrance to Stanley Park (and across the street from the fabled mansion built by Macao's Stanley Ho), the large Tokyo-based Aoki Corporation took on the redevelopment of Bayshore Gardens, while prestigious downtown condominium towers and the five-star Shangri-La Hotel (the chain's landfall in North America) were built by the Hong Kong and Singapore-based Kuok group. The assembly of such stellar family and corporate wealth encouraged the participation of many smaller absentee investors in East Asia and immigrant investors in Canada, for as I was told by a real estate agent active in this market, "where the big fish swim, the small fish follow."

An active transnational property market was established with Vancouver (and to a lesser degree Toronto) property advertized and bought in Hong Kong, Taipei, Singapore and elsewhere. Indeed, prior to a political veto, a number of Vancouver condominium projects were marketed in East Asia but unavailable for purchase in Canada.

The Ambivalent Millionaire Migrant

Despite all of this entrepreneurial activity in land, the millionaire migrant, like the rest of us, held a more complex identity than that of a simple economic agent. An early survey in Hong Kong had shown that to some extent, they were "reluctant exiles" (Skeldon 1994). There were certainly persuasive geopolitical factors (the "political insurance" of a Canadian passport) and quality of life reasons—the attractions of a cleaner environment and a western education for children—for migration, but these had to be balanced against the economic vigour of East Asia compared with the economic torpor then prevalent in Canada. There was some apprehension about economic success in Canada, apprehension that it turned out was well founded. The abiding tension, and a substantial cause, of the fragmented "astronaut household" with its repeated transnational movement was this geographical mismatch, summarized in the pithy saying prevalent among millionaire migrant families in the 1990s: "Hong Kong for making money, Canada for quality of life."

So it was that a 1991 survey in Hong Kong about future mobility came up with the remarkable finding that 20% of respondents expected to be living in the territory in 1997, but with a foreign passport in their possession (Lam, Fan and Skeldon 1995). Return migration was in the cards from the very beginning. Securing a foreign passport or a western diploma or degree was a finite project, and return to Asia could be anticipated once the project was realized. For despite its meagre quality of life, Asia Pacific was the single largest economic growth pole in the world. Against this formidable opportunity, Canada offered weak competition. When we surveyed 90 entrepreneurs in Vancouver who had landed in Canada through the BIP, we made the surprising discovery that these experienced and wealthy business people were rarely motivated to migrate to Canada for economic reasons (Ley 2006). They had come to Canada, first, for quality of life reasons closely followed by pursuit of western education for their children. Some way behind came geopolitics and family reunification, and all of these reasons were ahead of economic prospects, mentioned by only 13%. When the question was restated with Vancouver as a destination, the number identifying economic motives for migration fell to only 8%, a figure virtually identical with a similar question directed to the larger category of economic migrants to Vancouver by the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada around the same time (Statistics Canada 2003).

This has created a troubling policy scenario. The BIP is predicated upon the prowess of entrepreneurs and investors to jump-start economic development in Canada through their financial capital and proven business skills. But in Vancouver, the largest single destination and the city of choice of the wealthiest, it turns out that economic activity was not a high priority. Just as they had been reluctant migrants from Hong Kong, so they were reluctant business people in Canada. Their diffidence was well founded. Interviews have consistently shown very low returns and high levels of business failure for entrepreneurs and poor returns for investors under the restrictive terms and conditions of the BIP (Ley 2010).

The Reality of Return

Migration scholars speak of "the myth of return" among international migrants, but for many, perhaps a majority, this dream never materializes. However, this has not been the case with millionaire migrants. Considerable return to Hong Kong and Taiwan has occurred; for some, it was planned from the outset. Their tenure in Canada is fragile and is dislocated by a reconfiguration of the costs and benefits of a Canadian versus an Asia Pacific home. Just as Tiananmen Square prompted an outflow to Canada, the "Asian flu" financial crisis in late 1997 prompted return as households closed their Canadian businesses and sold their homes to consolidate funds around core economic activities in Asia. Then a few years later, the foreign assets disclosure legislation in Canada, requiring most offshore assets to be declared for tax purposes, led to renewed out-migration.

Many immigrants from East Asia remained, but they were typically not among the most economically active, for returnees were making more than twice the income in Hong Kong than immigrants who had stayed were attaining in Canada (DeVoretz, Ma and Zhang 2002). But the condition of transnational or circular migration means that no flight across the Pacific is necessarily the final one. Among focus groups in Hong Kong, we found that the dream of return was projected onto Canada. There was anticipation that one day, returnees would end the hectic and demanding regime of economic activity in Hong Kong and fly back to Canada with its promise of a more balanced life. Younger business and professional people hoped they would make enough money to take their own children across the Pacific for a western education as their parents had taken them. Their Canadian education and Asian experience might also then give them better job prospects than their parents had encountered. For middle-aged households, early retirement in British Columbia was the horizon toward which they were working, a period in the life cycle when the quality of life in Canada trumped the economic opportunities of Asia Pacific.

Conclusion

Hong Kong and Taiwanese migration had peaked by the mid-1990s and was much diminished by 2000. But transnational circulation of Canadian citizens continues between the asset base in East Asia and the consumption base in Canada through successive life cycle stages. Moreover, there is some likelihood that movement could intensify as households fortified by property wealth from the real estate bubble in China's primate cities also look to British Columbia, especially Vancouver, as a destination for portfolio dispersal or as a desirable place to use their financial and human capital to secure entry through the BIP. If this eventuality accelerates, then the millionaire migrants from the small territories of the three tigers may simply be a warm-up act for even larger transfers of wealth, real estate transformation and transnational circulation between British Columbia and Mainland China.

About the Author

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Newcomers' Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada

Metropolis has collaborated with the Canadian Studies Association to produce the fall 2010 volume of *Canadian Issues* on *Newcomers' Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada* (Guest Editor, Carlos Teixeira, with a contribution from Barry Halliday).

The result is a vital compilation of findings by over 35 authors who examine the housing and homelessness experiences of Canadian immigrants and refugees. The authors look at the availability of affordable housing, factors that increase the risk of homelessness, strategies that immigrants and refugees employ to lower this risk, as well as the health effects of precarious housing, including the benefits for mental health of building a "home" in the broadest sense.

Detailed data on these and other aspects of newcomers' housing and homelessness are drawn from research conducted across the country, including cities, towns and suburban areas. The volume is a rich source of policy-relevant analysis with important recommendations for new planning and policy directions.

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Immigration Policy and Attitudes Toward Temporary Foreign Workers in Vancouver

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Abstract: In the past decade, Canadian immigration policy has experienced a shift toward the expansion of the temporary foreign worker program because of a perceived necessity not to let the economy slow down. Conditions put on hiring by employers were imposed to avoid abuses that developed in the past with such a program. However, it appears that some resident workers in Vancouver do not trust that these conditions work. Skilled workers believe temporary foreign workers lower their wages and unskilled workers believe they make it harder to get a job.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the new millennium, Canadian immigration policy has undergone some fundamental changes. Traditionally, most immigrants came to Canada as permanent residents or as refugees. A shift in policy, however, occurred at the turn of the century with the reform of the temporary foreign worker (TFW) program. Previously, this program was mostly restricted to skilled workers, agricultural workers and live-in caregivers. However, in 2002, the government opened up the program to all types of workers and skills and progressively relaxed the conditions for entry.

Under the TFW program, newcomers must have a job to enter the country, but most of them are not allowed to stay at the end of their contract. Before the 2008 financial crisis, this policy appeared to be the best solution to accommodate the growing shortage of labour in the Canadian economy by avoiding a slowdown in economic growth because of a lack of suitable workers. This argument was particularly relevant for a city like Vancouver, which had become a vast construction site because of the upcoming Olympic Games and the explosion of growth on the real estate market. Also, the availability of temporary foreign workers at all skill levels was particularly welcome by an industry that had for a long time experienced difficulties filling positions (Construction Sector Council 2007).

One question rarely posed, however, is how this relatively new approach to immigration in Canada has been perceived by residents, and by resident workers in particular. The motive behind surveying citizens about immigration is that a better understanding of their attitude toward newcomers may help design better policies, be they immigration policies, integration policies or social policies. However, this information must be evaluated through the lenses of how well-informed citizens are about the policies in place and what influences their perceptions.

Attitudes Toward Immigrants

Over the past decade, immigration policy in many industrialized countries appears to have failed in its role to select and control the flow of newcomers. At the same time, the ability of new immigrants to integrate seems to have declined. Hence, local populations who believe they are confronted with new social, cultural and economic challenges have been reacting with various degrees of antagonism toward immigrants.

The apparent growing inadequacy of immigration policy has triggered a renewed interest in studying people's attitude toward immigrants. For a long time, Canadians have shown a very favourable attitude toward immigrants among OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries. In 2003,

34% of the respondents to the International Social Survey were in favour of decreasing immigration; only five other industrialized countries out of 27 had fewer than 50% of their respondents wanting to decrease immigration.[1] Moreover, only the Australians thought that immigrants had a positive effect on the economy in a larger proportion than Canadians (71% of Australian versus 60% of Canadian respondents; OECD 2010, Table III.5).

However, recently, the attitude of Canadians appears to have started to change. In September 2010, 46% of the respondents to an Angus Reid public opinion poll said that immigration had a negative effect on the country, an increase of 5 percentage points over the previous year. British Columbia and Quebec exhibited the lowest rates with 35%. However, when asked whether the number of immigrants to Canada should be increased, only 18% of B.C. respondents agreed against 16% nationally (Angus Reid 2010). The vast majority would rather see the number stay the same or even decrease.

Findings from recent studies, however, show that there are many nuances in opinions depending on the type of newcomer—that is, immigrants or refugees—and the characteristics of the respondents (O'Rourke and Sinnot 2006). In international comparisons, one of the main results is that attitudes are different between people who are in the labour force and those who are not. People who are in the labour force tend to have a more negative attitude toward immigrants stemming from the fear of job competition and wage decrease. In addition, there is a marked difference between high- and low-skill workers' attitudes. In fact, higher education and higher income lead to a much more positive attitude toward immigrants. This difference can be linked to economic arguments (i.e., high-skill people feel less threatened in their job and have more information about the economic benefits of immigrants) or cultural arguments (high-income people are more likely to have travelled around the world or have different cultural values; OECD 2010). Unfortunately these studies do not focus on the impact of different immigration policies on people's attitudes.

Temporary Foreign Workers

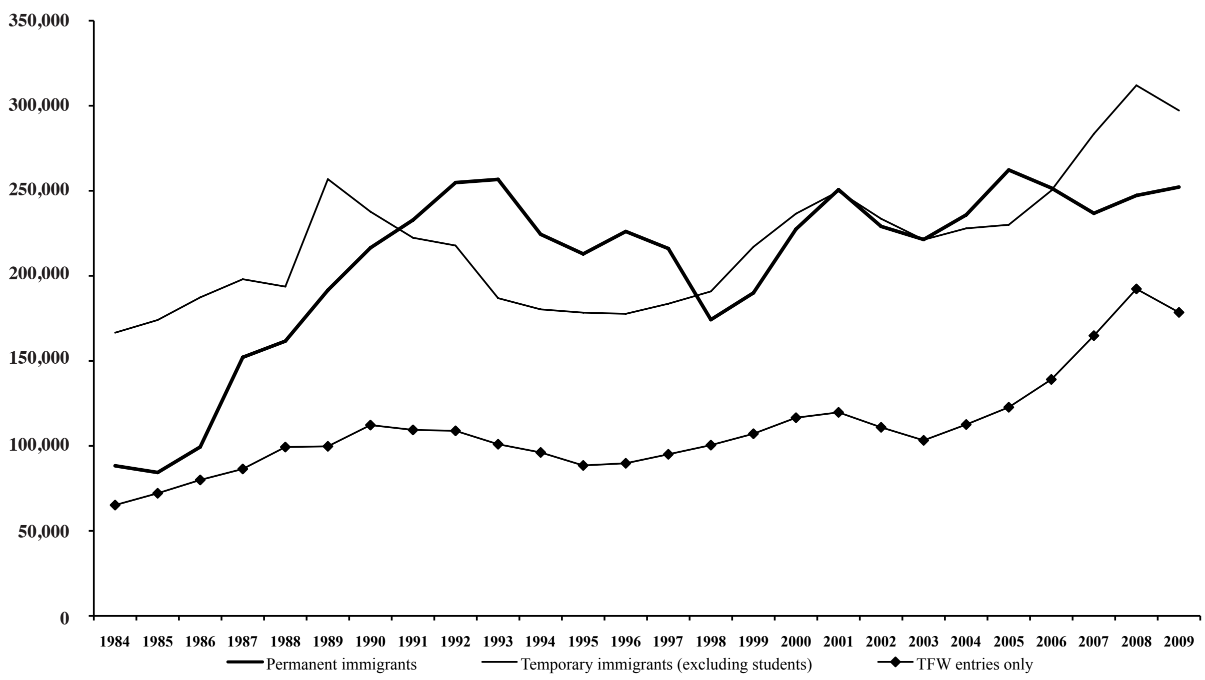
To hire a temporary foreign worker, employers in Canada must obtain a labour market opinion (LMO) from the government by fulfilling a certain number of conditions proving that the hire will not affect local workers. For example, the job offer must be genuine, with wages and working conditions comparable to those offered to resident workers; employers must show they have made adequate attempts to hire locally; and the hiring must not affect an existing labour dispute.[2] Such conditions are imposed to ensure TFWs do not compete directly with local workers for jobs and are treated fairly. At the same time, access to TFWs ensures that persistent labour shortages are avoided, thereby improving employment prospects for local workers. In the case of acute labour shortages, projects, especially in the construction sector where the sequence of activities matters, may be delayed or even cancelled.

So, it appears that under an efficient LMO system, TFWs are likely to bring positive economic benefits to local workers and little or no adverse feelings should arise among resident workers if information is widely available and regulations are enforced. Moreover, TFWs contribute to social programs and are unlikely to collect benefits since they must leave the country at the end of their contract. In effect, most temporary immigrants are not eligible for permanent residence.[3] Hence, the stigma of being a burden to the taxpayer, which is sometimes attached to permanent immigrants, should be unlikely to develop in the case of TFWs.

However, some events since the extension of the Canadian program may have somewhat adversely affected resident workers' opinions. Since the late 1990s, the number of entries of temporary immigrants has been almost consistently above that of permanent immigrants, with a sharp acceleration since 2005. Moreover, as seen in Figure 1, this evolution has been driven by a large increase in entries of TFWs.

1. The five countries were Finland, Korea, Australia, Switzerland and Israel (OECD 2010, Figure III.1). Interestingly, those countries have vastly different approaches to immigration policy.
2. Other aspects that are considered are whether the hiring of TFWs will result in job creation or retention and transfer of skills. See Kim and Gross (2009) for details.
3. In 2002, the length of the work permit for unskilled workers was extended from one to two years. In the spring of 2009, it was extended to four years provided the worker had a job contract (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010b). High-skill TFWs have relatively easy access to permanent residence through provincial nomination programs while low-skill workers only have limited access (see Kim and Gross 2009 for details).

Figure 1: Annual Entries of Permanent and Temporary Immigrants to Canada



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. *Facts and Figures 2009.*

After remaining relatively constant at around 100,000 per year between 1989 and 2003, entries almost doubled over the next five years. By 2008, the number had reached about 193,000 and the TFW share of entries of temporary immigrants had increased from less than 50% to 60.2%.[4] In British Columbia, the increase was even more staggering as 44,372 temporary foreign worker entries were recorded in 2009 against 20,534 in 2003 (+216%; Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010a). This growth in TFW hires was accompanied by what appears to be deterioration in their employment conditions as cases of discriminatory treatment, especially on construction sites, made the news. Such events, even though not extremely common, can be the source of doubts about the efficiency of the LMO conditions imposed on employers and may affect workers' perception of TFWs. Research findings and a survey of construction workers in Metro Vancouver do show that attitudes toward TFWs are not as positive as the careful design of programs leads to believe.

Perceptions of and Opinions About Temporary Foreign Workers

In 2004, polls showed that Americans were only somewhat favourable to a new policy proposed by President G.W. Bush that included transforming illegal immigrants into temporary foreign workers. The vast majority of people who supported a reduction in permanent immigration were against the new policy (81.8%) and, among those who supported maintaining

4. The other categories of temporary entries are "[...] foreign students, individuals in the humanitarian population and other temporary residents [...] regrouped according to our determination of their 'yearly status.'" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010a, p. 51)

immigration constant, 55% opposed the policy. Even those who supported increasing the immigration level were not much in favour of the TFW policy as 42.7% favoured it (Illias, Fennelly and Federico 2008, Table B1). When asked a similar question, but with no legislative consequence, British Columbians and Canadians were even less supportive: only 14% of B.C. residents and 17% of Canadians supported offering illegal immigrants the temporary worker status; 26% and 23% respectively supported the suggestion that "they should be allowed to stay in Canada and eventually apply for citizenship" (Angus Reid 2010).

These beliefs, however, are probably influenced by the fact that the status of temporary foreign worker was to be offered to illegal immigrants who are often seen to be costly for taxpayers and the economy (Illias, Fennelly and Federico 2008). One study of Israel, though, shows that a third of the citizens feel economically threatened by foreign workers despite the fact that most are employed in low-paying, menial jobs unlikely to appeal to residents (Semyonov, Raijman and Yom-Tov 2002).

So, generally speaking, TFWs do not appear to be seen more favourably than other types of immigrants despite the fact that they are only called upon in times of shortage of labour, work under specific conditions and are supposed to return home when no longer needed.

There are a number of possible reasons for this negative perception of TFWs. For instance, if employers did not have access to that unlimited supply of workers, they would have to increase wages to attract workers from elsewhere in the country and that would, in turn, generate higher future earnings for already employed workers. This could increase their present and future standard of living as well as have a positive effect on their retirement benefits. Also, a negative perception of the future state of the economy may increase adverse feelings toward temporary workers as history has shown that not all return home when their contract expires. In fact, it is not uncommon for TFWs to stay illegally in the host country and accept working conditions well below standards (Martin and Teitelbaum 2001). While the sentiment of unfair competition may not exist when future prospects are good, it may arise when expectations for future economic development turn negative. Finally, the perception that the size of the temporary foreign work force is too large can generate negative feelings.

These reasons were investigated through a survey of construction workers in Metro Vancouver in the fall of 2008. Results show that their perception of TFWs was not very positive and sometimes based on misinformation (Kim and Gross 2009). At the time, despite the fact that the largest financial crisis had hit North America six months earlier, construction workers were still quite optimistic about future economic development. Fewer than 10% expected to be worse off a year later, yet 42.2% wished there were fewer TFWs. In fact, more than half of the 128 respondents indicated that they believed foreign workers decreased their wages. Moreover the fear of wage loss is much more prominent among workers with a college education or apprenticeship training (skilled) than among workers with on-the-job training (unskilled).

Since the LMO conditions prescribe that employers should pay comparable wages to TFWs and already employed workers, this suggests that construction workers in Vancouver were not aware of the LMO conditions. Alternatively, their position might have been influenced by incidents of wage discrimination during the construction of the Canada Line.[5] At the same time, 61.1% of trade workers who had experience working with TFWs found they did not have adequate language or job skills, another reason why they may have worried about the lowering of wages.

5. The Canada Line is the latest rapid transit line built between downtown Vancouver and the airport. In December 2008, the British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal ruled that Latin American temporary foreign workers on the Canada Line were discriminated against in terms of salary and expenses paid to them compared to European workers. It ordered construction companies to compensate them (British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal 2008).

Interestingly, despite their worries about the impact on wages, unskilled workers felt more threatened by competition from TFWs to find jobs than by a lowering of wages. More than half of those who responded to the survey believed it was harder to get jobs because of the TFW program. Also, about two-thirds believed TFWs were not needed as there were enough local workers to fill vacancies. So, skilled and unskilled local workers expressed adverse opinions about TFWs but not about the same issue: skilled workers worried about wages and unskilled workers about jobs.

Not surprisingly, these beliefs also varied across age groups. However, contrary to what is found in surveys about all immigrants, older workers were more favourable to immigrant workers. Only about 40% of older workers desired to see fewer TFWs versus 52% for younger workers. This surprising result probably stems from the fact that there was little concern about TFWs having an impact on financial issues such as taxes or social benefits as a large majority of workers understood that TFWs did not impose a financial burden on B.C. residents.

Overall, local workers' negative opinion about TFWs is somewhat surprising considering the rules in place to avoid effects on the local labour force. However, the results are surprising only if one believes that workers are fully informed about the program and believe the rules are enforced. Aside from the incident on the Canada Line which contributes to the fear of lower wages, it appears that there is great misperception about the actual size of the temporary foreign work force. Only 10% of resident workers think TFWs represented at the time less than 5% of the B.C. construction work force while the actual share was 0.5%. Almost half of all respondents believed TFWs represented more than 20% of the work force. While it is true that the proportion may vary across time and construction sites, it is also clear that adverse perceptions may be tinted by misperception about the actual number of TFWs.

Conclusion

Over the past decade, Metro Vancouver has experienced an unprecedented boom in the construction industry and the sector has been one of the main beneficiaries of the expansion of the Canadian TFW program in place since 2002. Yet, attitudes toward foreign workers in Metro Vancouver recently were mixed. Many resident workers felt economically threatened by TFWs as they believed they either lowered their wages or competed directly with them for jobs. Such perceptions are not quite consistent with the basic rules governing the hiring of TFWs.

Workers were not asked directly what they knew about the TFW program or whether they trusted it to work properly. However, their attitude may denote either incomplete information about the program or a lack of trust in its functioning. A sign of incomplete information is workers' overestimation of the actual number of TFWs in the province. Also, their trust in the program may have been undermined by highly publicized abuses. Hence, more transparency about the constraints put on employers who want to hire a TFW and more accountability on the part of employers to respect these constraints seem to be the minimum necessary to foster a more positive attitude in the workplace. In addition, more effort to inform on-site workers about available jobs and who gets them may contribute to more accurate perceptions. Whether this new approach to immigration is a positive step from the viewpoint of the whole society remains, of course, to be evaluated.

About the Author

Dominique M. Gross is an economist and professor at the School of Public Policy at Simon Fraser University. She specializes in the study of international migration. Presently, her research focuses on temporary foreign worker policy in Canada and its consequences for the local labour market. She is also interested in factors and policies that drive the movements of brains between industrialized countries.

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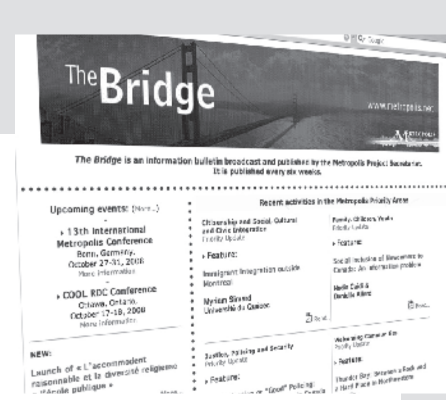
The Bridge



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Immigration Policy and Attitudes Toward Temporary Foreign Workers in Vancouver: A Policy Response

Citizenship and Immigration Canada
Temporary Resident Policy and Programs Division

Policy makers are always grateful for information regarding public attitudes toward the programs they manage. Professor Gross' article provides some helpful insights regarding the Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) program in Vancouver, an important destination for many TFWs. Canada's TFW program is designed to respond to actual requests from Canadian employers. Unlike permanent residents, TFWs are expected to voluntarily depart Canada at the end of their temporary work term. TFWs do not remain in Canada for several years in the same manner that permanent residents do. Annual levels have never been planned for TFWs, nor have caps been set for any part or all of the TFW movement (with the exception of some youth exchange agreements between Canada and other countries).

Canada does not currently have exit controls in place, which means that while officers record the entry of foreign nationals into the country, they do not record their departure. This creates, for both policy makers and academics, the challenge of working in the absence of concrete comprehensive data. Anecdotal evidence can help develop a general sense of the extent to which issues such as illegal overstays or employment conditions faced by TFWs are serious or are worsening. But prudence compels us to be cautious in arriving at conclusions. We rely on the protections built in the TFW program, such as the Labour Market Opinion provided in many cases by Service Canada, to ensure that jobs filled by TFWs meet real labour market needs, provide wages and working conditions appropriate in a Canadian setting, and do not exclude Canadian workers and job seekers from opportunities for employment and skills or knowledge transfer.

Recent changes enhancing TFW employer accountability will lead to greater program integrity and stronger support from Canadian workers and the public in general. These changes, to be implemented April 1, 2011, will reduce the potential for temporary foreign worker exploitation by employers and third-party agents. New factors will be used to guide the assessment of the genuineness of an employer's job offer. Employers will be ineligible to access the TFW program for a period of two years where they have been found to have provided wages, working conditions or occupations that were not substantially the same as those offered during the previous employment of a TFW. Furthermore, changes will underline that employment facilitated by the TFW program is intended to be temporary by establishing a limit of four cumulative years of employment for many TFWs, followed by a period of at least four years in which they may not be authorized to work in Canada.

Do Immigrants Enhance International Trade? Examining Australian and Canadian Perceptions of the Immigration/Trade Nexus with India

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Abstract: Do immigrants boost trade between their home and host countries? Finding a simple answer to this question has challenged economists because of the complex and multiple factors involved. Using the comparative case of Canada and Australia and their immigration/trade connection to India, this research offers a comparative assessment of how effectively immigrant entrepreneurs are part of a strategy of trade promotion with India. Methodologically, the research draws on semi-structured and close-ended ranking scale response questions. Sixty respondents were interviewed to gather their assessment of the value and limitations of the trade/immigration nexus, 30 in Vancouver, Canada, and 30 in Sydney, Australia. Some of the most noticeable differences between the two nations emerged in perceived contradictions in trade and immigration policy, and the type of barriers that might prevent immigrants from enhancing trade. Part of the explanation for these differences may lie in the history and nature of Indian immigration in each country.

Introduction: The Kangaroo and the Beaver

Recently, the popular and academic press have examined the role immigrants play in enhancing international trade through their transnational networks and cultural capital (Saxenian 2006; Honig, Drori and Carmichael 2010). This paper reports on a research project that examined this issue from a comparative perspective in the case of Canadian and Australian relations with India. The research assesses how the trade/immigration nexus is differently perceived and utilized in each nation. Australia and Canada can be usefully compared in the case of immigration and trade since both have resource-based economies and active immigration policies. While Australia has recognized that its strategic and economic interests lie within the Asian region (Kaul 2000), most commentators agree that Canada's trade relationship with India is drastically underdeveloped (Dobson 2006). In 2000, the value of Australia's imports to India was 2.8 times greater than Canada's but by 2007, it had increased to 4.5 times (India Department of Commerce 2008).

In terms of immigration, on a per capita basis, Canada has twice as many Indian immigrants as Australia does, comprising 1.4% of the total population compared to 0.7% in Australia based on 2006 census data (or 443,690 versus 147,106 immigrants). Indian immigration to both countries has historically included rural Punjabis (Walton-Roberts 2003, Voigt-Graf 2005), but the religious and regional heterogeneity of Indian immigrants has been greater in Australia than Canada (Wilson and Samuel 1996). Canada and Australia are in competition for skilled immigrants, but the largest component of Indian immigrants to Canada has typically been in the family class. In 2000, however, a shift occurred that saw the number of Indian economic class immigrants to Canada slightly exceed family class for the first time—48% of the total were economic class versus 46% family class—(CIC 2001).

By comparison, in that same year, Australia saw over 80% (5,046) of the permanent resident visas issued to Indians go to the skilled stream, and only 19% to the family stream (Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2006). Australia has also edged out Canada in terms of tapping into the Indian student market. In 2008, Australia had over 80,000 Indian tertiary students (Author unlisted 2009) compared to 2,500 visas Canada issued to Indian students that same year (Scherf and Macpherson 2008). The success of Australia's international student policy has, however, been questioned of late (Birrell 2006).

Research Methodology

To assess the different approaches each country uses in regard to using immigrants to boost trade, interviews were conducted with immigrant entrepreneurs and government and trade officials in Vancouver (spring of 2008) and in Sydney (February and March 2009). Drawing upon government and business groups with an interest in trade with India, similar interview samples were developed in each community, as shown in Table 1. Interviews were semi-structured and included a series of forced ranking questions, the latter forming the focus of this paper.

Table 1: Interview sample details	BC	NSW
Business/Entrepreneurs	**19**	**20**
Agriculture	2	0
Manufacturing/pharmaceutical/biotech	3	4
Lumber, construction, transportation	3	1
Legal and business services	11	15
Government Employees/Politicians	**6**	**5**
Municipal	2	0
Provincial/State	2	3
Federal	2	2
Educational Sector	5	5
Public sector	3	1
Private consultants	2	4
Total	**30**	**30**
Additional notes on the sample:		
Asia-Pacific Trade Council/Advisory Committee members (B.C.)/Western Sydney IT Cluster (NSW)	11	8
Number of Indian immigrant respondents	14	21
Number of non-immigrant respondents of South Asian ethnicity (second and third generation)	8	0

How Can Immigrants Best Enhance Trade with India?

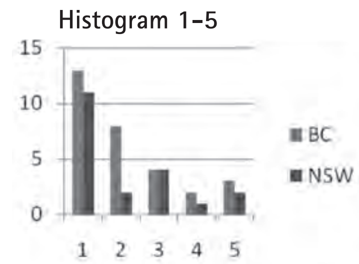
Respondents were asked to assess how Indian immigrants (and people of Indian ethnicity) could best contribute to improving trade relations with India. This question determined the perceived relative value different labour market roles might offer in terms of immigrant-led development of international trade. The differential economic experience of Indian immigrants in the two countries frames this question since scholars argue that Australia has demonstrated more effective use of immigrants' premigration credentials in terms of immigrant incorporation into the labour market (Hawthorne 2008).

In Canada, established Indian immigrants have labour market outcomes similar to those of the Canadian-born, but for recent and very recent arrivals. Labour market outcomes are much poorer than those of Canadian counterparts (Gilmore 2008). This is particularly troubling when we consider that more recent Canadian immigration from India has been marked by a significant increase in skilled migrants.

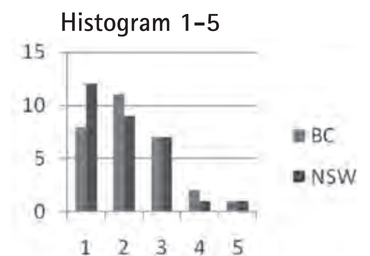
The answers to the question about the best perceived position from which immigrants can boost trade reveal a fairly strong similarity across the sample. Thirty-four respondents ranked option a) "as entrepreneurs directly involved in export trade" either first or second. In this regard, self-starter immigrant entrepreneurs who create their own opportunities, whether they resort to this activity by choice or blocked mobility (Light and Bonacich 1988), are seen as the best option for building trade. Option b) "as corporate officers" ranked second highest overall with 20 first or second rankings, and suggests that the

Table 2: In your opinion, which of the following positions offers Indian immigrants and Canadians of Indian origin the best opportunity to boost trade with India? (1: most important factor; 5: the least important)

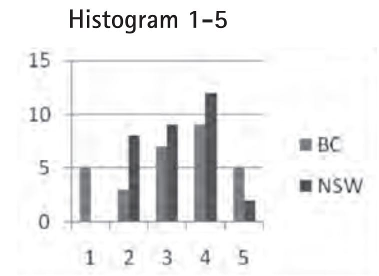
Question	a) As entrepreneurs directly involved in export trade	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 2.1 NSW 1.9	
Mode	BC 1 NSW 1	



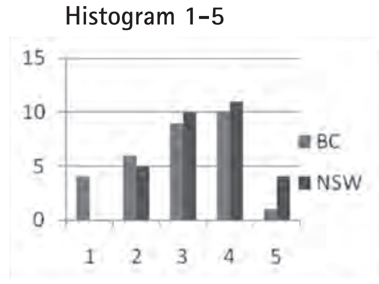
Question	b) As corporate officers	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 2.1 NSW 2.0	
Mode	BC 2 NSW 1	



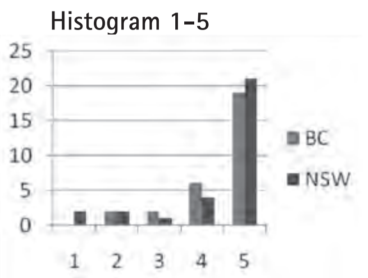
Question	c) As government bureaucrats	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 3.1 NSW 3.2	
Mode	BC 4 NSW 4	



Question	d) As members of trade associations focused on India	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 2.9 NSW 3.5	
Mode	BC 4 NSW 4	



Question	e) As elected members of government	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 4.3 NSW 4.3	
Mode	BC 5 NSW 5	



incorporation of immigrants as corporate employees in larger mainstream companies that are conducting business in the South Asian market, or planning to, is also valued. With regard to the effectiveness of immigrants as bureaucrats or trade association representatives, there seemed to be a more positive view from the B.C. rather than the New South Wales (NSW) respondents. The interview sample recorded their strongest agreement overall by determining that "elected members of government" offered the least opportunity to boost trade, with close to 40 of the respondents ranking it fourth or fifth. This perhaps reflects the tensions that can emerge between trade development and democratic politics, something specifically highlighted by a number of respondents in the B.C. case reflecting the highly regionalized nature of Indian immigration to this region (see Walton-Roberts forthcoming for more details).

How Are Immigrants Useful to Trade Creation?

There was fairly strong agreement on the second ranking question that considered the multiple factors often associated with immigrant or ethnic value with regard to building trade. "Knowledge of the Indian market" was ranked first or second by 25 of the sample. The value of "family/personal connections" was deemed more important by B.C. than NSW respondents, yet the balance switched for "cultural familiarity," which was more positively viewed by NSW respondents. Both of these factors point to the importance of different forms of cultural capital immigrants may possess. The two least important factors were seen as linguistic skills and risk-taking entrepreneurial skills.

Table 3: Please rate how important you think the following factors are in explaining the immigrant's value to trade development. (1: most important factor; 5: the least important)

Question	a) Linguistic skills	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 4.0 NSW 3.8	
Mode	BC 5 NSW 5	

Question	b)Familiarity with Indian society/culture	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 2.5 NSW 2.3	
Mode	BC 3 NSW 1	

Question	c) Knowledge of the Indian market	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 1.8 NSW 2.1	
Mode	BC 1 NSW 1	

Question	d) Family/personal connections	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 2.8 NSW 3.6	
Mode	BC 2 NSW 4	

Question	e) Risk-taking entrepreneurial skills	Histogram 1-5
Mean	BC 3.3 NSW 3.1	
Mode	BC 5 NSW 5	

Linguistic skills are often seen as central for the development of international trade (Dunlevy 2006), but India's English-language use led most respondents to discount specific linguistic skills as important for trade, with 43 ranking it fourth or fifth. There are great convergence pressures that make English a pan-Indian language of exchange (Sonntag 2009), and many of those interviewed argued that this linguistic hegemony was a positive factor in trying to build trade in India.

The lower value attached to "risk-taking entrepreneurial skills" challenges the idea that immigrant entrepreneurs might possess or at least demonstrate some kind of *innate* risk-taking behaviour compared to the native-born, as suggested by the Conference Board of Canada (2007) and Mandel-Campbell (2007). Half of the interview respondents did not see any automatic link between entrepreneurialism and immigrant status, with 29 ranking it fourth or fifth. This finding suggests that when it comes to enhancing trade capacity with India, rather than banking on some *innate* quality immigrants might possess, greater success may be found in ensuring greater use of an immigrant's skills across all sectors of the labour market.

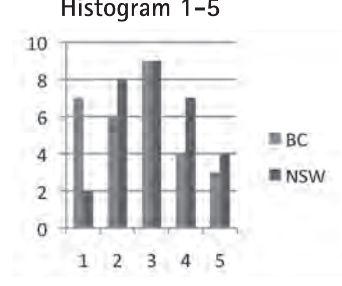
Barriers Immigrants Face in Creating Trade

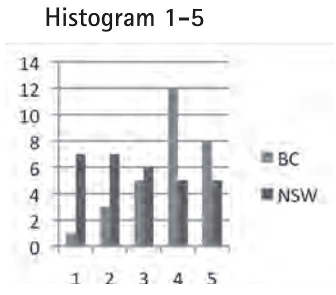
The third ranking question examined barriers to trade development faced by Indian immigrants and ethnic entrepreneurs. The problem of gaining visitor visas for business travellers from India has been highlighted in the Canadian case (Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada 2005; Walton-Roberts 2010) and in this case, half ranked this problem either first or second in importance. Canadian responses acknowledged the inherent conflict perceived between the Department of Foreign Affairs

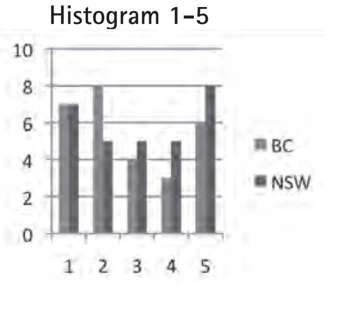
Table 4: Please rank the following barriers which Indian immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada face in developing export trade with India. (1: most important factor; 5: the least important)

Question	a) Contradictions between trade and immigration policy (i.e., visa denial)	Histogram 1–5
Mean	BC 2.33 NSW 3.2	
Mode	BC 1 NSW 4	

Question	b) Poor financial assistance from Canadian banks for immigrant entrepreneurs	Histogram 1–5
Mean	BC 3.23 NSW 2.7	
Mode	BC 5 NSW 1	

Question	c) Weak connections between immigrant business and government trade agencies	Histogram 1–5
Mean	BC 2.5 NSW 3.1	
Mode	BC 3 NSW 3	

Question	d) Under-representation of immigrants as CEOs	Histogram 1–5
Mean	BC 3.67 NSW 2.8	
Mode	BC 4 NSW 2	

Question	e) General lack of Canadian interest in entering the Indian market	Histogram 1–5
Mean	BC 2.57 NSW 3.07	
Mode	BC 2 NSW 5	

and International Trade (DFAIT) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), which respondents identified with humour, but also irritation.

> I mean, that's number one *(laughter)*. I mean, even if it's not number one, everybody insists on making that number one because every sort of association, meeting ... that problem always comes forward. (BC5)

This was also highlighted as a problem that would undermine Canada's position in an increasingly competitive immigration market.

> Australia will welcome them with open arms; the U.K. will welcome them with open arms. If we're not as competitive, we won't make it. When I was in India, they were talking about this problem with visas ... they used the analogy of the difference between Canada and Australia and saying that if there were 10 applicants for a visa, Canada would deny nine and consider one ... Australia would open up 15! (BC13)

While the statements above and the ranked responses clearly demonstrate the immense dissatisfaction many felt with respect to the visa problems, there was some disagreement within the Canadian sample, as seven people placed this problem fourth or fifth, and in Australia, 15 of the sample placed it fourth or fifth.

> I've never heard ... of a legitimate business person who said I can't get a visa. (BC12)

> I personally think, and I, you know, disagree with my colleagues on this, I personally think that this visa issue is, is overblown. (BC18)

> Look, I have been involved in hosting a number of delegations from India and I have not heard of that. I have known a lot of people who come from independent companies, multinationals who are visiting or I have hosted a number of trade delegations that have come here. So I don't find that to be an issue. (NSW1)

In Australia, contradictions between trade and immigration policy were commented on in reference to citizenship. Two respondents mentioned one case where an Indian immigrant IT corporate officer was located in the Indian market on behalf of an Australian IT company. He was denied Australian citizenship due to his lack of residency in Australia, even though he was generating economic value for Australia. This form of territorial nationalism contradicts the nature of transnational capitalism that characterizes the growing IT sector.

Another significant barrier that was cited was general government disinterest in building trade with India. Canada's geographical proximity to the U.S. and the nation's dependence on trade with the world's largest economy were seen to limit efforts to internationalize Canada's market share in other regions.

> "DFAIT's current policy is really clear. You know, United States, United States, United States" (BC19).

In Australia, the perception of some respondents was that India was not as high on the radar as it should be, but overall government disinterest was seen as the least important barrier by Australian respondents.

Perhaps one of the more surprising findings with regard to barriers to trade is the question of the under-representation of immigrant CEOs. When we consider the seemingly better immigrant labour market outcomes evident in Australia compared to Canada, it appears surprising that "lack of Indian-born CEOs" is more apparent in Australia. This may speak to the length of time that Indian immigrants have been present in each country. In Canada, the relatively longer presence of skilled Indian immigrants, particularly in the B.C. area, has resulted in a larger number being visible in upper corporate positions. This may also be reflected in the number of second- or third-generation Indian immigrants captured in the Canadian versus the Australian sample (8 vs 0). Another barrier that was more apparent in Australia than in Canada was the lack of financial assistance, but this was seen as a structural problem for any business, not just immigrants.

> There's basically very little financial assistance available and it is not specific to immigrants. There is not a great deal of financial assistance available when one wants to start an export or import business. (NSW9)

Conclusion

In Saxenian's (2006) research on transnational Argonauts, U.S.–trained Indian engineers seconded to run U.S. operations in India played a fundamental role in initiating and sustaining transnational linkages. Undoubtedly, the Canadian and Australian context differs from the U.S. in the nature of trade and migration policy. In order to understand how state structures of trade promotion, immigration management and international relations articulate with each other, we need to pay greater attention to the territorial and social specificities of immigrant and trade flows, and how immigrants are mobilized and position themselves to produce and sustain these linkages over time and space.

In the case of Australia and Canada, the location of immigrants in the labour market produces different barriers in terms of the stock of immigrants (longer history of Indian immigration in Canada, but greater emphasis on skilled migrants and their successful labour market incorporation in Australia). There are also differences in the contradictions that are perceived to exist between trade and immigration policy: in Canada, problems with visa issuance are highlighted while in Australia, the only problem cited by two respondents was territorial citizenship requirements that contradicted the transnational nature of the IT sector. General barriers included financing in Australia, while lack of government interest in the Indian market was cited as more important in Canada.

The value of cultural capital is acknowledged in both locations but in Canada, personal connections win out over general cultural familiarity with India, perhaps speaking to the spatial and socially dense nature of immigrant networks in B.C. (the research site). Further research in this area needs to contextually analyse how policy frameworks might impede or enhance individual immigrant opportunity structures. Such research can also be compared to other countries and immigrant groups, with case studies offering policy evaluation and guidance alongside econometric studies which, though valuable, tend to underplay the socio-spatial context of study.

Acknowledgments

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About the Author

Dr. Walton-Roberts' research addresses Indian migration, gender, immigrant settlement in mid-sized Canadian cities and transnational networks. She has published a number of articles on immigrant remittances and transnational relations between non-resident Indians overseas and their sending communities in India. Current research examines immigration/trade relations with a focus on the internationalization of education, particularly nursing.

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Business-Economic Development and Immigration: Existing S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Initiatives and Its Vision for the Future

Thomas Tam
CEO, S.U.C.C.E.S.S.

The increasing in-flow of new immigrants from Asia and the persistent high rates of unemployment and underemployment among immigrant groups speak to the fact that Canadian social and economic systems are not functioning as well as they could in terms of integrating newcomers and their families, creating jobs and matching them to the talents of immigrants, providing opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurship, and attracting overseas investment to facilitate local economic development. The challenge of integrating immigrants who come to Canada through the Business Class program is particularly acute in this respect.

The S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Vision

Immigration settlement and socio-economic development are intertwined. S.U.C.C.E.S.S. has a vision to serve both of these ends (economic and social integration). Because of the increasing number of skilled worker, provincial nominee and business immigrants arriving in British Columbia in the 1990s, S.U.C.C.E.S.S. has developed a full range of international business and entrepreneurial services for them, which have also been designed to enable local businesses to draw upon this talent pool for self-employment or business opportunities. The emerging need for this type of program was apparent to S.U.C.C.E.S.S., and the development of entrepreneurship programs became part of a larger menu of services intended to foster settlement and integration.

In 1994, S.U.C.C.E.S.S. established the Business Development Training Centre, later renamed S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Business and Economic Development (BED), to serve clients throughout British Columbia and other Western provinces. BED focuses on providing services and support for prospective entrepreneurs and the self-employed. It includes the provision of local business information and technical support, assistance in registering businesses, entrepreneurial development and training, regional immigration initiatives, and trade and investment services. BED works with thousands of small and medium-sized businesses in British Columbia and other provinces.

Gateway to Asia™

The Gateway to Asia™ (GTA) project within BED aims at developing new Asian markets for Western Canadian goods and services. It is a unique initiative where Western small and medium-sized Canadian manufacturers and suppliers are linked with recent Asian immigrants who are able to facilitate new business relationships and contacts with buyers and investors in their former homeland. Its objectives are to increase the number of businesses exporting to Asia; the volume of expert sales from Western Canada to Asia; the number of new products and services tailored to Asian markets; and foreign investment from Asia to Canada.

The GTA project builds on and leverages the extensive market knowledge, language skills and business networks that Asian immigrant communities in Canada have in their homeland. Most of the 1,300 members of the project are recent immigrants from China. Roughly half of them have either had or still have business operations in China, and half of them have incorporated Canadian companies. These recent immigrants join the Gateway to Asia™ project to be introduced to Canadian-based businesses looking for Chinese partners or access to the China market.

From 2002 to 2010, the total value of export sales to China generated through the GTA project members reached $39 million (Cdn). From April 2006 to the present, the total value of Asian investment in British Columbia attributed to the project reached $15 million (Cdn). In 2007, S.U.C.C.E.S.S.'s GTA was selected by the Asia Pacific Foundation as one of the 15 best Canadian companies and organizations that understand the impact of Asia on today's business environment (*Leading the Way – Canadian Business Strategies in Asia*, report of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, July 2007).
A third-party assessment of the GTA contracted by Western Economic Diversification Canada (WD) in March 2007 has found that the "... Gateway to Asia™ program 'makes money' for Canada overall and provides value for money for WD and S.U.C.C.E.S.S." (*Assessment of the Gateway to Asia Program*, Dennis Rank and Associates, 2007, p. 4).[1]

Immigrants as Canada's Hidden Advantage ... but They Need to Be Integrated

Some years ago, an Asian Pacific Foundation publication pointed to the fact that "Canada's hidden advantage" is the business skills and connections of its newly arrived Asian immigrants (*Canada's "Hidden Advantage" Revisited*, Canada Asia Commentary, September 1999). It is right that Canada's immigrants should be perceived as assets instead of liabilities. However, it is also important to make sure that economic immigrants and their families are integrated and feel at home. From our service experience and observation, we have found that if we cannot help the new business immigrants and the self-employed to overcome the integration obstacles they face, and if they are left to their own devices without any cross-culturally and linguistically appropriate support that resonates with them, few manage to succeed in Canada. There is a pressing need for cross-cultural business understanding, orientation, business language training, facilitation, bridging and integration services to help newcomer entrepreneurs "blend in" the skills they bring with the business climate of the host society.

In this regard, we see an even broader need for a National Business Immigrant Support Network, to connect business class and other self-employed immigrants with local services and resources in a cross-culturally meaningful way.

The Business Immigrant's Problem

S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Business and Economic Development has been providing business services to immigrant entrepreneurs for 16 years. Our mission is to foster economic integration between new entrepreneurs and local businesses through the delivery of entrepreneurship programs and consultation.

The vision of a National Business Immigrant Support Network is sparked by the day-to-day encounters and our observation of the problems faced by business class immigrants and new immigrants who wanted to start a business and be self-employed in Canada. Due to linguistic barriers and a lack of intercultural understanding, these new immigrant entrepreneurs need various kinds of advisory and consulting services, delivered in their mother tongue, that go beyond the routinely available business information and enquiry services offered to the English- or French-speaking general public.

The majority of these new entrepreneurs are from Asia, especially from China and Korea. They may be extremely proficient in their source country but are often incapacitated and overwhelmed by the unfamiliar new business environment, territory, language, culture and instant loss of existing business and social network as

1. S.U.C.C.E.S.S. and Western Economic Diversification Canada had partnered between 2002 and 2009 to deliver the Gateway to AsiaTM project. WD contributed 70% of the project funding.

soon as they enter this new country. Some have been scorched by an early, failed attempt to establish a business. The general business information they received, along with basic language training and consultation services in an official language, were insufficient to meet the needs of these prospective entrepreneurs. Many quickly became risk-averse, holding on to their capital and losing their investment drive. The lost opportunities for Canada as a host country are considerable.

The Business Immigrant's Service Needs

Business immigrants, especially those from non-English-speaking countries in Asia, need in-language counselling and training on how to start a new business in Canada. In addition to providing basic information, appropriate services help build confidence and trust, and also help newcomers find mentors.

Newly arrived business immigrants need practical language instruction geared to the business environment. They also need to acquire a good understanding of the Canadian banking system and its practices. They need to be introduced and gain access to the local business community network or specific professional or industry associations relevant to their business. Ideally, they should be matched with local business ventures, partnerships or investment opportunities. They need guidance in selecting local professional and business services in fields such as real estate, accounting, legal, marketing and sales, product development, suppliers and so on, specific to their community of settlement. They need a full portfolio of in-language professional advice and help, and interpretation assistance that goes beyond information as such. It is only through a combination of social and economic integration that the business immigrants and their families will succeed in Canada. The latest *China Goes Global* 2010 survey by the Asia Pacific Foundation (published January 17, 2011) echoes similar frustrations, needs and concerns expressed by many entrepreneurs who came to Canada after operating small and medium-sized enterprises in China.

The Opportunity

Based on its local experience, S.U.C.C.E.S.S. sees a larger opportunity to develop a national network that would offer one-stop cross-culturally and linguistically appropriate business services, low-cost consulting, Canadian business training and mentoring programs, business workshops, seminars, and local business networking and investment opportunities to newcomers hoping to establish businesses in Canada. S.U.C.C.E.S.S. hopes to assemble investment for the basic infrastructure and operations of such a national network, which would include local agencies or business information centres that would levy standardized business consulting fees to newcomers at low cost, or a sliding fee-charging scale based on a menu of services (to be developed) that would be added to those already provided through existing settlement and integration frameworks. This vision would be the first attempt to create a "public-NGO-private" partnership in fostering social and economic integration for new business-oriented immigrants.

The Benefits

Such a network could leverage public funding to facilitate a greater degree of success for immigrant entrepreneurs, leading to lower levels of immigrant unemployment or underemployment, faster and improved economic integration, and an increase in local economic development opportunities. It would also help the municipalities attract more future immigrants and successful investments. With the integral support of local business communities, the network would facilitate more local job creation and more consumption of local business services, and could therefore increase consumption in general.

If one of the solutions to the economic and social future of Canada is to harvest the strengths of immigrants, we need a wholesale change in policy and program initiatives to extend some form of settlement and integration support services tailored to the specific needs of the business immigrants and those newcomers who seek to become self-employed.

Concluding Remarks

Investing in a national network that focuses on boosting the productivity of new business immigrants, rebuilding their entrepreneurial spirit and confidence, facilitating their cross-cultural and linguistic business success, and unleashing their investment capital is an important way to optimize the talents of immigrants. It is our hope that this article will trigger a much-needed policy debate on how to harvest the "hidden advantage" of Canada's immigration program and foster the full economic integration of business immigrants.

Learning to Live Together

Charles Ungerleider

Abstract: This article focuses on Canada's social justice infrastructure and analyses how, over the course of the last half century, it has worked to counter threats to social cohesion. It provides the reader with an overview of some of the challenges to the Canadian system and various legislative and policy responses to them. Notwithstanding Canada's development of one of the most powerful social justice frameworks in the world, Ungerleider shows that growing inequalities among Canadians have the potential to threaten its social cohesion.

The problem of social cohesion is particularly acute for Canada. Its geography is vast, its population is diverse, its political landscape is fragmented, its central institutions are weak, its regions differ greatly, and its closest neighbour is enormously powerful. When differences become too great in either number or kind, a unit fragments. Marriages and nations dissolve when the management of difference is no longer possible. Yet since the Second World War, Canada has been remarkably successful in maintaining social cohesion in the face of increasing diversity.

In October 2010, the *Globe and Mail* featured a series of articles about Canadian multiculturalism, accompanied by online opinion polls. One poll asked readers to choose between the "melting pot" and the "mosaic" in response to a question about the cultural policy they preferred, implying that these were genuine policy choices. While the mosaic/melting pot metaphors may serve journalistic purposes, they do not do justice to issues and policy options that Canada must face in addressing the fundamental problem confronting every social unit, from the smallest dyad to the largest society: how many and what kinds of differences can the social group permit or sustain and still remain a cohesive group?

In the *Globe and Mail*'s October 5 feature entitled "Canada's Changing Faith" (Friesen and Martin 2010), the subheading asserts that "the rise of religion in the public sphere presents huge challenges to our old notions of tolerance and acceptance." In its online material, however, the *Globe* provided interactive access to the results of the World Values Survey 2005–2008 (WVS).[1] Notwithstanding that a few countries appear more tolerant than Canada and that a sizeable proportion of Canadians do not like homosexuals (15.7%) and people with AIDS (13.5%), the WVS data contradict the Friesen and Martin assertion, painting a portrait of a country in which people have learned how to live together, albeit imperfectly.

Table 1. Percentage of Canadians that would not like ...

People of a different religion	2.3
People of a different race	2.5
Unmarried couples living together	3.0
People who speak a different language	3.7
Immigrants/foreign workers	4.6
People who have AIDS	13.5
Homosexuals	15.7
Heavy drinkers	70.4
Drug addicts	91.7

Source: "Diversity: Yes, in my backyard," *Globe and Mail* (October 1, 2010). Retrieved October 5, 2010, from http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/multiculturalism/diversity-yes-in-my-backyard/article1736042

1. The WVS consists of a consortium of university-based social scientists that monitors social trends and changes in a large number of countries using survey research.

That the proportions of Canadians who would not like immigrants (4.6%), people of different religious backgrounds (2.3%), races (2.5%) or linguistic traditions (3.7%) are small is testimony to the influence of the Canadian normative environment. Canadians know that the overt expression of intolerance is unacceptable.

The World Values Survey data about Canadians confirm what most observers have noticed about Canada's urban centres: namely, how well people have learned to live together in a social environment characterized by density, diversity and complexity. Given these characteristics, the social cohesion of Canada's cities is remarkable. But the absence of conflict and the presence of cohesiveness are not accidental: they are learned and supported by a variety of unseen but important factors.

In their *Globe* article, Friesen and Martin assert that the virtuous story Canadians tell themselves about multiculturalism is false because multiculturalism has not been tested in the same way that the tolerance of European nations has been tested. Citing Will Kymlicka, they point out that Canada does not live in close proximity to an impoverished nation from which migrants wish to flee, and does not have an extensive guest worker underclass, or an empire/colony relationship. While true, those features ignore Canada's past and its circuitous path to a more just and cohesive nation (see also Kymlicka 1995).

Most Canadians know that for much of Canadian history, policy makers were little concerned about the discriminatory treatment accorded immigrants, minorities, native people, French-Canadians or women (Backhouse 1999). The mistreatment of Canada's indigenous peoples, the impositions placed upon Asian and South Asian immigrants, the Anglophone domination of Francophone Canadians, the denial of entry to Canada for Jewish refugees, and the internment of Japanese-Canadians are more than minor departures from the fair and equitable treatment of people.

These discriminatory patterns began to change during the Second World War and in its aftermath. Despite the improvements in policies and practices, the journey toward a more just and cohesive society has not been an unbroken line of successes. The milestones in Canada's journey have been many, though it would be wrong to infer that social justice and social cohesion were always uppermost in the minds of policy makers. For example, it was the necessity of uniting Canadians during what among many French-Canadians was referred to as England's war that gave rise to policies intended to improve social cohesion.

Cognizant that Canada's war effort might be compromised by intergroup antagonisms, the Government of Canada National War Services sponsored a speaking tour under the auspices of the Association of Canadian Clubs to engender intergroup cooperation in support of the war effort. Other "multicultural" initiatives included the production of a film called "Peoples of Canada" by the National Film Board; a series of radio broadcasts, "Canadians All," by the CBC; and the publication of a pamphlet with the same title. In 1944, the National War Services provided support for the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship to publish and distribute a pamphlet titled *The Problem of Race* (Joshee 1995).

It is ironic that shortly after the Government of Canada relocated Canadians of Japanese ancestry to internment camps and permitted the seizure of their property, Ontario was proclaiming an act limiting racial discrimination (Ontario 1944). Three years later, Saskatchewan adopted the *Saskatchewan Bill of Rights Act* (1947). Other provinces followed suit, establishing legislation and practices to diminish discrimination.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the inequalities between French and English Canadians became a preoccupation for successive governments. Beginning with the Royal Commission on National

Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences in 1949, the Canadian government found it necessary to recognize that there were at least two Canadas that were unequal and almost completely separate.

The government of Canada made modest concessions in response to the growing Quebec nationalism of the post-war period, including simultaneous translation in parliamentary proceedings (1958) and the issuance of cheques in French (1962). These primarily symbolic gestures, however, did not quell the increasing demands for more substantive changes. When the Liberal government of Lester Pearson took power in 1963, it called for a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism ". . . to recommend what steps would be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races" (Waddell 1986).

Among the many consequences of the Commission's work was recognition of the linguistic inequality between Canadians of French and English origins. In response, the government developed and proclaimed the *Official Languages Act* (Asselin 2001), granting equal, official status to both English and French in the proceedings of Parliament, the judiciary and Crown corporations. During the same period, French-Canadian identity shifted from one based on religion to one based on language.

Within a relatively brief period, the government had established a wide range of programs to promote bilingualism, including the promotion of second-language instruction in one or the other of Canada's official languages (Waddell 1986). Official bilingualism was instrumental in improving the climate of respect not only between the British Canadians and French Canadians, but among Canadians of other ethnic origins:

> If the British had to tolerate and respect the French, and the French the British, then there was no basis for treating other ethnic or religious communities differently . . . This fact, so remote in the past and so apparently unrelated to the subsequent multiculturalism policy, established the fundamental relationship that defines Canada . . . namely toleration and respect for other cultural and linguistic communities (Thorburn, quoted in Samuel 1988).

In an often cited passage, Prime Minister Mackenzie King described what had been (and continues to be) Canada's view of immigration:

> The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population (and) large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population . . . Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy. Immigration is subject to the control of the Parliament of Canada (King, quoted in Reitz 1987).

Nevertheless, in the 1960s, the government began the process of removing the overtly discriminatory provisions in the *Immigration Act* of 1910. The Act had permitted the Government of Canada to "prohibit for a stated period or permanently, the landing in Canada . . . of immigrants belonging to any race unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada." In 1967, the government introduced a point system to tie immigrant selection more closely to the needs of the Canadian labour market. But it wasn't until the *Immigration Act* of 1976 was implemented in 1978 that the aforementioned discriminatory provision was removed from Canadian law, making immigration from non-European countries easier.

Between the time that the government announced its intention to reform immigration and the time it began implementing the policy, it gave formal recognition to the policy of multiculturalism that had been practised since the War. On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau steered Canada along what would become a controversial course by proclaiming a formal state policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (House of Commons Debates 1971).

Trudeau's vision of multiculturalism was ". . . the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians." He believed that a policy of multiculturalism would ". . . break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies."

> National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based upon fair play for all (House of Commons Debates 1971).

The policy enunciated by Trudeau had four broad objectives: to assist cultural groups in retaining and fostering their identity; to assist cultural groups in overcoming barriers to their full participation in Canadian society; to promote creative exchanges and interchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; and to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages. As his closing remarks make clear, Trudeau went to some lengths to emphasize his liberal, democratic vision of multiculturalism:

> In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the view of the Government that a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice. We are free to be ourselves. But this cannot be left to chance. It must be fostered and pursued actively. If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all. It is the policy of this Government to eliminate any such danger and to "safeguard" this freedom (House of Commons Debates 1971).

The policy was subjected to numerous criticisms. Among them were that the policy was a politically expedient attempt to maintain a broad base of support for the Liberal Party among European immigrants of previous generations; an attempt to blunt anti-French sentiment among non-Francophones angry about Canada's policy of bilingualism; and a paean to pluralism in a climate that was increasingly supportive of assimilation because the welfare state and the improved legal position of immigrants had diminished the importance of ethnic solidarity and associational life (Moodley 1983).

Despite such criticisms, in March 1972, a Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate recommended that Canada's Constitution recognize Canada as a multicultural rather than a bicultural nation. It would take another 10 years before constitutional reform would realize this ambition.

The colony of Virginia is generally credited with providing the model for both North America and Europe when it adopted its Declaration of Rights on June 12, 1776 (Finer 1949). In a relatively brief period, rights were enunciated in the Constitution of the United States (1787) and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens (1789). It took almost 200 years before the entrenchment of individual rights in a written constitution occurred in Canada (*Constitution Act* 1982).

In the period following the entrenchment of rights in Canada's constitutional fabric, Canada addressed a variety of social justice issues. In recognition of the need to reform systemic practices that negatively affected the employment of women, native people, disabled persons and visible minorities, the Government of Canada established the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment in 1983. The 1984 report by Judge Rosalie Abella led to the first *Employment Equity Act* (1986) requiring regulated companies with one hundred or more employees to warrant their commitment to employment equity in order to compete for contracts in excess of $200,000.

During the 1980s, Canadian municipalities and school boards established initiatives to address what seemed to be growing racism. The initiatives included reviews of human resources policies, school curriculums, textbooks, policing and contracting policies with an eye to improving intergroup relations (City of Toronto n.d.; Echols and Fisher 1989; Federation of Canadian Municipalities n.d.; Metropolitan Separate School Board 1984; Ungerleider 1985a, 1985b, 1994; Ungerleider and McGregor 1991, 1993; Zinman 1988).

By the end of the 1980s, Canada had formalized in the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988) the notion that Canadians may retain their heritage, languages and cultural identifications so long as doing so did not create inequalities within or between groups. Among its 10 purposes, the Act declared that it was the policy of the Government of Canada to ensure that, while respecting and valuing their diversity, "all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law . . ."

In the years following, various governments sought to rectify the damage done by actions of previous governments to the Japanese (1991), the Chinese (1996), former students of Indian residential schools (2008) and Canadians with ancestors from India for the *Komagata Maru* incident (2008).

Over time, Canada has, for a variety reasons, developed policies and practices that, when taken together, constitute an infrastructure that has promoted social justice and social cohesion. The impact has been realized at personal and public levels. The proportions of people in interreligious unions have been steadily increasing over time (Clark 2008). So, too, have the proportions of people in what Statistics Canada refers to as "mixed unions"[2] (Milan, Maheux and Chui 2010), though it is important to recognize that such unions are not evidence of complete integration or acceptance (Song 2009). Analyses of Canadian election studies data from 1993 to 2004 show that immigrant interest and participation in politics exceed the levels for the Canadian-born population (Bilodeau and Kanji 2006).

Despite the progress made, racism, discrimination and inequality remain relevant issues for Canadians (Driedger and Halli 2000). The social construction of security (Bahdi 2003) and the characterization of Canadians alleged to be threats to Canada's security have evoked charges of racism (Fisk 2006) since the attack on the World Trade Center in 2001. Although analysts disagree about the causes of income inequality between immigrants and native-born Canadians (Ferrer, Green and Riddell 2004), most agree that, since the 1980s, the earnings of successive cohorts of immigrants have declined in relation to the earnings of those born in Canada (Picot and Myles 2004). Recent analyses in Canada's three largest cities point to significant educational inequalities among ethnocultural groups (Mc Andrew et al. 2009).

Canada has pursued a mix of policies in its attempt to address the question: how many and what kinds of differences can the social group permit or sustain and still remain a cohesive group? A variety of disparate human rights, immigration reform and control, employment equity, antiracism and multicultural initiatives have produced—not always intentionally—a social justice infrastructure that contributes to and

2. Mixed unions refer to common-law or marital relationships comprised of one spouse or partner who is a member of a visible minority group and the other who is not, as well as couples comprised of two different visible minority group members, including both opposite-sex and same-sex couples.

reinforces social cohesion. Canada has been fortunate thus far, but cannot rely on good fortune. It must become more vigilant about the factors that threaten social cohesion and intervene. Without research of he kind supported by Metropolis, Canada might not recognize the symptoms of discord and possible fracture until they are more visible and difficult to address.

About the Author

Charles Ungerleider divides his time between Directions Evidence and Policy Research Group, Llp, where he is Director of Research and Managing Partner, and the University of British Columbia, where he is a professor of the sociology of education. His research has addressed a wide range of topics from assessment to xenophobia. Ungerleider has served as Deputy Minister of Education in British Columbia and Director of Research and Knowledge Mobilization at the Canadian Council on Learning.

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They Were Always Such Nice Boys: Religion, Radicalization and Securitization in Canada and Beyond

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Abstract: In this article, Paul Bramadat suggests five general principles that emerge from current research and reporting on religious radicalization and securitization and that might improve the approaches of policy makers and scholars to these phenomena. These include the prominence of the Internet in the way individuals communicate and define themselves, the challenges associated with predicting who will be attracted to radical ideologies, the importance of comprehending the worldviews of radicalized groups and individuals, the stubborn tendency toward essentialism in the way we think about religion, and the dialectical relationship between securitization and radicalization.

For many colleagues and activists who think of themselves as progressive and well-mannered, it is offensive even to see the words religion and radicalization in the same sentence, much less in the title of an article. Surely, they anticipate, what follows will be yet another in a long line of implicitly and explicitly Islamophobic treatises meant to marginalize an already bruised and racialized community.

Their concerns are well founded. After all, in the aftermath of 9/11, there have been vitriolic attacks on Islam in Canadian public, political and media arenas. The backlash that we have seen against Muslim individuals and Islamic social and religious centres in Canada and other western liberal democracies might have been much worse if not for the proactive and inclusive stance of many politicians and leaders of various religious communities. Nonetheless, for the victims of the backlash—those who experienced actual violence or desecration of their religious sites as well as those victimized more subtly through suspicion, hostility and surveillance—knowing that it might have been much worse must be cold comfort.

I am working with Lorne Dawson of the University of Waterloo on a project (supported by Public Safety Canada) that addresses the connections that do, and those that are said to, exist between religion, radicalization and securitization. Our project poses key questions about these phenomena as they exist in Canada: What is unique about religious radicalization and the public and political responses to it in this country? What can we learn from other states' efforts to balance pluralism, liberalism and public safety? How are particular religious groups experiencing and responding to (their own members') radicalization and (the state's and society's) securitization? At present, Muslim and Sikh communities arguably face the greatest level of securitization. How has this come to pass, and is it justified in Canada? What are some "best practices" in Canada and elsewhere that could mitigate the harm to both religious communities and the broader society?

These are some of the questions we plan to explore during our research. In this article, though, I would like to address in general terms how one might effectively orient oneself to the issues of radicalization and securitization. These are issues that need to be addressed not just by analysts and scholars but by the broader public as well. In a modest effort to contribute to this area of analysis, I would like to offer five observations that emerge from current research and reporting on religious radicalization and securitization.

First, it is helpful to see radicalization and securitization as dialectically related. The particular factors that might lead a person, sub-group or family to espouse a violent, radicalized form of religion ought to be analysed against the backdrop of the broad national and international political stances that exist vis-à-vis that tradition. We use the term "securitization" to refer to the state's (and in a looser sense, a society's) response to real and perceived threats posed by radicalized individuals and groups. Here, we see a dynamic relationship between the religious actor's perceptions of the state and the state's perceptions of the nature of the threat. It makes sense to view these perceptions as intractably bound together: the objective should be not only to determine the nature of the state's posture or the reality of the threat in question, but also the power of perceptions on both sides of this dialectic. When one spends time with either security officials or members of religious groups under scrutiny, it becomes clear very soon that misperceptions of the proverbial "other" are fairly common, and bedevil constructive and pragmatic resolutions to pressing dilemmas.

Second, we should eschew all "essentialist" understandings of religion, and look with some suspicion at those who proffer either entirely positive or entirely negative accounts of what Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, etc., are "really" like. It is quite appropriate to argue that the group of people responsible for a particular violent act represents only a very small cohort within the larger tradition. It is, however, quite problematic to claim that the "authentic" version of [insert religion here] entirely rejects violence, and only a bastardized or "hijacked" version of the tradition would justify aggression, misogyny, etc. Like all cultural systems, religions include within them violent, misogynistic and aggressive—as well as charitable, egalitarian, peaceful—elements, and in each religious tradition, the relationship between these elements shifts over time as members of the tradition engage in the ongoing reinterpretation of religion in light of social changes. It is entirely legitimate for religious insiders to make claims about which one of their tradition's contemporary or historical expressions best captures their own appraisal of the broader tradition. However, essentialist claims about the authenticity of particular forms of any tradition are obstacles to any careful and accurate account of why a particular group of people might engage in a particular violent act at a particular time.

Third, as we approach radicalized insiders' narratives, we should opt not for moral relativism, but a kind of epistemological relativism. An informed response to radicalization does not require one to affirm that because all moral perspectives (including violent ones) are situated in unique cultural conditions, they are each therefore beyond reproach. This is a stance which, in any event, exists only in the abstract (and in introductory university classes) and tends to crumble the moment someone inflicts pain or deprivation upon one's loved ones. Nonetheless, to grapple meaningfully with radicalization requires one to work very hard to enter into the intellectual world of the other.

This is not a simple matter. After all, it is relatively easy for scholars, policy makers and others in the West to imagine what it is like to walk around the streets of Toronto, Amsterdam, London, Cologne or Paris and feel that they are outsiders in such places. Such a feeling can be thrilling and edifying, and is precisely what attracts many of us to international travel (and often what eventually brings us home). However, it is in a literal sense mind-boggling—that is to say, nearly impossible—for many of us to comprehend how a person could walk around these same cities and feel that local residents are actively at war with them and with all that is good in the universe. And yet, as Mark Jurgensmeyer reminds us, the deeply felt sense of being a warrior in a cosmic battle is one of the common sentiments among those Christians, Sikhs and others committed to or sympathetic with violent radicalization.

It is important for people who feel entirely at home, or at most moderately alien, in modern Western liberal (and ostensibly secular) democracies to take seriously the many ways these societies come to feel—and are made to feel—natural, even inevitable, to their members. After all, for many of its opponents (even its "home-grown" ones), this "naturalization" is in fact the net result of a much longer and more sinister history of colonialism, subjugation, decay and humiliation.

Certainly, in the case of Islamic radicalization processes in the West, perceptions of a regularly violated Ummah (or the broadly imagined global Muslim community) are quite common. To grapple seriously with the violence these perceptions sometimes spawn, one needs to see both the distant world (including dramas unfolding in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Iraq and Israel/Palestine, among other places) and the proximal world (including the sense of entitlement and arrogance exhibited by some people living in the first world) from the perspective of people who feel they or, even more commonly, the Ummah, are humiliated in and by these contexts. Regrettably, many of us in stable, affluent, vestigially Christian liberal democracies find it difficult, even abhorrent, to imagine the societies in which we live as corrupt or marauding. And yet, until we can comprehend (if not necessarily accept) this perspective, worldviews of violent radicals will remain a great mystery.

Fourth, security establishments around the world are understandably interested in identifying and thwarting imminent threats. A small handful of attacks have occurred in Europe and North America in the last decade, but reports indicate that many more have been prevented both by the post-9/11 surveillance measures and the internal policing undertaken by religious—especially Muslim—communities themselves. The question of whether the changes in the security regime represent a Charter-proof justifiable limit on the rights and freedoms of Canadians remains the subject of considerable debate, of course, and this is not the place to elaborate on these discussions.

What is worth critical scrutiny, however, is the individual many people have in mind when they imagine violent religious radicals. Research on radicalization seems to call into question the widespread assumption that perpetrators would necessarily be members of an uneducated and materially deprived underclass of orthodox believers, or that they would necessarily be "lured" into involvement by a charismatic ringleader. The profiles we have of religious radicals do include some individuals who fit this description, but it is far from apparent that they represent the majority, or some kind of general character type. Often, those who get involved in such activities are only recently religious, often very well educated, well travelled and well integrated into Canadian life (e.g., many profiles note that a particular plotter had a great affection for Tim Horton's or hockey).

The bad news (for security officials, at least) is that there appear to be enough entry points to religious radicalization to confound any simple, precise profiling endeavour. The good news, however, is that an inquiry into the features of Canadian society that might enrage or alienate various kinds of religious individuals might help us to more fully actualize our liberal democratic principles, thwart violence and more critically comprehend the dialectical relationship between individuals and their state or society. Such critical self-reflection need not be motivated by the collective guilt of people in the West. Indeed, seeing—if only for a time—our society through the eyes of people who see it as inherently hostile and wicked may, ironically, be an expression of an interest in a deeper diversity. This could lead to a form of social inclusion that does not categorically exclude strong religious sensibilities and that recognizes that this society is not universally perceived to be the pinnacle of human development. Again, one does not need to think such a vision of Western societies is admirable, just that there is a certain coherence to the account.

Fifth, virtually every scholar and security analyst writing about radicalized religious groups today underlines the importance of the Internet in both the development of radicalized perspectives and the potential state responses to them. Many of us have yet to appreciate the ramifications of the Internet for our own thought processes and intuitions, much less for those of people who perceive Western societies as darkly antagonistic and for those people immersed in the Internet as a means to combat religious extremism. Many commentators have observed that as a result of the Internet, groups (not just extremist groups but also the dominant moderate groups, NGOs and others) no longer have a single national, cultural or even spatial mooring; the threat (real and perceived) from violent radicalism is now decentralized in the extreme, and the near anonymity of the Web allows people to experiment with new identities, form new bonds of solidarity and develop political perspectives without the corrective challenges that might be posed by daily interaction with the complexities of the real world.

On one level, we might understand the Internet as a powerful new means of communication, such that one could conceive of religious radicals in the 1960s communicating with their peers through letters, the telephone and face-to-face meetings, whereas now we conceive of them as doing essentially the same thing, just more quickly, through the Web. There is some truth to this characterization, of course. However, the Web has over the past two decades emerged as something far beyond yet another means by which people share particular claims with others. It is itself a complete and encompassing experience-mapping and experience-embodying narrative horizon. Much more than a tool through which people communicate ideas and feelings, it is for many people, and certainly for many of the radicalized individuals for whom we have comprehensive profiles, a primary habitus, a unique locus of real experience. For many current and would-be violent radicals, the Web is the preferred means of relating to others and of constructing identities unconstrained by either local conditions (which might indeed be favourable to members of their own religious community) or global conditions (which are usually imagined as hostile and humiliating).

The existence and ubiquity of the Internet fundamentally changes the way we might understand religious radicalization. The classical models of psychological development (Freud, Piaget and beyond) generally presuppose that whatever tumultuous biological or subconscious transitions one would need to go through as one matures, all people would work through these changes in the context of a specific culture rooted in specific geographical, social, material and political conditions. The habitus, the virtual world, the Anti-West 2.0, in which some people—and certainly radicalized religious people—live large portions of their lives, however, is not geographically specific, and yet is its own kind of total culture. Some commentators would describe the Internet generation as "digital natives," that is, people born since the late 1970s and thereafter who are entirely comfortable in the digital environment. Their parents and certainly the vast majority of scholars and security officials are, by contrast, "digital immigrants," or people who struggle to come to terms with the sea change that has taken place.

The point is that those of us who are digital immigrants (or those who are, as I am, betwixt and between natives and immigrants) would be well advised to pay attention to the profound implications of this generational, experiential and psychological chasm, since it has, arguably, dramatically weakened the power of families, neighbourhoods, and ethnic and religious groups to mollify opinions and feelings or to correct and resocialize (or "deradicalize") people. The fissure between these conventional socialization contexts and what is unfolding on the Internet is evident whenever mainstream members of these communities express shock that their own children, friends and co-workers appear to have been planning to express their anger through mass violence. "We had no idea," they say. "They were always such nice boys." Perhaps we should be less surprised when John, or Jamil, or Jaswinder,

embraces forms of his parents' religion that his parents find abhorrent. These young men often live not just in different ways, but in different worlds than their parents and grandparents and a great many of their other coreligionists.

Of course, this same virtual sphere of communication—it would be more accurate, perhaps, to say "sphere of being"—also provides security personnel with a powerful new arena for surveillance. So, just as the Web has had such a massive effect on the way we think of ourselves and the communities we form, as a site of surveillance it has also made it difficult for people to communicate among themselves, create modes of identity, or plot mass murders entirely in private. Emerging from this fact, of course, is the ongoing debate about both how much state or private surveillance of radicalized individuals is acceptable in a liberal democratic society, and what we might consider to be the consequences (for individual groups or the whole society) of different levels of surveillance. Here again, we see the dialectic of radicalization and securitization where security officials may temper the latter in order not to foment the former.

It is certainly not the case that radicalization—religious or otherwise—is a new phenomenon, nor is the state's response to these phenomena altogether unprecedented. Nonetheless, the five factors outlined above—the prominence of the Internet in the way individuals communicate and define themselves; the challenges associated with predicting who will be attracted to radical ideologies; the importance of comprehending the worldviews of radicalized groups and individuals; the stubborn tendency toward essentialism in the way we think about religion; and the dialectical relationship between securitization and radicalization—suggest that we need to think creatively and diligently about the features of these phenomena that are in fact new and that have drawn the attention of so many members of our societies.

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Helping Young Francophone Africans to Integrate in Francophone Schools in Vancouver[1]

Marianne Jacquet, Danièle Moore, Cécile Sabatier and Mambo Masinda

Abstract: The demographic profile of Francophone schools in the English-speaking provinces of Canada has shifted dramatically. These schools now serve a diverse population with a wide range of linguistic and cultural origins. Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees the right to an education in French for children who have at least one parent (or sibling) who received instruction in that language. The recent arrival in Vancouver, British Columbia, of families from a number of African countries has transformed the academic landscape. The purpose of this exploratory study is to provide a demographic portrait of the Francophone African newcomers and document the impact of the arrival of students from sub-Saharan Africa in a number of schools in Greater Vancouver's Conseil scolaire francophone (Francophone Education Authority) so that the needs of parents, students and the various education partners can be assessed. The study shows the complexity of the situations that exist, for example, in terms of the immigrants' status, origins, language and cultures and their previous social and academic experiences (families who have come from refugee camps or who have been victims of genocide, child soldiers, etc.).

Introduction

This study[2] arose out of the desire of the Conseil scolaire francophone (CSF)[3] of British Columbia to find working tools for providing better support for the social and academic integration of young Francophone sub-Saharan African immigrants, whose numbers are growing. Its purpose is to identify the complexity of the challenges that all academic partners—teachers, families, students and community partners—are facing. We hope that it will contribute to the development of knowledge about a population with triple minority status at the national level (Statistics Canada 2003) while examining the unique elements of the B.C. context.

Two factors are present in the need to prepare a transverse comparative portrait of the needs and expectations of the young Francophone sub-Saharan African immigrants attending the CSF schools in British Columbia. First, Statistics Canada data (2007) show that their numbers are growing steadily. The combination of data from the CSF and data compiled at Vancouver International Airport by the Community Airport Newcomer's Network (CANN 2005) corroborate the finding that the number of young Francophone sub-Saharan African immigrants in CSF schools is growing. Second, while there are studies of Anglophone African communities who are newly settled in B.C. (see, for example, Creese 2010), there has been no research done to date, to our knowledge, on the integration of young Francophone sub-Saharan African immigrants in CSF schools.

In addition, studies of young African immigrants show that educational institutions in their new countries find it difficult to understand how African students and their

1. This article summarizes the research presented by M. Jacquet, D. Moore, C. Sabatier and M. Masinda in *Integration of Young Francophone African Immigrants in Francophone Schools in British Columbia* (2008), published in the Working Paper Series of the Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration, Integration and Diversity. It may be viewed online at http://atlantic.metropolis.net/working_papers_e.html.
2. The first three authors received RIIM funding for their project, entitled *Mapping and Assessing African Students' Educational Needs and Expectations* (2005–2007). Mambo Masinda was the research assistant and community partner for the project.
3. The CSF's mandate is to provide academic programs in French for students who are Francophone *rights holders* under Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*; it manages 39 Francophone schools (including one virtual school) throughout British Columbia.

parents construct their identity and belonging and how they assign meaning to their experiences (Moke Ngala 2005). From that perspective, we believe that understanding their academic integration requires understanding how families construct their own educational experiences through their relationship with the school.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

The framework for our analysis draws on the field of educational sociolinguistics, which explores contacts and the transmission of language within the family and in the school, and examines the academic cultures adopted within families and institutions (Moore 2006); studies of ethnic relations in education that focus on majority/minority relations, which analyse the political and academic arrangements made in the school system to address the questions of the social, cultural, linguistic and even religious integration of migrants (Jacquet 2007; Mc Andrew 2001; Bourgeault et al. 1995); and the sociology of integration (Schnapper 2007).

This qualitative study is still exploratory in nature. The methodology adopted is based on an ethnographic, sociolinguistic and anthropological approach and on collaboration between researchers and partners in the educational system (Lecompte, Preissle and Tech 1993). The study methodology includes a literature review undertaken to get an overall picture of migrations, in Africa and in Canada. It also involves questionnaires, modelled on the tools developed by Héran, Filhon and Deprez (2002), which were sent to a sample of African families with children enrolled in the Francophone schools. The purpose of the questionnaires sent to the families, which were conducted orally by the researcher, was to identify a wide range of information, including family composition, languages used and cultural and religious practices.

We also conducted semi-directed individual interviews (with administrators, community partners and parents) and group interviews (with teachers and children). Through those interviews, we were able to gather the opinions of 37 volunteer participants. Analysis of the interviews involved analysing discourse and content to identify the needs and expectations of the various actors involved in the teaching relationship (Moore et al. 2008). Other individual interviews were conducted with community partners and CSF school administrators. A discursive and content analysis was done of all of this discourse (Jacquet, Moore and Sabatier 2008).

Although collecting data related to the discourse of students enrolled in CSF schools was one of the structuring focuses of the study as a whole, this could not be completed in full within the framework of this initial exploratory study. Only two group interviews have been conducted with young Francophone sub-Saharan African immigrants enrolled in a secondary school. Those interviews provided an opportunity to make initial contact with the students. Preliminary information related to their migration, the languages they speak, and their experiences with integrating into the new academic and social environment was gathered during the interviews. More in-depth individual interviews are under way.

Results and Discussion

Refugees, Displaced Persons and Internal Migrations

Sub-Saharan Africa is a mosaic of peoples, languages and cultures (Naidoo 2005). There have been three major phases in its political history in the last 50 years: (1) the wars of independence and political upheavals that followed after countries achieved independence; (2) dictatorial regimes; and (3) the wave of democratization that began on the continent in the 1990s. It must be noted that recent years have been characterized by the uneven transition from dictatorial regimes to democracy. Unfortunately, that transition ultimately led to fratricidal wars, the most atrocious being the ones that ravaged the populations of Rwanda, Burundi and Congo in the late 1990s (Masinda 2004). These armed conflicts led to forced population movements within the African continent and also to Europe and North America (Norwegian Refugee Council 2001; UNHCR 2005). Children account for a large number of refugees and displaced persons. The 2001 census indicates that in

Canada, 49% of individuals of African origin, counting all national origins, were under the age of 25, as compared with 33% of the population as a whole (Statistics Canada 2007).

Transmission of Francophone Identity and Choice of Language of Instruction

When asked about preserving Francophone identity, the educated parents all said that it is important to them to retain this identity. In a majority Anglophone context, the identity issue is a central sociopolitical issue for the Francophone minority in B.C., because of the fragile position that French and Francophone culture is in, and because of the imbalance of power between the Anglophone majority and the Francophone minority (Heller 2002). The African parents reiterate that fragility.

The results also show that to some parents, knowledge of both languages is a tool for social mobility while to others, trying to learn both languages does not provide young Francophone immigrants with the fluency in English that they see as the primary tool for social success in their new environment. The results show that the more education parents have, the more they tend to enrol their children in Francophone schools.

Difficulties in Identification for Young Francophones

Community workers say that some children were not admitted to the schools because their parents do not speak French. However, various situations should be considered here: certain parents who self-identify as Francophones have received only minimal education in French and therefore have not mastered the language. Another example would be where one of the parents—who died before immigration to Canada—and the children speak French but the surviving parent does not. By assigning the right to the parents rather than the child, the Canadian Charter is not equipped to deal with cases like these, because when young people are denied admission to Francophone schools, the reason cited is Section 23 of the Charter. The denial of their Francophone identity that is felt by the parents and young people is expressed in the comments of parents and community workers.

The consequence of this denial of identity, to both parents and young people, in terms of school admission, could result in Francophones defecting and numbers dwindling. For parents who come from a culture organized around the community and community life, it is common to consult other parents in the same linguistic and cultural groups when making life choices, including choices about children's language of education.

Integration of Young People into the Schools

The results show that parents and community workers consider academic disconnects, and also cultural disconnects for many of them to be major barriers to the academic integration of young people. The adaptation process for young Francophone immigrants must therefore be contextualized and seen in the context of a dynamic that calls for understanding a set of factors, all of which must be taken into account to identify solutions to the problems they present. This also applies to adapting structures in the school system to the needs of young Francophone African immigrants. This is an important dimension of an inclusive approach to differences in education (Kanouté 2006).

Cultural Competencies of Teachers

Some parents, community workers and teachers associate difficulty in adjusting at school with a difficulty in adjusting to the culture. They believe that if the school can soften the cultural transition, adaptation should succeed. They are aware of the difficulties involved in cultural change and the frustrations that may accompany it, which must be taken into account in the academic adaptation process for young immigrants. The lack of experience and training on the part of teaching staff (Jacquet 2007) and of specific educational resources are among the factors that increase the complexity of the educational process and limit its scope.

School-Family-Community Organization Partnership

Collaboration between school and family and with the community is often cited as a factor in academic integration. On this point, the parents interviewed seem to be unanimous in believing that their role is important to the academic integration of the young people. Some community partners, however, report a low level of collaboration between the Francophone schools and newcomer support agencies. They point out that Anglophone schools use the cultural expertise of community organizations, while Francophone schools do not. There are now liaison workers developing the school-family connection.

Unmet Expectations of Parents

We wanted to know parents' perceptions of the quality of Francophone instruction, as compared with Anglophone instruction. Some parents thought that the two systems were equivalent; others thought that the children receive more guidance in the Anglophone schools. In particular, parents and other adults pointed to the disconnects between life experience and education in the countries they had left, the countries transited and the new country. A significant number of young people who enrol in Francophone schools in fact have only tenuous experience with school—schools in refugee camps where knowledge transmission is sporadic and focuses on constructing knowledge and know-how that relate to survival. Those children also suffer from the erosion of traditional benchmarks as a result of the dislocation of families caused by the experience of war. The intrafamilial and intragenerational transmission of language and knowledge has been interrupted and severed, and must be replaced by other forms of mediation in the new country.

Conclusion and Future Prospects

The results are consistent with the conclusions about the academic integration of young Francophone Africans in urban Alberta presented by Moke Ngala (2005). The study shows the great complexity of the situations, depending on the status of the immigrants and their social and academic experiences. These situations show that the issues involved in the adaptation of young Francophone sub-Saharan African immigrants must be contextualized and viewed from a dynamic perspective that involves understanding and taking into account a set of combined factors in order to identify the issues and find solutions to the difficulties encountered by the young people in the process of academic and social integration.

The interviews were conducted with the stakeholders in the schools and a sample of parents and community partners, and then, considering what they said in context, it broadened, nuanced and supplemented our analysis of the academic and social integration of young African Francophones. The results suggest that adaptation of the school system involves training the teaching staff in the complex issues involved in pluriethnicity in the school (Jacquet 2007) and the specific life experiences of African students (Alidou 2000). It also calls for greater diversity among teaching staff (Gérin-Lajoie 2002) and a thorough review of learning cultures, the concept of identity and the use of languages in a context of immigration (Sabatier 2006; Moore 2006).

In short, the complexity of the issues involved in the academic and social integration of Francophone African students illustrates the crucial importance of building (inter)cultural competence among the players in the educational system, which is too often still sadly lacking, according to the administrators, teachers, parents and community partners who were kind enough to share their stories and first-hand experience with us. As well, in light of the data collected, it would now seem essential that a transverse study be conducted involving all Francophone African students enrolled in the CSF schools and that a comparative perspective be incorporated by expanding the research to the provincial level.

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Education Outcomes of Chinese and Punjabi Students in British Columbia: Do Immigrant Enclaves Matter?

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Abstract: British Columbian children who share an ethnicity tend to concentrate together in school at a rate far above what random distribution would produce. In general, the characteristics of classroom peers are known to matter to educational outcomes. This article describes some results of a study of how students with different home languages affect each other's learning and whether the phenomenon of "enclave" schools plays an important role in achievement.

Enclave Neighbourhoods and Enclave Schools

Immigrants tend to settle in neighbourhoods where others who share their national or ethnic background already reside. This tendency to form enclaves may have significant consequences for their economic success and ultimate integration into their new country (Borjas 1992, 1995, 2000; Edin, Fredriksson and Åslund 2003). There may be benefits in the form of insulation from discrimination or opportunities for networking (Lazear 1999; Bertrand, Luttmer and Mullainathan 2000), but there may also be costs, for example if proficiency in the dominant language of the host culture and economy is slower to develop (Chiswick and Miller 2002). In addition, the consequences may be different for different groups of immigrants—the effect of living in an enclave can depend on group characteristics such as average level of human capital (Gang and Zimmerman 2000; Edin, Fredriksson and Åslund 2003; Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor 2007).

Enclave neighbourhoods naturally produce enclave schools. In British Columbia, although Chinese-speaking students made up only 7% of grade 7 students in 2002–2004, the average Chinese-speaking student attended a school where a third of the children were Chinese-speaking. Similarly, Punjabi-speaking students constituted less than 4% of that student population, but almost 30% of their schoolmates were Punjabi-speaking on average. Preliminary results from ongoing research indicate that, in B.C.'s Lower Mainland in 2006, 70% of Punjabi home language students and 54% of Chinese home language students would have had to change schools in order to produce a distribution in each school that reflects their proportions in the overall population. The equivalent figure for English speakers is 20%. (As B.C. does not collect data on student ethnicity directly, our research is based on data on the language usually spoken at home.)

Table 1: Grade 7 peer home language, B.C. public and private schools, 2002–2004

	Speak English at home (79%)	Speak Chinese at home (7%)	Speak Punjabi at home (4%)
Mean % English home language schoolmates	88	44	50
Mean % Chinese home language schoolmates	4	34	6
Mean % Punjabi home language schoolmates	2	3	29

Calculations by Friesen and Krauth (2009) from B.C. Ministry of Education data. "Chinese" includes both Mandarin and Cantonese.

These are quite striking levels of segregation. While several studies have explored the dynamics leading to the concentration of immigrants within schools (e.g., Betts and Fairlie 2003; Gould, Lavy and Paserman 2004), few have directly investigated whether there are benefits or costs to immigrant students associated with this phenomenon. Yet schools play a particularly important role in the social and economic integration of immigrant children. Schools provide opportunities for language acquisition and cultural adaptation, as well as the skills and credentials needed for economic success. The consequences could be substantial if immigrant enclave schools produce particular effects, as enclave neighbourhoods appear to do.

In some jurisdictions, ethnic concentration in schools resulting from residential enclaves may be diluted or intensified by the attendance of students who do not live in the local neighbourhood itself. British Columbia's "open boundaries" policy permits cross-catchment school choice where space allows. In addition, many students attend magnet programs (such as French immersion) and independent schools. Some of these cater to specific ethnic communities by design—for instance, Khalsa schools serving Punjabi students in Surrey and Vancouver. Others invite all comers but tend, in practice, to attract particular communities disproportionately. According to preliminary results from ongoing research, ethnic segregation across schools has been increasing in the Lower Mainland, partly due to school choice decisions above and beyond growing residential segregation. These trends seem likely to continue. Since policy in the realms of education, immigrant settlement or other issues might inadvertently increase ethnic segregation across schools, it is important to begin learning more about the educational impact of enclave schools.

What Are Peer Effects?

This article describes the results of an empirical investigation into the effects on academic achievement of attending school with more or fewer Punjabi and Chinese home language students (Friesen and Krauth 2009).

Why might one expect peers to matter? A growing body of evidence from the United States indicates that the characteristics of school peers may have a significant influence on a student's education outcomes. A student's achievement increases with peer ability (Hoxby 2000; Boozer and Cacciola 2001; Hanushek et al. 2003; Betts and Zau 2004; Ding and Lehrer 2007; Graham 2008). Peers' gender and race also appear to make a difference. For example, Hoxby (2000) finds that students perform better the more girls they share a classroom with; Hanushek, Kain and Rivkin (2004) find that lower-achieving black students do worse the higher the percentage of black schoolmates they learn alongside. In Canada, Richards, Hove and Afolabi (2008) find that Aboriginal students' education outcomes are poorer when a school's concentration of Aboriginal students is higher, but Friesen and Krauth (2010) find no such negative effect and, if anything, a slight positive effect.

While the general phenomenon of educational spillovers from fellow students is reasonably well documented, quantitative evidence on the precise mechanisms through which they operate is sparse. Homogeneous classrooms or schools may facilitate a specialized cultural environment that fosters school attachment and application. Some students' families may be equipped to supply time and resources to their children's school, from which all students benefit. If students learn from one another as well as from teachers and parents, they will learn more or less according to the knowledge and ability of their peers. Disruptive students or those requiring extra attention might reduce the amount of instruction time available for classmates (Lazear 2001;

Figlio 2007). Some students may have developed an "oppositional" attitude to formal education, perhaps due to cultural experiences (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). Peers may then face a trade-off between popularity and academic effort (Fryer and Torelli 2005). Several of these hypotheses could potentially apply to peers' contributions to shaping the learning environment of enclave schools.

Does Peer Ethnicity Matter in British Columbia?

We can't determine whether peer effects matter just by comparing outcomes of students in different schools, or classrooms within schools, where peer composition varies. Student characteristics that are relevant to achievement may happen to vary with the concentration of same home language schoolmates. We want to know whether ethnic concentration has any effect over and above the conditions that often accompany it—perhaps counteracting those conditions, perhaps intensifying their effects. However, attendance in different schools and assignment to different classes is not random but selective—potentially highly selective. To measure differences in achievement associated strictly with differences in peer composition, we need a source of variation in the latter that is unrelated to factors that affect the former.

A good solution is to compare the achievement of successive cohorts of students within the same school, where the peer characteristics of interest vary slightly across cohorts. Crucially, this variation is plausibly random—the natural result of drawing students each year from the same pool, where sampling variation renders no two cohorts precisely alike. Friesen and Krauth (2009) adopt this method to analyse the grade 4 to grade 7 test score growth in reading and numeracy of B.C. public and private school students who attended grade 4 between 1999–2000 and 2001–2002, and who were in grade 7 in a B.C. school three years later—about 115,000 students in total.

Each student in B.C. has a unique Personal Education Number which allows the Ministry of Education's Foundation Skills Assessment examination database to be linked, anonymously, to its enrolment database. For each year, the enrolment database identifies the student's grade, school and district, as well as home language, postcode, gender, special education status, Aboriginal status and enrolment in language programs such as ESL, providing a rich set of control variables. The Chinese and Punjabi home language categories offer sufficiently large samples for analysis of the effects of attending school with more or fewer of them.[1]

The average student in B.C. performs significantly worse if more Punjabi home language students attend their school. All else being equal, a student with only Punjabi home language peers can expect a grade 7 numeracy achievement deficit of 45% of a standard deviation ($p<0.01$), on average, compared to a student with only English home language peers. For reading scores, the figure is about half that size and only marginally statistically significant.

Going to school with more Chinese home language students, on the other hand, may have a positive effect. But in this case, the estimates are smaller—about a sixth of a standard deviation benefit associated with going from zero to 100% Chinese-speaking peers—and not statistically significant.

Enclave Effects

The effect of Punjabi- and Chinese-speaking peers on own-language peers is no different than the effect on the average student. No evidence was found, for example, that the negative effect of Punjabi-speaking peers is greater for other Punjabi-speaking students than it is for students from different backgrounds. Nevertheless, since they tend to be heavily concentrated together at school, the detected negative peer effect is almost certainly an important factor in how Punjabi students are performing in enclave schools.

1. Other common languages, together constituting 8% of the grade 7 population at this time, were Korean, Tagalog, Vietnamese, Spanish and Hindi.

The previous section described how changes in the percentage of Chinese and Punjabi home language students in a cohort affect test scores on average—across schools that are enclave schools and schools that are not. But do enclave schools make a particular difference?

We can shed a little light on this by calculating the amount by which the average student's performance differed from what it would have been if her peer group composition were more representative of the province. Table 2 presents the main results of this analysis. The first row shows how test scores would differ if students in each language group were distributed evenly across all schools in the province, so that every school had the same percentage of English, Punjabi and Chinese students. In this case, the average Chinese-speaking student would earn slightly lower grade 7 test scores in reading and numeracy, although these effects are not statistically significant.

Conversely, the average Punjabi-speaking student would do substantially better under this scenario, largely because she would have more English- and Chinese-speaking peers in her class instead of Punjabi-speaking peers. The average enclave effect for Punjabi students is 6.3% of a standard deviation in numeracy, and 11.8% in reading. The reading effect for Punjabi students is statistically significant. To put the magnitude of these effects in perspective, the average reading test score gap between grade 7 Punjabi- and English-speaking students is 44% of a standard deviation. Almost a quarter of this can be attributed to the negative spillover effects associated with Punjabi-speaking students concentrated in enclave schools.

Table 2: How would grade 7 test scores differ if home language groups were distributed evenly across schools?

	Home language of student					
	Chinese		Punjabi		English	
	Reading	Numeracy	Reading	Numeracy	Reading	Numeracy
Entire province	-6.3	-4.8	+11.8***	6.3	-0.1	0.3
District with highest proportion of Chinese-language students	-2.4**	-0.9	+10.0***	5.5	+0.3***	0.6
District with highest proportion of Punjabi-language students	-3.8***	-2.4*	+9.0***	+5.0*	-2.0***	-0.8

Results expressed as a percentage of a standard deviation.
* $p<0.1$
** $p<0.05$
*** $p<0.01$

We next consider how test scores are affected by the uneven distribution of home language groups across schools within two particular districts. The second row of Table 2 shows that the test scores of Chinese-language students in the school district that has the highest concentration of Chinese students would be 2.4% of a standard deviation lower if all students in the district were distributed evenly across district schools. This result is statistically significant in the case of reading, but its magnitude is small. Compare it to the reading test score advantage over English-speaking students of 15% of a standard deviation. The third row shows that redistributing the students in the district with the highest concentration of Punjabi-speaking students evenly across schools by home language would increase the reading scores of Punjabi students in that district by 9% of a standard deviation in reading, and 5% of a standard deviation in numeracy. Both of these effects are statistically significant. The average numeracy achievement gap between grade 7 Punjabi- and English-speaking students is 19% of a standard deviation.[2]

These estimates of enclave effects involve predictions beyond the range of variation observed in the sample, and therefore should be interpreted with caution. If peer effects are non-linear because different classroom dynamics emerge above some threshold for the proportion of peers of a given ethnicity, actual enclave effects could lead to better or worse outcomes. Nevertheless, together with the original results previously described, this is a fair indication that Punjabi-speaking students do worse in school, and Chinese-speaking students do better, whenever they are concentrated with same home language peers in enclave schools.

Conclusion

For the average B.C. family, choosing a school where a quarter of the students speak Punjabi at home over a school where three-quarters of the students speak Punjabi at home will result in a significant achievement benefit in numeracy. The magnitude of this benefit approaches a quarter of a standard deviation by seventh grade—that is, half of the benefit reported above as associated with a 100% change in proportion of Punjabi peers. There is probably a tangible advantage in reading achievement as well. If the substituted students speak Chinese at home, the gains are likely to be higher still.

Because Punjabi students tend to be concentrated in enclave schools, they are the ones most likely to be exposed to this phenomenon. Segregation is likely to be entrenched further if others' choice of school is prompted partly by an awareness of these peer effects.

Our investigation is not capable of identifying the mechanisms responsible for the observed effects. In light of the stark differences between the peer effect patterns of Chinese- and Punjabi-speaking students, it seems likely that language is acting as a proxy for other aspects of learning behaviour. The results suggest, furthermore, that ethnic, linguistic or cultural similarity in peers does not in itself promote immigrant success. Human capital and cultural norms may instead be playing a role.

However, in order to promote educational success for Punjabi-speaking immigrants, there is a pressing need for a clearer understanding of their learning behaviours and peer interactions.

2. In the case of English speakers, the estimates are uniformly small simply because their peer groups are not very different from the population as a whole.

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WelcomeBC: Embracing a Strategic Shift in the Delivery of Information Services

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Abstract: Marketing a government service used to be as simple as crafting a new brochure. In an era where mobile and Internet use is escalating worldwide, citizens increasingly seek “self-serve” options to obtain information. In response, the Government of British Columbia has initiated a strategic shift in how it promotes the programs and services delivered under the WelcomeBC framework: they are packaged as products, segmented into bundles that respond to client needs, and offered through multiple channels. Increasingly, WelcomeBC provides clients with the information they need, the way they want it, and wherever they choose to look for it.

Immigration plays a vital role in British Columbia’s social and economic development. On average, the province welcomes 40,000 new immigrants each year, and recent census data suggest that immigration will continue to be a significant source of economic, cultural and social growth within the province over the next decade.

While the benefits of immigration are myriad, challenges remain, including the need to ensure that all residents of British Columbia are able to participate fully in their communities: Can they find jobs that satisfy them and meet their needs? Can they pursue political, social and cultural interests? Can they access the programs and services they need to ensure their overall health and well-being?

Through WelcomeBC, the Government of British Columbia offers a wide range of services to help newcomers learn how to use English in daily life and at work; find jobs that match their skills and experience; meet new friends; and receive valuable counselling, information and support.

But how do newcomers or prospective immigrants find out about these services? And, how can they be encouraged to take advantage of these services sooner rather than later?

The 2008 *Outcome Evaluation of the British Columbia Settlement and Adaptation Program (BCSAP)* by Ference Weicker & Company indicated that marketing the services provided under BCSAP not only improved the awareness of the programs and services within the target population, but also helped develop community contacts and create more integrated services. Advertising services in different languages through ethnic newspapers and other ethnic media also proved to be successful in reaching out to specific language groups and reaching clients who are less likely to use the services.

Similarly, the summary report for the WelcomeBC Planning Consultations that were held in April 2010 emphasized the need to create more public education and awareness campaigns to promote programs and services.

Adopting a Social Marketing Framework to Improve Outcomes

Early in 2010, WelcomeBC launched an ambitious social marketing strategy with two key goals:

- To increase the number of people choosing British Columbia as their destination of choice in which to live, work or study.

- To increase the number of immigrants, temporary foreign workers and other newcomers accessing British Columbia's immigration, settlement and immigration-related labour market services.

Creating Information Pathways to Enhance Information Service Delivery

WelcomeBC developed a multichannel matrix in order to create information pathways that provide newcomers and prospective immigrants, temporary foreign workers and international students with the information they need, the way they want it, and wherever they choose to look for it.

The matrix includes conventional sources of information such as front-counter outlets, telephone lines, collateral materials and public awareness campaigns. It also includes Internet and mobile sites, online marketing campaigns and enhanced social media tools in order to engage tech-savvy global citizens with increasingly high expectations of the public sector when it comes to e-governance.

According to the *Citizens First 5* study released in 2008 (Institute for Citizen-Centred Service 2008), citizens across Canada are demanding a more proactive dialogue with government. Satisfaction with government service is influenced by a number of factors, including timeliness, relevance and depth of knowledge, ease of access and a positive outcome.

Putting It into Practice: Highlights from 2010

Increasing the number of people choosing British Columbia as their destination of choice in which to live, work or study.

- As host of the 2010 Olympic Winter Games, British Columbia enjoyed considerable international attention as well as a significant boost in tourism. Through tweets and posts on the Province of British Columbia's official Olympic blog, WelcomeBC promoted opportunities to live, work and study in B.C. to a highly motivated audience.

These messages were supported by a series of free seminars on how to work, study or invest in British Columbia. Short, informative videos featuring key information from the seminars were produced and posted on WelcomeBC.ca, the province's official source of information on immigration and settlement. To maximize exposure, the videos were cross-syndicated on YouTube, the largest video-sharing site in the world and the third most visited site on the Internet.

- In accordance with best practices in intercultural communications, WelcomeBC developed microsites targeting prospective immigrants, workers, students and investors in South Korea, France, Belgium, Mexico, India and China. These sites are not mere translations of each other. Nor are they translations of WelcomeBC.ca. Instead, each site has been crafted to meet the information needs and cultural communication styles of each target market.

  The launch of each microsite has been tied to an on-the-ground recruitment mission in the target country. The microsites are promoted through online marketing campaigns using popular search engines like Google and, in South Korea, Naver. A geo-targeting mechanism on WelcomeBC.ca also directs visitors with a French IP address, for example, to the French-language microsite, providing them with an opportunity to receive high-level information, resources and links in their mother tongue.
- WelcomeBC also worked in partnership with Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) to provide information on programs, services and employment resources for immigrants in British Columbia. By posting status messages on HRSDC's Working in Canada Facebook page, the province was able to drive some of HRSDC's 1,500 community members to content on WelcomeBC.ca and related websites.

WelcomeBC also worked with HRSDC to "reskin" the Working in Canada tool so that it featured information and branding specific to British Columbia.

Increasing the number of immigrants, temporary foreign workers and other newcomers accessing British Columbia's immigration, settlement and immigration-related labour market services.

- *The BC Newcomers' Guide* continues to be one of the most popular provincial government publications requested by the Distribution Centre Warehouse.

  In a series of focus groups to inform the translation and content development of the 2009 issue, it was suggested that a video of the guide would be an effective tool, specifically for people from cultures with oral traditions.

  This is supported by a study in *The American Journal of Distance Education*, which indicates that information obtained visually is more memorable than traditional text-based instructions, perhaps because representation derived from both auditory and visual symbol systems can build better mental models of the situation than representations based solely on linguistic information. The study also found that there was a significant difference in learners' motivation in terms of attention; video-based learning kept students more actively engaged.

  Accordingly, WelcomeBC has undertaken an ambitious project to produce a series of videos dramatizing key information from the *Newcomers' Guide*. A user-friendly video player featuring a friendly interface and multilingual capabilities is being specially designed to ensure that the videos are accessible, engaging and easy to share. The videos are expected to be released in phases beginning in March 2011.

- In September 2010, WelcomeBC launched an advertising campaign to promote free English language classes for adult newcomers. This is perhaps the most visible campaign launched by WelcomeBC in 2010. English Language Services for Adults (ELSA) classes target newcomers with different levels of English proficiency, including recent newcomers with some English language ability and those with no ability in either French or English. The campaign also targeted
  the general public since a report by ServiceBC has shown that 82% of newcomers rely on friends and family for settlement information and support. They are considered strong influencers throughout their immigration experience (from beginning to settlement).

  In a departure from previous campaigns, the 2010–2011 ELSA advertising adopted the phrase "Learn English" since it was more easily understood than the acronym ELSA. The tag line "Free English classes" was incorporated into all ads to reinforce that this program was targeted to newcomers.

  The campaign adopted a multichannel approach that included advertising in multiple languages, including English, Mandarin, Punjabi, Tagalog and Korean. In order to reach the widest range of potential clients and their influencers, the campaign included multiple media channels:

  - Competitive daily and ethnocultural print media
  - Advertising at Vancouver International Airport (YVR)
  - Transit advertising in Victoria and Vancouver, including the SkyTrain and Canada Line interiors
  - Online advertising in multiple languages

  All the ads promoted WelcomeBC.ca as the main call to action. To enhance the quality and accessibility of ELSA information available on the

website, WelcomeBC created a new Learn English page with an online ELSA eligibility checklist, multilingual user guides and a link from the home page. The province also established multilingual telephone service to ensure that prospective clients could ask questions about ELSA in their mother tongue.

The ELSA campaign runs from September 2010 to March 31, 2011. While it is too soon to show how the campaign has affected enrolment in ELSA classes, data are being compiled for review. Significantly, more than 24,000 clients visited the Learn English page between September 20 and December 31, 2010. During that same time, 9,358 people completed the ELSA eligibility checklist and 2,202 downloaded multilingual user guides in eleven languages.

Where Do We Go from Here?

Enhanced social media tools, telephone apps, interactive maps and an online Ask the Expert feature are just some of the other projects that WelcomeBC has developed in order to reach clients in ways that anticipate their needs, build a sense of community and help foster their development as new Canadians.

Underlying all these projects is a desire to dramatically change the way WelcomeBC delivers information services. It means refining an "outside-in" approach to information service delivery, enabling clients to "pull" the information they need from multiple channels (when they need it) instead of merely "pushing" information to clients according to the province's needs. It means adapting the WelcomeBC Web portal and all related Web products to ensure that information can be quickly and easily accessed through mobile devices—a trend that is outstripping

Internet use worldwide. And, it means launching new research into nformation needs (and information-seeking habits of newcomers and prospective immigrants) to ensure that WelcomeBC can continue to provide them with the information they need, the way they want it, and wherever they choose to look for it.

About the Author

As Manager of WelcomeBC Website and Initiatives, Shelley Motz is passionate about redefining how the public sector engages citizens. She is especially fascinated by the use of new technologies, open data, social marketing and storytelling to enhance the quality of life for newcomers to British Columbia.

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Response to the Changing Landscape of Settlement in Greater Vancouver: The Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement Project

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Abstract: This article addresses the changing profile of refugees and immigrants to Canada, and how this change affects the settlement process and has created the need for specialized services. The following article highlights how one project that brings together five service provider organizations in a partnership provides services to newcomer families who face multiple barriers to their settlement in British Columbia.

It is no longer news to policy makers, scholars and social service providers in Canada's urban centres that the profile of immigrants and refugees has changed dramatically in recent decades. In Vancouver and the surrounding communities in British Columbia's Lower Mainland, this shift has created new challenges for settlement and other service providers who encounter families with complex settlement needs.

The Changing Population

Fifty years ago, over 90% of immigrants to Canada were from Europe. Conversely, between 1991 and 2001, well over half of new immigrants to Canada were from Asia, Africa and the Middle East (Statistics Canada 2003). As recently as 1998, 66% of government-assisted refugees arrived in Canada from European countries and only 11% from African nations (Siggner, Atkey and Goldberg 2007). By 2005, the top source country for refugees to British Columbia was Afghanistan and by 2007, Myanmar, when the Karen arrived from refugee camps in Thailand. In addition, the refugee population in B.C. is increasingly diverse: in 2008, British Columbia received refugees from 70 different countries, including the war-plagued nations of Sudan, Iraq, Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (WelcomeBC 2010).[1]

The International Context

The international reality of protracted refugee situations for millions of people in exile and the attendant change in Canadian policy have driven this shift in the resettled refugee population in Canada. In 2006, about six million of the over eight million refugees in the world were living in protracted refugee situations (Pressé and Thomson 2008). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees defines a protracted refugee situation as "one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance" (UNHCR 2006).

For such people, this means at minimum five years in a refugee camp or in exile in an urban centre, but often it is much longer. In 2005, the UNHCR identified 33 protracted refugee situations worldwide where at least 25,000 people were living in exile in developing countries. By 2009, the UNHCR reports there were 10.4 million refugees worldwide under its mandate, the majority suffering in protracted situations.

1. Note that while these are provincial statistics, the B.C government reports that the vast majority of refugees settle in Greater Vancouver—95% between 2004 and 2008.

Responding to the increasing crisis, the UNHCR, with member states, developed the *Agenda for Protection* (UNHCR 2003). The major goals of the document were to encourage states to increase the number of people resettled, to diversify the groups admitted and to create more flexible resettlement criteria in an effort to ameliorate protracted refugee situations (Pressé and Thomson 2008).

New Policy, New Refugees, New Approach

In 2002, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) passed, changing the criteria for refugee selection abroad. The new legislation placed the emphasis on refugees *most in need of protection*, and de-emphasized their ability to integrate into Canadian society (Pressé and Thomson 2008). Before IRPA, Canada selected refugees based on their ability to speak an official language, their education, their work experience and their overall potential for integrating within one year. Subsequently, the new populations arriving in B.C.'s Lower Mainland had different and more complex settlement needs than refugees in earlier periods. Many of these newcomers have experienced traumatic events, have health problems, often have limited formal education, do not speak English and are often not even literate in their own language.

The new reality compelled the settlement sector in B.C. to develop a special pilot project to serve refugees and immigrants who are facing multiple barriers to their settlement. With funding from the B.C. government's Immigration and WelcomeBC Branch of the Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, a consortium of five area agencies was formed to create the Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement Project. The consortium is made up of the Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities (MOSAIC), the lead agency, the Burnaby Family Life Institute, the DIVERSE*city* Community Resources Society, the Immigrant Services Society of B.C., and S.U.C.C.E.S.S. The consortium was established in part to take full advantage of the numerous and diverse services and resources within each agency and to maximize the project's geographic reach.

Before the project was set in motion in 2008, the consortium, in consultation with the funder, determined the refugee and immigrant population which the project would target based on the level of need and the size of the population. As a result, the following groups were selected: the Karen (from Myanmar), Africans from former French or Belgian colonies, Sudanese, Afghanis, and Montagnards from Vietnam. These groups predominantly represent the groups of government-assisted refugees that have arrived in recent years, yet the project does not determine eligibility for service based on refugee status. Theoretically, families from any legal immigration class, including a limited number of refugee claimants, can become clients. In addition, the length of time spent in Canada is not a direct criterion for eligibility. Geographically, the project began to serve clients in Burnaby, New Westminster, Vancouver and Surrey. Later, it expanded to serve Karen families in Langley because of increased need and, most recently, Coquitlam.

The Consortium Model

A unique characteristic of the project is its administrative design and governance. The establishment of a consortium of five agencies has increased the accessibility of resources to clients. The project staff meet and work together as a team, and identify themselves primarily as working for Step Ahead, yet staff are not employed by one agency. They are split among the five organizations. Therefore, the three staff who work for the DIVERSE*city* Community Resources Society are well acquainted with the resources within that organization, and can share this information with their colleagues who work (officially) for MOSAIC, and vice versa. This type of "cross-fertilization" happens as a matter of course within the project.

Similarly, the geographic reach of the project was enhanced by forming the consortium: different counsellors are based in one of four different cities—Vancouver, Burnaby, Langley and Surrey. This allowed the project to spread its service area and reduce travel time to see clients. Moreover, counsellors are not necessarily assigned to work in the office of the agency where they are employed, but may work in the office of one of the other agencies, thus providing more flexibility to the project as a whole.

From the outset, the consortium empowered the manager to directly oversee all front-line staff. So on a day-to-day basis, the project manager and project coordinator administer the workings of the project. This includes, in part, gathering all staff for regular weekly team meetings and biweekly individualized supervision. Consequently, greater efficiency is derived from the centralization of management under a larger umbrella.

The project is governed by a steering committee made up of representatives of the five agencies, along with the participation of a provincial ministry representative, the project manager and project coordinator. This group meets regularly to oversee the project and confer. The overall depth of experience and knowledge of the group, including their overall network of contacts throughout the Lower Mainland, has contributed to successful relationships. Early on in the development phase, the consortium members built a strong working relationship by creating a business plan, a memorandum of understanding and an evaluation framework. This work contributed to a sense of trust and an acknowledgment that each "governor" is equal, notwithstanding the fact that MOSAIC was designated as the "lead agency" for contractual purposes (Elevate Consulting 2009).

How It All Works

Step Ahead, unlike traditional settlement services, takes a case management approach to assisting immigrant families. Each of the 11 settlement enhancement counsellors is mobile. They meet with clients in their homes and, when necessary, accompany them to appointments. After the project determines that a family (or, in some cases, an individual) is eligible for services, the counsellor conducts an in-depth assessment of the family's needs in the client's first (or second) language. The assessment will ordinarily require several visits and include discussion of current settlement challenges, possible health needs, education (including English-as-a-Second-Language), housing issues, employment, finances and, potentially, mental health issues within the family and more.

These assessments establish a basis by which the counsellor and the clients can, together, develop an overall "action plan" to overcome the many barriers faced by the client. Ideally, an action plan is based on short- and long-term goals (e.g., first job, and then "dream job") and various objectives to meet those goals (e.g., improving English, and then job training).

Time lines are developed to reach identified objectives and explicit responsibilities are specified for the counsellor and client. The ultimate goal of the project is to help empower clients to move along the continuum toward greater self-sufficiency. By providing long-term culturally sensitive case management, front-line staff can look at each family's situation holistically and the interrelationships of various issues. It also gives staff time to build a level of trust with clients, which can be a challenge with people who have faced so much hardship. One settlement enhancement counsellor provides an example:

> A client of Step Ahead, who came to Canada in 2004, was depressed and isolated because of the "cultural shock." At the same time, the client was taking care of her elderly father as their religion does not allow her to put him in a care facility. In 2008, I arranged home care for the father, so the client could start her English classes. She was referred to the English Assessment Centre to determine her English level and was registered in the ELSA program. After a while, I helped the client get involved in two volunteer jobs, and as a result of that, she is now job-ready.

Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement counsellors directly link their clients to numerous not-for-profit and government resources. These are not one-time referrals between the counsellor and client. Often, the counsellor must continually liaise with other service providers and provide cultural brokerage, which can be defined as "the act of bridging, linking or mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds for the purpose of reducing conflict or producing changes" (Jezewski and Sotnik 2001). Acting as a cultural broker puts the counsellor in the position of orienting both the client to the Canadian "system" and service providers to the client's culture or individual situation as a newcomer. A Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement counsellor describes a common situation when working with various families on a given day:

> A member of a third family (assisted on that day) needs to negotiate with a telephone company after receiving a large bill that is beyond their means to pay. They found the bill confusing and had only a limited knowledge of the telephone numbers listed and the calls that they had made, and did not understand the telephone plan they had. For this situation, the counsellor referred the client to relevant services for assistance and accompanied one of the clients to the services to seek advice. In this situation, the counsellor works as language facilitator, cultural broker and informant for the various parties involved. Another family needed to communicate with a social worker from the Ministry of Children and Family Development. The counsellor's understanding of the family's situation helped to bridge the conversation between the two sides, so they were able to set up a program that helped to improve the family's domestic relationship.

This type of work is clearly labour intensive and fits well within a case management approach to settlement. Broadly speaking, Step Ahead case management is a collaborative process of assessment, planning, facilitation, orientation and advocacy to meet client needs through available resources.

Another critical task of the project falls into the category of life skills orientation. As noted, the majority of Step Ahead clients possess limited education and, in some cases, no formal education. Similarly, many have scarce knowledge of the nature of a complex Western urban environment like Greater Vancouver. Therefore, one-on-one (and sometimes in group settings) project counsellors orient their clients on myriad topics, including household management, finances, laws and norms in Canada, how to find a job, how to access various services, the educational system, and more. This orientation is ongoing, and information is repeated and reinforced as circumstances naturally arise.

> On a typical working day, in addition to making telephone calls on behalf of client families and accompanying family members to different agencies and employers, the counsellor also makes a home visit to provide life skills training such as showing them how to use appliances and computers, providing them with hygienic information, and talking to them about household management. (Settlement Enhancement Counsellor)

The length of time Step Ahead maintains an open file with a family is based on needs within a certain limit. Most families or individuals are with the project from one to two years, with an average of roughly 18 months. Each settlement enhancement counsellor works with no more than 12 families at any one time. Thus, depending on the family size, each counsellor usually has in the order of 50 people in his caseload. In practice, some of these people do not require direct services—mainly young children—but their parents often require services related to the children (locating child care, summer camps, etc.).

Challenges and Opportunities

Social service providers and policy makers within and outside of the settlement sector must not underestimate the impact of displacement, war, deprivation and violence that are common to the refugee experience.

Equally, it is an error to view refugees as helpless victims who lack strength, resilience and the agency to build meaningful lives in Canada.

The social, economic and political realities in refugee-producing countries lead to millions of people often living for long periods in conditions characterized by deprivation of the basic necessities of life—sufficient food, clean water, and even the most basic forms of education or health care. Refugees who eventually find safety in a third country such as Canada have frequently experienced traumatizing events, separation or death of family members, or egregious human rights abuses. Not surprisingly, new arrivals are often fearful and anxious, lack trust and feel a sense of loss of identity (UNHCR 2002). Step Ahead clients are typical examples of this phenomenon.

The role of Step Ahead is to help clients rebuild their lives by drawing on their strengths and resilience. Key to this goal is to provide meaningful social support. There is an increasing body of literature that suggests that social support plays a crucial positive role in the health and well-being of refugees and immigrants (Behnia 2001–2002; Simich et al. 2005; Schweitzer, Greenslade and Kagee 2007). Social support means, in general terms, interactions that provide information, esteem, and practical and emotional help (Simich 2005). This type of support can come from many sources, including friends, family, peers, ethnic communities and service providers. Step Ahead's case management design provides social support by enhancing clients' ability to cope during the settlement period. Step Ahead counsellors reach out to newcomers, who in many cases are quite isolated not only from the general community at large, but at times from their own ethnocultural community. Bringing the service to clients can help break the cycle of isolation and lead to greater connection with others in general.

Other commentators have noted that there can be a substantial disconnect between the expectations some refugees have before arrival and the actual reality they eventually encounter. Anderson et al. (2010) report how one refugee believed he was going to "paradise" before arriving in Canada. Without the right type of social support, many refugees will struggle to "reposition" themselves to cope with their new lives (Anderson et al. 2010).

Step Ahead stands at a precarious juncture for refugees. Virtually all Step Ahead clients, by virtue of their background and refugee experience, have daily struggles and ongoing issues to address for which they need assistance. One role of the project is to provide this assistance and act as a cultural broker while seeing to these tasks. Yet, the central goal of the project is to set clients on the path of greater self-sufficiency. Sometimes, these two aims clash, as the Step Ahead project coordinator explains:

> The clients with multibarriers may wish to focus on solving the immediate daily life problems that they are facing. These are more likely immediate and short-term outcomes.
>
> The project aims at assisting clients in dealing with their barriers, meanwhile assisting them toward integration and settlement—middle range or long-range outcomes. One typical example is when a counsellor plans to orient a client toward learning about the systems of Canada, which he or she thinks are important for the client's integration and settlement. The counsellor will find that the client is more interested in the counsellor helping him find an apartment, move and fill out forms.

Strengths and Resilience

Both pre- and post-migration factors create multiple barriers that Step Ahead clients must get past to meet their integration challenge. These barriers should not be underestimated. Yet, it is important to remember, as Papadopoulos (2007) points out, that refugees are ordinary people who were forced to flee their homes. They survived adversity, and they possess individual

strengths and the capacity for resilience[2] which existed before and exist after migration. Step Ahead is well positioned to help "activate" these strengths and clients' potential to "bounce back." By providing multidimensional social support, gaining the trust of clients and working toward concrete goals, Step Ahead aspires to play a role in helping its refugee and immigrant clients toward greater self-determination.

About the Author

Marc Larrivée, MSW, RSW, is Manager of the Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement Project. He came to Vancouver from the United States in 2006 on a Canada-U.S. Fulbright grant to research the Canadian approach to the settlement of immigrants and refugees in the Lower Mainland.

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2. Resilience in psychology is the positive capacity of people to cope with stress and adversity.

Fostering Collaborative Approaches to Meet the Settlement Needs of Newcomers

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Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) offers a multitude of settlement and integration services to support newcomers to Canada, including vulnerable groups and families with complex settlement needs. In Canada, the settlement and integration of newcomers is a shared responsibility and, in some instances, a partnership between various levels of government.

Since 1998 when the first Canada-British Columbia Immigration Agreement was signed, the province has held the primary responsibility for the design, delivery and administration of settlement and integration services while ensuring accountability and reporting for federally funded settlement and integration priorities with the goal of achieving comparable outcomes. Canada remains responsible for the design, administration and delivery of resettlement services for refugees.

The recent renewal of the Agreement in April 2010 demonstrates the ongoing success of this partnership between both governments and builds on the existing collaborative relationship for immigration and settlement matters. Many services and programs funded through the Agreement are specialized to meet the needs of vulnerable groups, including refugees, women, youth and seniors.

Successful integration programs involve partnerships between various community-based organizations, municipalities, employers and the private sector. Within the settlement sector in Canada, there is a growing appetite to pursue collaborative approaches that have produced many positive outcomes for newcomers and that have strengthened the capacity of the sector. Moreover, there is greater recognition of the role that partnerships play in the direct delivery of services that impact the settlement and integration of newcomers.

An example of a best practice in this area is the Step Ahead Settlement Enhancement Project funded by WelcomeBC with settlement funds provided under the Canada-British Columbia Immigration Agreement and delivered in the Lower Mainland by a consortium of five agencies. MOSAIC (Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities) is the lead agency of the consortium that also includes the Immigrant Services Society of BC, S.U.C.C.E.S.S., Burnaby Family Life and the DIVERSEcity Community Resources Society.

Step Ahead assists refugees and immigrants who have encountered serious challenges in reaching the goals of integration and self-sufficiency. This partnership brings together leading settlement organizations to build economies of scale and cover a larger geographic service area in British Columbia's Lower Mainland. Key features of the program include a strong case management approach and mobile outreach whereby refugee and immigrant families benefit from settlement services in their home environment. The program transcends barriers associated with distance from services, and helps vulnerable groups overcome adversity through innovative settlement programs and a case-management approach where each newcomer client undergoes a holistic needs assessment and develops a personal settlement plan.

CIC has had experience with the type of consortium approach outlined in Larrivée's article (pages 76–81 of this publication). CIC supports a number of initiatives across Canada that foster collaborative approaches to meeting the settlement needs of newcomers. For instance, the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) in Ontario are an example of a CIC-funded initiative that

forges new partnerships through capacity building with municipalities, the business sector, the health sector, schools, libraries and other stakeholders. In fact, LIPs have been referred to as "the future of settlement services" in Canada and present an opportunity to address newcomer needs at the local community level. The lessons learned from LIPs in Ontario and similar models identified in other jurisdictions will help to shape future engagement in this area and forge new innovative partnerships.

With the announced increase in the number of refugees to be resettled to Canada, there will be a higher proportion of vulnerable groups accessing settlement services throughout Canada. Many of these individuals require specialized support to address the multiple needs and barriers that they face, and they need support at each stage of the integration and settlement process. The Step Ahead program represents an innovative response to meeting the unique and diverse needs of these clients.

The Step Ahead program, and other programs like it, complement the broader work CIC has been doing in the area of settlement to better meet the diverse needs of newcomers. The settlement program has introduced increased flexibility in its funding arrangements to meet the needs of all newcomers from skilled workers to refugees. These needs are taken into consideration through all phases of the design and delivery of CIC programs and services. To further demonstrate the government's commitment to ensuring the successful integration of newcomers to Canada, CIC allows vulnerable populations to access settlement services at the earliest possible time in their settlement, including overseas.

Once inland, eligible newcomers have access to free services, including language training so that they may have the language or skills to function in Canada; the information they need to better understand life in Canada and make informed decisions about their settlement experience; the required assistance to find employment commensurate with their skills and education; and help to establish networks and contacts so that they are engaged and feel welcome in their communities.

Regardless of the funding or governance structure between federal and provincial governments, these partnerships have one clear objective when delivering settlement services: to maximize resources in order to respond to the settlement and integration needs of immigrants and refugees that will result in positive outcomes for all newcomers to Canada.

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Welcoming Newcomers: The Vancouver Mayor's Working Group on Immigration

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The City of Vancouver is increasingly a city of immigrants. The 2006 census showed that close to 46% of Vancouver residents were foreign-born, making Vancouver the city with the second highest concentration of immigrants in Canada. In the same census, it was shown that 49.9% of Vancouverites speak a mother tongue other than English. Almost two-thirds of newcomer immigrants came from South and Southeast Asia, including China, the Phillipines, Hong Kong, Taiwan, India and Korea.

In response to these demographic changes, the city has undertaken various initiatives and processes to ensure that civic services and programs continue to be responsive to and inclusive of the needs of newcomers to the city. Some examples include providing needed training opportunities to staff on diversity issues; supporting local social and cultural development initiatives through the provision of civic grants to local non-governmental organizations, many of which deliver services to newcomers; and publishing the *Newcomer's Guide to the City,* available in five languages, since 2001.

Various civic departments continue to play an active role in facilitating the inclusion of newcomers in civic programs and services. The Social Development Department has a designated social planner who works with community partners and government stakeholders on issues and concerns related to immigrants and refugees. The Equal Employment Opportunity Office coordinates a wide variety of civic events and initiatives related to inclusion and diversity issues. The Hastings Institute, under the direction of Council, offers training and consulting to external organizations in the areas of equity, human rights and diversity.

Overall, the city's role regarding immigration issues has been to facilitate the integration of newcomers into the local community, to enhance access to municipal services and programs, and to ensure the broad engagement and participation of newcomers in different areas of civic responsibility.

In 2005, the City of Vancouver, under the Mayor's office, established an important think-tank group called the Mayor's Working Group on Immigration (MWGI). The MWGI's mandate is primarily designed to recommend key policy and program directions to the Mayor and Council regarding local immigration issues, and to set the context for the City of Vancouver and community partners to have a voice in federal and provincial policies related to immigrants and refugees. Membership in the MWGI is based on sectoral representation and expertise in various aspects of immigration.

Relatively early in its mandate, the MWGI defined a vision and value statement that was passed unanimously by Council and that has since provided a set of principles both for the operation of the working group and for the city as a whole (see "Vision and Value Statement").

In 2009, Mayor Gregor Robertson, recognizing that the working group had become an important connection between the City of Vancouver and diverse communities, re-established the MWGI. Professor Miu Chung Yan and Councillor Geoff Meggs were appointed co-chairs. In 2010, Professor Dan Hiebert was appointed co-chair to replace Miu Chung Yan who went on a sabbatical. The working group has identified three key areas of priority:

1. Monitor and report on the city's efforts to include recent immigrants in its work force, both as permanent employees and as part of a mentorship program as recommended by the previous working group;

2. Make recommendations to the City of Vancouver and the Mayor's office on measures to increase understanding and links between First Nations, Aboriginal citizens and immigrant communities; and

3. Advise and make recommendations to the city on the impact of new policies in Canadian immigration, including the Canadian Experience Class and the evolution of temporary foreign workers' programs, including the Provincial Nominee Program. In particular, report on the housing impact of these programs and refugee access to affordable housing and other support services.

In view of these priorities, the city launched its "Dialogues Between First Nations, Urban Aboriginal and Immigrant Communities in Vancouver" initiative in early 2010. The initiative is supported by the Province of B.C. and is a collaborative effort with diverse community partners and stakeholders with the aim of increasing understanding and strengthening relations between Aboriginal and immigrant communities in Vancouver (www.vancouver.ca/dialoguesproject). These well-attended events have facilitated respectful discussion across communities that are often quite isolated from one another. They have even attracted the interest and participation of John Ralston Saul and former Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, who both attended one of the dialogues.

In 2011, the city is launching a pilot Newcomers Mentorship Program. The program will provide mentoring opportunities between city staff and professional immigrants in three occupational areas: engineering, information technology and finance. The program, jointly developed by key immigrant-serving organizations and the Immigrant Employment Council of B.C., is the first of its kind within the public sector in Western Canada.

The role of cities in addressing immigration issues has changed over the years. Over 80% of Canadians now live in cities and most immigrants settle in metropolitan areas. The Mayor's Working Group on Immigration will ensure that the City of Vancouver continues to be a welcoming city to all newcomers, and that newcomers will have access and opportunities to participate fully in the social, cultural and economic life of the city. It will also ensure that Vancouver, working with other levels of government and key stakeholders, will continue to play a vital role in the development of best policies and practices related to immigration issues at a local level. With concerted efforts by everyone, Vancouver will continue to be one of the most livable cities in the world.

Vision and Value Statement Concerning Immigrants and Refugees

Preamble: While immigration has traditionally been under federal and provincial jurisdiction, most immigrants in Canada live in cities. It is therefore increasingly important that cities play an integral role in advocating for the inclusion of newcomers in Canadian society. This goal of inclusion is understood to be consistent with our existing commitment to honour and value the role of First Nations as the initial occupants of Canada, and the bilingual nature of Canada, respecting the significance of English and French as official languages.

Vancouver is a city where immigrants and refugees have the best opportunities to become an integral part of the social, economic and cultural fabric of civic life. Further:

> The City of Vancouver is proud of its cultural diversity and values the distinctive characteristics of its residents, including newcomers to Canada;
>
> The City of Vancouver is committed to fostering an open, welcoming and safe environment for people of all cultural backgrounds;
>
> The City of Vancouver acknowledges that newcomers contribute to the social, cultural and economic vitality of Canadian society, locally and nationally, and that newcomers contribute to our relationships with other countries and cultures.

Accordingly, Vancouver seeks ways to maximize newcomers' contributions to civic life, socially, culturally and economically.

The City of Vancouver will ensure that newcomers have equitable access to all the services provided by the city.

The City of Vancouver will help to ensure that newcomers have access to appropriate and timely settlement and integration services, by working in partnership with other orders of government and non-governmental organizations.

The City of Vancouver acknowledges its role with respect to a large number of visitors to Canada, including tourists, international students and temporary migrants.

Neighbourhood Houses in Vancouver: Crossing Boundaries in the Community

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Abstract: Neighbourhood Houses in Vancouver are placed-based, locally governed not-for-profit community organizations. Their history has been intertwined with immigration to Vancouver over the past one hundred years. In our research, we find the Neighbourhood Houses are locations for forming and cultivating diverse ties among newcomers. This is in part due to the variety of programs at the houses, and because of the diverse people who are attracted to the houses and want to become members and participate in activities and events.

The majority of Canadians live in metropolitan areas such as Vancouver (Statistics Canada 2009). Like urban centres around the world, Canada's cities are confronted with complex challenges resulting from increasing ethnoracial diversity (Sassen 1996; Walks and Maaranen 2008). These challenges have led to concern over growing inequality and declining social cohesion and interaction in urban communities (Putnam 2007; Stolle, Soroka and Johnston 2008).

Vancouver is a site of tremendous diversity. Ethnic and racial diversity is easily visible while walking through our streets and also audible in the many languages and accents one hears. Less visible, but equally important, is the economic diversity that has accompanied these demographic changes. New people bring with them a diversity of skills and experiences, but they also experience inequality as they live alongside others with higher incomes or more recognized credentials. The level of diversity that currently exists in Vancouver's communities is profound and can lead to polarization or marginalization. Alternatively, it uniquely provides new opportunities for interactions that bridge differences. When we seize opportunities and form bonds that cross social and economic boundaries, we also begin to recognize our shared humanity and form thriving, healthy communities. The challenge is to create welcoming communities that help forge those bonds of community. As a place-based approach, building welcoming communities needs more than the support of individual members of the community. As Amin (2002) suggests, building socially diverse communities also requires an increase in mediated interactions that go beyond the mere proximity of physical coexistence by creating intercultural understandings. Welcoming communities need effective mechanisms that generate opportunities that foster social inclusion.

Organizations have long been recognized as important locations where ties are formed and boundaries can be bridged. Schools and the workplace are common locations where boundary-crossing ties are formed. Voluntary associations are particularly important organizations in this sense because they typically include involvement across the life course. This allows people from a variety of walks of life the opportunity to

interact in ways that form lasting bonds. Of course, the effectiveness of an association for creating bonds that cross boundaries lies in the diversity of its membership. Associations that attract similar types of people will not help create these bonds (Lauer forthcoming). What are needed are voluntary associations that attract a diversity of people from all walks of life. Neighbourhood Houses in Vancouver are just such an association. They attract a diversity of participants through a variety of programs that provide opportunities for cross-boundary bridging.

Neighbourhood Houses (NHs) have been part of the history of immigration in Vancouver for more than one hundred years. We can trace the history of NHs to the Settlement House Movement, dating back to the founding of Toynbee Hall in 1884 in East London, which served as a local mechanism of community cohesion (Meagham 1987). Since the early days, the settlement house has been praised as "one of the notable social inventions of the Progressive Era" (Putnam 2000, 393). In Canada, the first settlement houses were established in 1894 in Toronto and Vancouver during the early days of the Movement (Stebner 2003; Irving, Parsons and Bellamy 1995; James 2001). Throughout history, the majority of these houses were established by local residents in an effort to serve the emerging needs of their communities (Sandercock and Attili 2009).

Today, more than 15 Neighbourhood Houses operate in Metro Vancouver where they continue to bring together members of diverse communities and serve their changing needs. These houses are place-based, locally governed not-for-profit organizations underpinned by humanistic and democratic values. Embracing a holistic view of human needs, Vancouver's NHs consist of flexible, multiple-service portfolios that integrate service delivery and community organizing (Yan 2002; Yan and Sin in press). Mostly located in immigrant-concentrated areas, the development of Canadian settlement houses and Canada's history of immigration remain intertwined. Leaders of NHs, mostly women, have worked closely with immigrants to address access to social services and education and to facilitate positive interactions among local residents (Stebner 2006).

Our Research

Paradoxically, the successful establishment and taken-for-granted presence of NHs for decades have led to NHs' absence in public discourses. They are seldom mentioned in the recent public discourse or in the research literature in Canada. To take the first step in filling this gap, we developed a project that investigates the roles and functions of NHs in bridging newcomers to the community. Bridging is conceptually understood in this study as a form of social capital that includes ties that cross boundaries with people of different social groups (Putnam 2000). The research was participatory, with major stakeholders consulted at various stages of the research process. We followed a mixed-method research design that included a survey of NH service users who have been in Canada for 10 years or less (N=351), individual interviews with key informants (N=5) and executive directors of all NHs (N=9), and two focus groups with boards of directors (N=4) and frontline settlement workers (N=7). We analysed the data by using SPSS and NVivo, a software to assist qualitative analysis. A thematic approach was used to generate codes and themes from the interview data.

Can NHs Connect People?

The results of the survey show that participants in Neighbourhood Houses do make bridges across immigrant and ethnic group boundaries. More than 60% of respondents report having close ties to people who have either been in Canada for longer than 10 years or people from other ethnic groups. A majority of respondents (82%) agree or strongly agree that NHs have helped them establish cross-ethnic ties. Over 50%

of respondents report that they exchange some services with people associated with NHs, while 20% say that all or most of their service exchanges are made with people associated with NHs.

The survey research also revealed two dimensions of NH involvement. One more intense type of involvement includes frequent participation, often with other household members, in a targeted set of programs. A second more general type of involvement includes a longer time period in a larger variety of programs. We find the more intense type of involvement to be more associated with bridging ties and this suggests to us that programs that target the specific needs or goals of participants can lead to the formation of more bridging of social ties. Overall, associations like NHs that attract a diverse set of participants with a variety of programs are best suited to building bridges across boundaries. We develop these points below with insights gained from our interviews and focus group research.

Integrating Through Servicing

Newcomers have multiple needs which a single, service-focused community organization will not be able to meet. A historically unique feature of NHs is their flexible approach to service design and delivery. Most NHs provide multiple services, determined by local needs, to cover a wide range of target groups. Bridging is actualized through servicing in multiple ways, including information referral services, which connect newcomers to other community resources; settlement counselling services, which help newcomers access and navigate Canada's education, health and other social systems; language and other skills training programs, which enhance newcomers' social and economic capacity; and cultural and social events, which help newcomers understand Canadian culture and share their own culture with others. Child-care service and parenting groups often become the platform for newcomer parents, particularly mothers, to share their settlement experiences and exchange mutual supports.

Hub in the Community

Our key informants note that NHs are almost always within walking distance of most neighbourhood residents and, due to their long operating hours, have become natural first points of contact for people seeking help. People walking into an NH are not judged. Instead, they are welcomed. The friendly open environment of NHs means that, as one executive director observes, NH service users "don't have to feel they have to tell their whole life story every time they walk through our office. Their kids just come in and they need some help, that sort of thing. They are invited to come back next time." The proximity of NHs to residents also allows them to be more sensitive to neighbourhoods' changing needs and to be the connection between formal services and newcomers.

Networking Through Volunteering

Volunteering has long been a major community-building vehicle for NHs and is part of a philosophy of creating opportunities for people to connect with others by contributing to the community as a whole. Every year, thousands of volunteers serve in the NHs in a variety of capacities. NHs are directed by volunteer boards of directors recruited (mainly but not exclusively) from community residents, and many are former users of NH services. Volunteers are the service backbone of NHs, supporting the small troop of paid staff in organizing events, providing reception services, instructing courses and working on committees. They also enrich the cultural and linguistic capacities of NHs to serve diverse groups of people.

Volunteering opportunities enable newcomers to contribute to the community and improve its quality of life. Volunteering is important to newcomers as well, as it helps them overcome many of the major barriers they face when entering the local job market. Through their involvement in NHs in various positions, newcomers learn local ways of living, practise English, establish

friendships and, more importantly, gain Canadian work experience. Working with people from diverse backgrounds, volunteers also establish social networks, which may accelerate their own economic integration process. As the first labour market entry point, NHs have become a major source of employment references on which newcomers can rely.

Bridging with Multilingual Cultural Support

As many newcomers hail from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, access to multilingual services is important. Most NHs have information packages available in a range of languages. Often, staff with multilingual skills are recruited from former service users. One executive director reported that in her NH's daycare program, the teachers can speak up to six different languages. Having a multilingual staff is an important tool for breaking down cultural barriers. In addition, Neighbourhood Houses also organize soft programs, including a variety of festivals and cultural celebration events. The diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds of newcomers offer many unique opportunities for NHs to bring people together to celebrate different cultural traditions such as the Chinese New Year, Halloween and Diwali, which provide opportunities for family fun while fostering connections between participants from different cultural and racial backgrounds. The ultimate goal of bridging is to enhance integration vis-à-vis network building.

In sum, all stakeholders interviewed individually or as a group recognize the contribution and importance of NHs in bridging newcomers to the community. In addition to their programming efforts, NHs have inherent strengths that facilitate the bridging process, including proximity, multiple and flexible services, committed multilingual staff, volunteer opportunities, and an inclusive and open atmosphere.

Discussion and Recommendations

This study shows that NHs play an important bridging role for newcomers, helping them establish functional ties with people in the community. The qualitative interviews show that NHs face many challenges, not only those caused by language, but also structural problems such as narrowly defined policy vision, funding limitations, and a lack of systematic coordination and collaboration. Based on the findings and the results of a community forum, we propose six recommendations.

First, governments need to revision settlement as a continuous process taking place in multiple life domains in which the neighbourhood acts as a primary integration site. Second, a comprehensive service plan is needed for this new vision of settlement. Integrating newcomers locally is a community-building process and should be funded as a settlement program. Third, systematic organized efforts are needed to help front line staff and NHs identify innovative and best practices in nurturing intergroup interaction. Fourth, multilingual services such as a multilingual hotline and service map are needed to help overcome the immediate language barriers of many newcomers. Fifth, voluntary collaboration among the various organizations should be encouraged and nurtured in order to maximize their capacity to serve newcomers. Sixth, unstable funding hampers NHs' capacity to meet the diverse needs of newcomers and effectively assist them in the bridging process. Therefore, NHs need discretionary funds to provide advocacy and innovative services, and they need to raise these funds through new channels.

We would like to conclude this report with a short description of one particular night at a local Neighbourhood House during the data collection period of our study. Although it was after normal hours of operation, on this night the community room was brightly lit for Latin American dinner night. At one of

the tables sat a social scientist explaining his decision to be a vegetarian to a disbelieving recent immigrant to Vancouver. The conversation took place in both English and Spanish. With them was a long-term member and volunteer at the House, an immigrant from Vietnam who had been living in Canada for over 10 years. Fortunately, this volunteer spoke both languages and could facilitate the conversation. In the kitchen, a staff member was explaining to another of the Latin American immigrants present where the food for the night's meal came from, while helping to open containers and prepare ingredients. Around the room, there were other immigrants, as well as native Canadians from the community, who came to the dinner to practise their Spanish while enjoying a good meal in their community.

This particular evening reflects many of our key findings. The event helped to build ties among members of the same ethnic community, bringing together Latin American immigrants to share the food they are accustomed to in their culture with others from similar backgrounds and with similar experiences. Enhancing these types of bonds is important in helping newcomers navigate the settlement process. The evening also provided opportunities for cross-ethnic contacts and the chance for close ties to form across those boundaries. The impetus for these bridging opportunities reflects the findings of our research concerning targeted involvement. The non-immigrant participants came, in part, to enjoy a social occasion, but also, and perhaps more importantly, for the chance to practise speaking Spanish. These types of targeted participation can lead to contacts that are more diverse and the development of bridging social capital. It is because of evenings like these that our respondents say that involvement in Neighbourhood Houses helps to bridge differences in their communities.

About the Authors

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Changing Faces, Changing Neighbourhoods: Government-Assisted Refugee Settlement Patterns in Metro Vancouver 2005–2009

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Abstract: While there are statistics available on the *number* of government-assisted refugees (GARs) destined to British Columbia, there is no systematic analysis of neighbourhood-based settlement patterns of specific GAR populations. What communities are arriving and where are they settling? Has this pattern changed over time? Are "ethnic enclaves" or low-income poverty pockets forming in Metro Vancouver? What impact do settlement patterns have on local institutions and community agencies? This paper addresses such questions in hopes of speaking to municipal social policy, funding and program-service allocation, and the need for greater population case management approaches.

Introduction

Based on data from the end of 2009, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates there are 15.2 million refugees in the world (UNHCR June 2010).[1] Four-fifths are hosted by developing countries; Pakistan, Iran and Syria are the top three host countries with over one million refugees each. Of the 15.2 million total refugees in the world, 10.3 million are in protracted refugee situations, defined by the UNHCR as "one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo" where their "basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile" (UNHCR 2004, 1). The UNHCR assists refugees with one of three durable solutions: voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement to a third country as the only safe option when the other two solutions are impossible. Although the need is high, only 1% of the world's refugees are ever referred for resettlement due to a lack of available resettlement spaces (UNHCR 2010).

The number of refugees resettled to third countries is slowly increasing as more countries establish humanitarian resettlement programs. In 2008, 65,548 refugees went to 26 resettlement countries, compared with 49,868 refugees in 2007 (UNHCR 2010). Approximately 7,300 to 7,500 of the world's resettled refugees arrive annually in Canada through its government-assisted refugee (GAR) resettlement program. This number is expected to increase to upwards of 8,000 individuals annually starting in 2011.

This increase comes just as Canada is beginning to see the long-term effects of a notable change in its GAR resettlement program. In 2002, the implementation of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) significantly changed the face of Canada's refugee resettlement program. Following urges from the UNHCR, Canada shifted its selection process away from those with an ability to establish in Canada to those most in need of protection within a relatively short time period. As a result, the makeup of GARs quickly changed,

1. The figures include 4.8 million Palestinian refugees.

bringing newcomers to Canada from drastically different political, economic and social contexts. For the first time, the majority arrived from protracted refugee situations following years of trauma, torture, detention or life in refugee camps. Canada's GAR population now includes more high-needs individuals facing multibarriers to settlement, such as:

- low literacy levels in their original languages;
- increased physical and mental health issues;
- larger households;
- more households with single parents, mostly led by women; and
- youth with limited exposure to formal education.

The program also employs more group processing in which groups of individuals from the same refugee situation (often a camp) are intentionally resettled together. Many post-IRPA GARs who arrive through group processing—such as the Karen from Myanmar, the Acehnese from Indonesia and the Lhotshampa from Bhutan—are new and few, forming relatively small ethnic groups previously unrepresented in Canada. The lack of pre-existing co-ethnic support networks potentially present additional settlement challenges.

These changes raise important questions about the long-term settlement needs of today's post-IRPA GARs. Although existing research is limited, a case study by Brunner, Hyndman and Friesen in this publication shows that current policy leaves GARs facing multifaceted obstacles to settlement and full participation in Canadian society. Here, we present general data on GAR settlement in British Columbia—specifically in Metro Vancouver—in hopes of assisting community-based agencies, public institutions and various levels of government in providing enhanced supports to this refugee population settling in British Columbia and beyond.[2]

Arrival in British Columbia

The Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia (ISSofBC) was incorporated in 1972 as the first immigrant-serving agency in British Columbia, pioneering what is now commonly referred to as "settlement services" to newcomers. Today, the ISSofBC is contracted by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) to administer temporary accommodation and basic first-language orientation to all GARs destined to British Columbia through the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). Of the 7,300–7,500 annual GAR arrivals in Canada, CIC destines 800–850 individuals (around 11%) to British Columbia. In 2009, GARs represented close to 2% of the overall immigration levels to British Columbia (estimated at 41,438 new permanent residents in 2009).

Between January 2005 and December 2009, the federal government destined 4,026 GARs composed of 1,740 family units from 46 different countries to British Columbia.[3] The top five source countries during this time period were Myanmar (21%), Afghanistan (18%), Iran (12%), Iraq (7%) and Somalia (3%), with the remaining 39% coming from 38 different countries (18 from Africa, 12 from Asia, 4 from former Yugoslavia, 3 from Latin America and 1 from the Middle East). Approximately 52% were male and 48% were female; 41% were 18 years old or younger.

When GARs destined to British Columbia arrive at the Vancouver International Airport, the ISSofBC brings them to its Welcome House facility in downtown Vancouver where they receive first-language orientation sessions and logistical assistance. In addition to services and temporary accommodation provided by the ISSofBC, most GARs receive a one-time basic household goods and furniture package as well as federal government RAP income support (mirrored on the provincial income support rates) for up to one year or until they become self-sufficient, whichever comes first. In 2009, an

2. The data discussed in this paper are drawn from a Metropolis BC MITACS-Accelerate Graduate Research Internship jointly hosted by the Immigrant Services Society and Simon Fraser University's Geography Department under the supervision of Dr. Jennifer Hyndman. We thank the Government of British Columbia, the Industrial Research and Development Internship Program of the Networks of Centres of Excellence, and Metropolis BC for funding.

3. Although at least 474 additional GARs self-transferred to British Columbia from other regions of Canada during this time period, the statistics presented here focus only on those who were originally destined to British Columbia.

individual GAR received up to $685 per month and a family of four received up to $1,251 per month. After a maximum of 15 nights at the ISSofBC's Welcome House facility, staff assist GARs in finding permanent accommodation.

The Draw (and Challenge) of Metro Vancouver

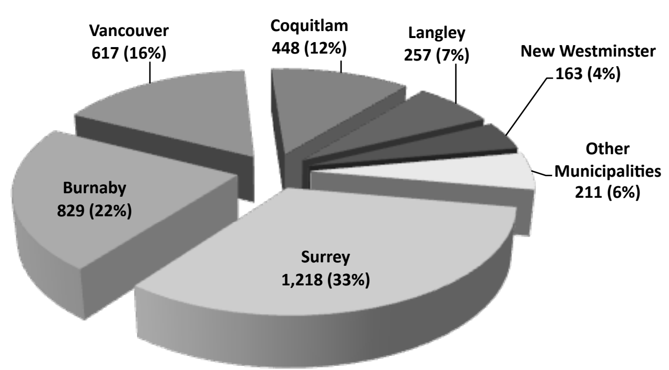
Because GARs arrive as permanent residents, they are free to settle anywhere in Canada regardless of where they are destined. The vast majority choose to remain in Metro Vancouver. Of the 4,026 GARs destined to British Columbia between 2005 and 2009, 3,743 (93%) settled in Metro Vancouver. This compares with approximately 87% of all new immigrants to the province.

Factors such as warmer weather, relevant infrastructure (such as the Bridge Community Health Clinic's services for refugees and specialized support programs) and a high percentage of recent immigrants contribute to the retention of GARs in Metro Vancouver. However, affordable housing in one of the highest-priced Canadian housing markets is a major concern. The shelter allowance provided through RAP is lower than the average cost of rent in the City of Vancouver, and the transportation loan puts additional financial pressure on newly arrived GARs already facing limited employment options (Sherrell and ISSofBC 2009).[4] In an effort to overcome challenges presented by the lack of low-income rental housing in Metro Vancouver, the ISSofBC periodically prepays security deposits before GARs even arrive in the country to secure adequate rental housing. Still, ISSofBC staff struggle to balance affordability with the factors needed to facilitate successful settlement. These include the general needs of low-income residents, such as access to public transit, and those more specific to GARs. For example, the ISSofBC makes a conscious effort to cluster households together based on pre-existing ethno-specific communities to ease the adjustment process by enabling community-focused social support. Despite these efforts, some GARs subsequently move—sometimes several times—in search of adequate housing, prolonging their displacement. For others, overcrowding is an ongoing issue (Sherrell and ISSofBC 2009).

The Municipal Level, 2005–2009

For the past two decades, the majority of Metro Vancouver GARs have sought more affordable housing outside the City of Vancouver. Between 2005 and 2009, 33% of Metro Vancouver GARs settled in the City of Surrey, 22% in the City of Burnaby and 16% in the City of Vancouver.

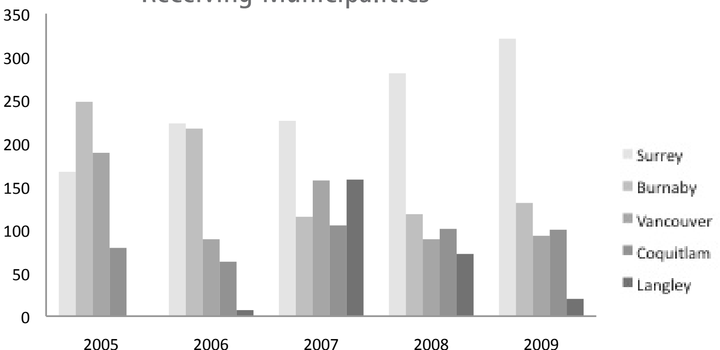
Figure 1: Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) Total Individual Arrivals by Municipality, 2005-2009



4. The cost of transporting GARs to Canada is borne by individual GARs in the form of a transportation loan. Twelve months after arrival, each GAR is required to begin repayment, and interest begins to accrue after three years. Based on actual cases, the transportation loan for one individual in 2009 was $1,563, and for a family of five with a single mother and one child less than 6 years old, it was $7,010.

However, the proportion of GARs settling in each municipality is changing. Although Burnaby previously received the most GARs, Surrey is now the top destination: Surrey received 42% (317 of 754) of all individuals who settled in Metro Vancouver in 2009. This is about 2.5 times the amount in Burnaby (131 individuals) for that year.

Figure 2: Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) Total Yearly Individual Arrivals In Top 5 Receiving Municipalities



In an attempt to better understand these changing settlement patterns, the ISSofBC recently compiled a series of maps at both the regional and municipal level (Brunner, Friesen and Sherrell 2010). The mapmaking process began with the compilation of all postal codes available as of May 2010 through the ISSofBC GAR database system for 3,719 of the 3,743 GARs destined to British Columbia who settled in Metro Vancouver between 2005 and 2009.[5] For privacy reasons, each postal code was matched with either its corresponding dissemination area (DA) or census tract (CT). DAs and CTs are standard, relatively stable geographic areas defined by the Canadian government.[6] Maps displaying DAs show finer detail of cumulative data at the municipal level, while those based on CTs give a general overview of yearly arrival patterns on a regional level.

The maps highlight the need for further research into the existence and growth of ethnic enclaves. In addition, adding GAR settlement patterns to other analyses of at-risk populations or neighbourhoods reinforces the notion that there are growing clusters of low income neighbourhoods forming within Metro Vancouver that pose or will continue to pose significant challenges for policy makers and local support infrastructure.

The map of the City of Surrey on the following page is an example of municipal settlement patterns based on DAs. It represents cumulative GAR arrivals between 2005 and 2009—that is, it shows the settlement of all GARs who arrived in Surrey between 2005 and 2009.

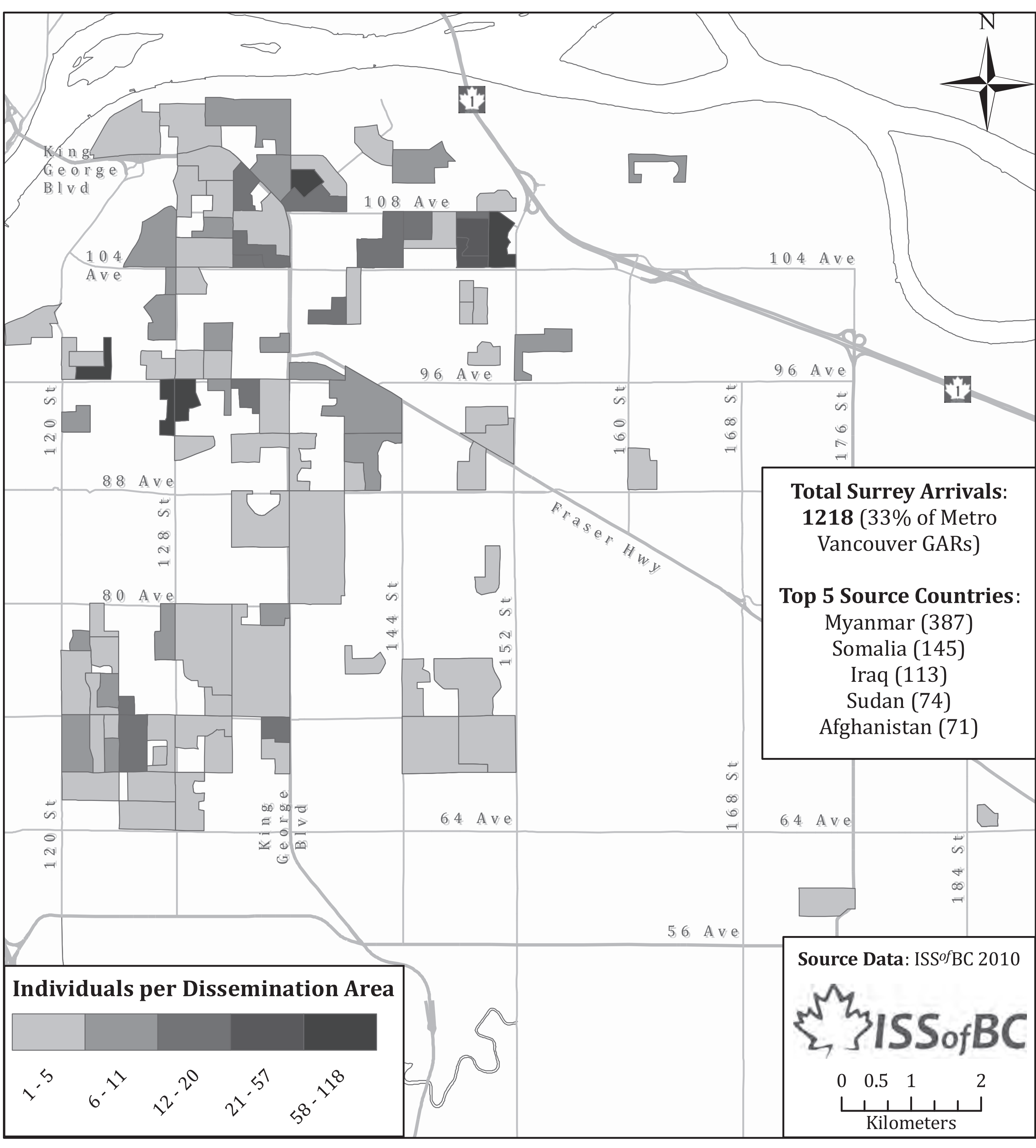
Between 2005 and 2009, GARs in **Surrey** tended to settle throughout the neighbourhoods of Whalley, City Centre, the northwest section of Guildford and central Newton. A relatively high percentage of all Myanmar (Karen) (50%, or 387 individuals) and Somali (77%, or 145) GARs in Metro Vancouver settled in Surrey, forming the top two source countries in the municipality.

In **Burnaby**, GARs settled in high concentrations in Edmonds and Richmond Park neighbourhoods. Over 550 GARs settled in these two neighbourhoods alone over this five-year period. The top source country was Afghanistan (304 individuals), followed by Iran (124) and Iraq (75).

GARs in **Vancouver** were less concentrated than those in the cities of Surrey and Burnaby. They settled throughout East Vancouver, particularly in the Kensington-Cedar Cottage neighbourhood and in the southeast corner of Victoria-Fraserview. One hundred percent (197 individuals) of Vietnamese Montanyards and Jarai GARs in Metro Vancouver settled in the City of Vancouver, forming the top source country. GARs from Myanmar (Karen) (127) represented the second highest source country in Vancouver.

5. The ISSofBC captures mailing addresses, including subsequent relocations, for all GARs during their first year in Canada.
6. A DA is composed of one or more blocks with a population of 400 to 700 people. A CT is larger, usually containing between 2,500 and 8,000 people and used only in large urban centres.

Figure 3: City of Surrey GAR Arrivals, 2005–2009



Other municipalities are becoming new GAR destinations. Between 2005 and 2009, for example, the ISSofBC destined over 33% (257 individuals) of Myanmar (Karen) GARs to the City of **Langley**. This was the first time that the ISSofBC settled a considerable number of GARs outside of the usual receiving municipalities, and the early days of GAR destining to Langley posed numerous challenges for many local agencies, schools, health providers and others. Unfortunately, Langley-based service providers were forced to react to various service needs by Karen GARs without having specialized settlement and language support services in place. Numerous individuals and volunteers stepped forward to assist the Karen community. Additional specialized infrastructure has increasingly evolved and expanded in Langley to better meet the needs of the Karen community. One of the most important lessons for the ISSofBC from the Karen community in Langley has been the need for advanced pre-arrival community planning involving various stakeholders. Today, Karen GARs in Langley remain extremely concentrated: most settled in four apartment buildings in Langley City near the intersection of Fraser Highway and 206th Street.

Coquitlam plays a more steady role as one of the top five GAR destinations in Metro Vancouver. In both 2008 and 2009, Coquitlam received slightly more GARs than Vancouver, making it the number three GAR destination for those years. Although GARs settled sparsely throughout most of Coquitlam, a very high concentration of 275 individuals settled near the intersection of North Road and Clarke Road in the Cariboo/Burquitlam neighbourhood. An additional 50 individuals settled in Austin Heights. Twenty-eight percent of all Afghan (190 individuals) and 34% of all Iranian (254) GARs in Metro Vancouver came to the City of Coquitlam, forming 77% of all GARs in Coquitlam alone.

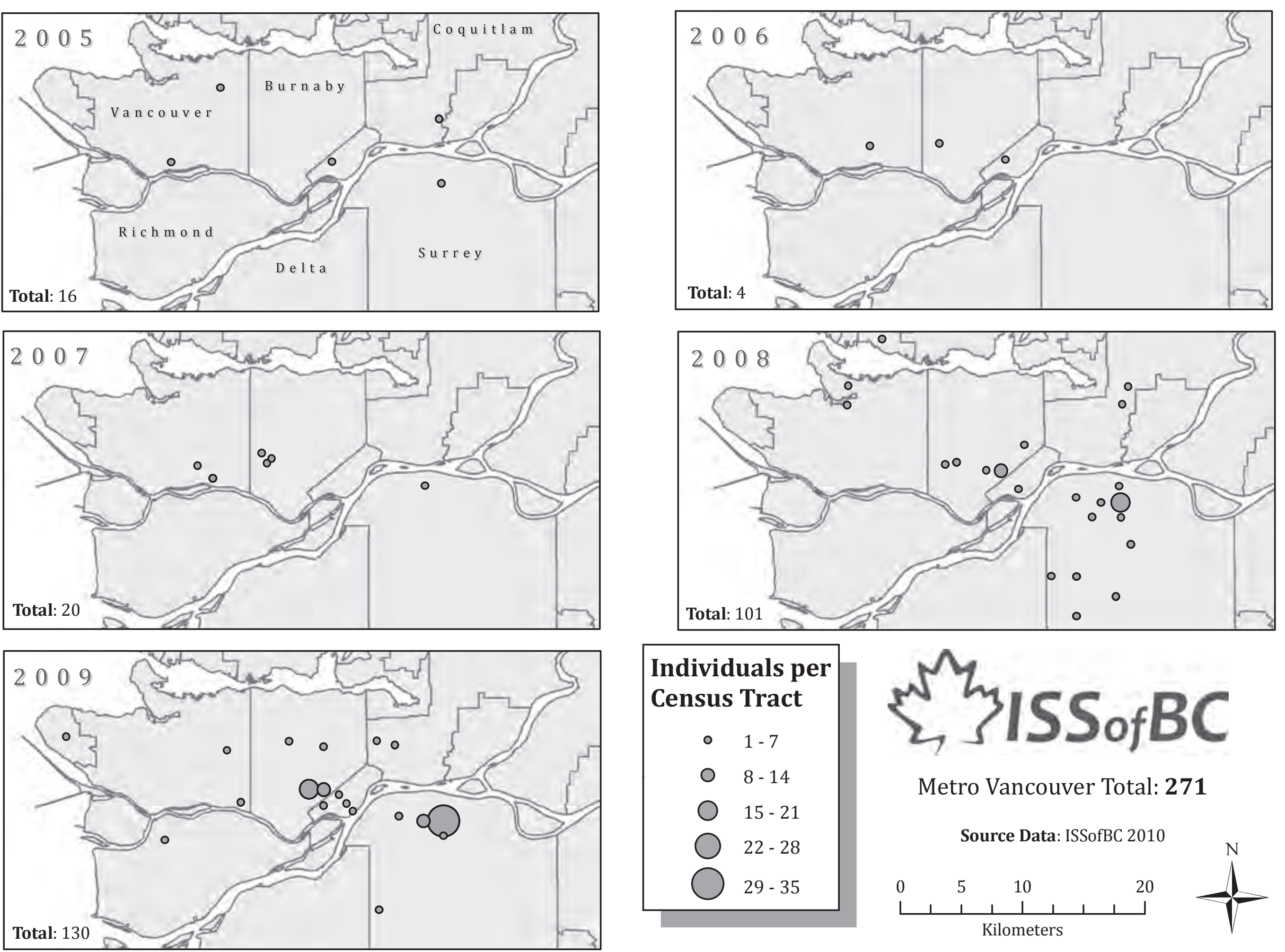
Building on the experience of destining a significant number of Karen GARs to Langley, the ISSofBC recently embarked on a broad-base pre-arrival community planning process to settle the Bhutanese—a new GAR group to arrive in 2009—to Coquitlam. This approach made an enormous difference by (1) ensuring specialized supports were put in place prior to arrival, (2) preparing the community for a new resettled refugee population, (3) giving local stakeholders the opportunity to suggest neighbourhoods for final destining, and (4) identifying not only additional service needs but also pre-existing resources for future referrals. Thus far, all Bhutanese have settled in the City of Coquitlam. Because Bhutanese resettlement is expected to continue until December 2012, Metro Vancouver and Coquitlam in particular will see more Bhutanese over the next two years.

Country of Origin

The ISSofBC also mapped GAR settlement based on country of origin over a five-year period. GARs from some countries—such as the Karen from Myanmar, Afghans and, to a lesser extent, Somalis—settled in relatively concentrated areas near each other. Others, such as Iranians, were much less concentrated. Perhaps because people of Iranian heritage are well represented in Vancouver through other streams of migration, some Iranian GARs settled in areas with previously established co-ethnic communities but very few other GARs, such as the City of North Vancouver.

The following map is an example of regional Iraqi GAR settlement based on CTs. It represents the *yearly* arrival patterns of Iraqis—that is, each map shows the settlement of all GARs from Iraq who arrived during that year and that year only. The dots were assigned to the centre of each CT and sized proportionally.

Figure 4: Metro Vancouver Iraqi GAR Arrivals, 2005-2009



Looking Ahead

The ISSofBC is continually looking for ways to better facilitate settlement. A new partnership between the ISSofBC and BC Housing secured 18 units in three different neighbourhoods, systematically bringing GARs back to Vancouver for the first time in several years. The ISSofBC is constantly exploring new partnerships with municipalities, communities and local infrastructure to establish homes for GARs in Metro Vancouver. However, continued housing difficulties will remain as a result of inadequate shelter allowance. Looking ahead to 2011, the ISSofBC is anticipating an increase in the number of GARs from Iraq, Bhutan and various countries in Africa while those from Myanmar will decrease.

As the faces of post-IRPA GARs become more familiar, it is crucial to understand how settlement patterns are forming and subsequently affecting service providers, local infrastructure and, most importantly, GARs' overall success and participation in Canadian society. For additional maps (in colour) and more detailed statistics, see the 2010 ISSofBC document *Changing Faces, Changing Neighbourhoods* available at http://www.issbc.org/publications.

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Belonging and Community Building Among the New African Diaspora in Vancouver

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Abstract: This article examines community building among a small and largely neglected group, the new African diaspora in Metro Vancouver. Processes of community building are shaped by gender, small numbers (less than 1% of the population), hypervisibility as a racialized minority, marginalization in the labour market and civil society, and diversity of national origins, cultures and language that presents particular challenges for integration. New identities of a pan-African community are one outcome of diverse practices of community building that enact demands to be recognized and accepted and to belong.

Migration and Belonging

Migrants from sub-Saharan Africa are a small but growing part of the Metro Vancouver population. In the 2006 census, 27,260 Vancouver residents were born in Africa, constituting just over 1% of the population (Statistics Canada 2006). There are no single national origins that dominate, but 80% originate from countries in eastern or southern Africa (Masinda and Kambere 2008). Although the racialized origins of those from Africa are also diverse, the self-identified community developing in Vancouver is a black community, in a context where less than 1% of the population as a whole (20,670 people) identified as black (Statistics Canada 2006). Processes of belonging and community building in Vancouver's African community are shaped by gender, small numbers, hypervisibility as a racialized minority, marginalization in the labour market and civil society, and diversity of national origins, cultures and language.

This article explores issues of belonging and community building among the new African diaspora[1] in Metro Vancouver, based on interviews conducted in 2004.[2] Though they constitute a fairly recent immigrant community in Vancouver,[3] people from sub-Saharan Africa enter a "social imaginary" where they are "already constructed, imagined and positioned" through discourses of blackness and practices of white privilege (Ibrahim 1999: 353). New forms of subjectivity develop in this context and new identities of "blackness" and "Africanness" form in relation to contested notions of "Canadianness."

Endless queries of "where do you come from?" remind members of the African community of who is and is not perceived to belong. The most common response to "where do you come from?" was to identify through a continental pan-African discourse as a primary way of placing themselves within Canada. As Sangara[4] noted, for example, "You see an African lady. You don't see Nigerian. When you see me, you see an African" (interview F9).

1. The term "new African diaspora" refers to those who migrate directly from the African continent. Their experiences are distinct from people of African descent who migrate from other parts of the world (Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi and Arthur 2006).
2. This study is based on interviews with 61 women and men from 21 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. My thanks to Edith Ngene Kambere and Mambo Masinda who helped design and conduct the research, to Metropolis BC for funding the pilot project, and to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for funding the main study. Issues addressed in this article are more fully developed in *The New African Diaspora in Vancouver: Migration, Exclusion and Belonging* (in press).
3. Although there has been a black community presence since the colonial inception of Vancouver (Compton 2001), it has remained very small compared to other racialized communities and other large cities in Canada. In Toronto, for example, nearly 7% of the population (or 352,200 people) identify as black (Statistics Canada 2008, 30). More than three-quarters of all migrants from Africa live in the Toronto area (Opoku-Dapaah 2006) and some large national diasporas have a significant presence. For example, there are almost as many Ghanaians in Toronto, estimated at 20,000 (Manuh 2003; Owusu 2006), as migrants from all over Africa living in Vancouver, and not surprisingly in the context of significant numbers, dense networks have tended to develop within national diasporas in Toronto.
4. All names are pseudonyms.

Processes of racialization lead to homogenizing diverse ethnic and national origins into a single undifferentiated category. Other research participants noted how in Vancouver, their "blackness" configured new subjectivities as African. Kivete explained, for example, "The white man sees us as Africans. We are all the same, we are just Africans. You are a black man, you are a black man" (interview M50). These new subjectivities of "Africanness" and "blackness" combined with pervasive marginalization in the labour market and civil society, and recognition of some shared cultural values across the diverse African continent, to forge a new common identity—the African community in Vancouver—even though significant differences of ethnicity, nationality and language remain.

Members of the African community were more ambivalent about their identities as "Canadians." Answers to the question "do you feel you belong in Canada?" evoked complex and often contradictory reflections. For example, Kavuo, who has been in Canada for 12 years, began by identifying things that prevented her from belonging in Canada because she does not feel accepted by other Canadians. But at the same time, she also claims her presence and right to belong:

> You belong the day you feel you don't have to defend yourself ... Or until the day they are not racist, I don't know. Belonging is, for me, I already feel I belong because I am here. I have a right to be here. I am already here, you know. I feel I belong, and I am going to do everything I can just like anybody else would. Raise the children just like anybody else would who has lived here all their life, born here and raised here. But of course, belonging is, you would also feel good if you don't get some of the questions you get ... [I still get asked] "where did you do this? how did you do that? did you live in a house like this?" I guess maybe more just accepting of people, acceptance of the way you are, the way you talk (interview F23).

Like other members of the African community, Kavuo asserts belonging through the minutia of everyday life as she creates a home for her family, but she returns again to the lack of acceptance by others. In her final comments, Kavuo provides examples we heard often in this research about pervasive queries about origins, demeaning assumptions about Africa, and denigration of African English accents.[5] These are the markers of foreignness that stalk Kavuo long after she has made Vancouver her home. Yet, however ambivalent their sense of belonging, African immigrants were actively engaged in creating a local African community, a process that is about enacting belonging in local spaces.

Creating an African Community in Vancouver

There is no spatial centre for the small diasporic African community in Metro Vancouver, which is spread out in the municipalities of Surrey, Langley, Coquitlam, Vancouver, New Westminster and Burnaby. This dispersed residential pattern makes it more difficult to develop connections within the community. Research participants identified a number of informal and formal practices of community building across these spaces.

Workplaces and places of worship figure centrally as sites where friendship networks are formed. Friendships developed at work tended to be multi-ethnic, often with immigrants from other countries who perform similar marginalized work. Such connections help to develop links beyond the African community. As the density of the community increases, churches have become central to community building.[6] Religious faith often figures prominently in migration narratives and helps to shore up the resilience required to navigate losses and dislocation associated with migration. Religious affiliations also provided important social networks or social capital. The importance of religious faith can be seen in the growth of churches serving African

5. For a discussion of accent discrimination experienced by fluent English speakers from sub-Saharan Africa, see Creese 2010.
6. It is estimated that 90% of the African community in Metro Vancouver are Christian.

congregations. In 2010, we identified 12 separate churches located in five different municipalities (Vancouver, New Westminster, Surrey, Coquitlam and Langley) that can be defined as "African churches." These churches all have African pastors, and most have congregations from diverse countries, often with concentrations linked to the pastor's country of origin. African churches have become a front-line of settlement support, providing informal support to new immigrants and referring them to other services.

Women identified female support networks that also helped them to negotiate settlement and create a local African community. Most support was informal, such as sharing information, tips for job searches and strategies on how to navigate their youngsters' schooling. Some forms of support were material in nature, including gifts of clothing for new babies, babysitting, and preparing food or contributing money for funerals. Less tangible forms of support were equally important for building bonds of community: someone who shares common experiences to confide in, complain to or celebrate with. Most women talked about sharing the wisdom of their experiences with newer immigrants. As Ngalula put it, "We don't want other people that are coming from Africa to suffer like we suffered" (interview F29).

Much of women's mutual support was informal, but a wide variety of more formal women's groups also exist. Among the 31 women we interviewed, seven identified more formal women's groups through which they helped to support other African women. This breadth of women's community organizing is an impressive and critical part of community building in the local context. However, women's community organizing was not mentioned by any of the men interviewed, and although men sometimes noted friendships with other African men, they tended to see community organizing more narrowly through formal organizations.

There were 13 nationally focused African organizations in existence when we conducted interviews in 2004, all not-for-profits without paid staff, and all headed by men. With a common mandate to preserve cultural heritage, and in most cases also to raise money for development projects in their countries of origin, these ethno-specific organizations are oriented largely toward the home country. Fewer women than men identified these national organizations as central sites of connection. Women were more likely to focus on the need to address issues within Canada than to address issues within their countries of origin. Only one pan-African organization, the Centre of Integration for African Immigrants, existed locally, and many members of the African community pointed to the need to bridge internal differences. A key theme that emerged in our interviews was how to turn disparate "communities from Africa" into a more unified African community. Four main visions emerged: (1) create a pan-African political organization; (2) build an African cultural centre; (3) develop African-focused settlement services; and (4) support African entrepreneurship. All but one of these has already come to fruition.

There was widespread support for a pan-African political organization linking diverse groups from sub-Saharan Africa. This organization was envisioned as a way to strengthen the African community and represent their needs to government. For some, it was also a way to shift existing organizational focus from the past and Africa, to the present and future in Canada. In 2009, the United African Communities of B.C. was created to fill this gap.

A second line of community development was support for an African cultural centre. Drawing on examples of other groups that have cultural centres in the city, an African cultural centre was expected to enhance African heritage and foster African identity among offspring. The act of naming a space the "African Cultural Centre" would also publicly claim space in Vancouver, and thereby claim a rightful place alongside other ethnic communities in a multicultural city. Interestingly, although a common desire among men, not a single woman we interviewed suggested any need for an African cultural centre, even though women were equally concerned about youth losing their African identities. Cultural centres are often spaces in which

men congregate and socialize, and this was part of its appeal to men. On the other hand, creating a space for male socialization could undermine post-migration trends many women (and some men) identified as positive, with husbands' limited access to male socialization and greater involvement in family life in Canada.

An African cultural centre has not materialized, but other cultural organizations and community-based cultural events have emerged. There were two local African dance companies, a theatre group, a story-telling theatre company and a radio program, as well as annual African peace festivals, pan-African film and arts festivals and, in 2008, an African Canadian Soccer Tournament. These community-wide events provide spaces in which to enhance community networks across the diaspora and raise visibility within the larger society.

The third form of formal community development is the creation of African-centred settlement organizations for new migrants. At the time of the interviews, only a handful of multicultural settlement agencies had any programs designed specifically for African immigrants. Now, there are over 30 African settlement workers throughout the region, as well as two well-established African settlement agencies. The Centre of Integration for African Immigrants, now a service provider, and Umoja Operation Compassion Society/African Family Services have both emerged primarily to serve the sub-Saharan African population. The organizations are led by African men and women, and largely staffed by women from the community. The creation of two African-centred settlement organizations responds to community needs while becoming part of the infrastructure of a more visible pan-African community in Metro Vancouver.

The final strand of community development was support for African entrepreneurship. The development of more African-owned businesses is considered a pillar of community development, improving opportunities for investment and enhancing employment options within the community. Members of the African community look to examples of larger immigrant/ethnic groups, particularly the Chinese and South Asian diasporas, for models of successful economic growth and prosperity. At the time of our interviews in 2004, we were able to identify only three storefront businesses (two restaurants and a store) run by immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, and only three out of 61 participants were self-employed and running home-based businesses. Since then, the landscape of African entrepreneurialism has changed significantly. In 2010, we identified 11 African restaurants, six African hair salons, and three other stores that provided hair braiding and sold African beauty products, clothing and food. Though still modest compared to much larger immigrant/ethnic communities in Greater Vancouver, this marked growth of entrepreneurialism can be expected to continue.

Conclusion

Our research with members of Vancouver's African community shows that a pan-African diasporic community identity is developing alongside everyday practices that are often gender-specific and that help to build this community on the ground, from women's support groups to the creation of African-centred settlement organizations and cultural events. There are clear limitations to belonging embedded in the ways other residents make it clear that Africans are not fully accepted as "Canadians." In this context, migrants from diverse African countries learned to be "African" and "black" in new ways in Vancouver and expressed, at best, ambiguous forms of Canadian identity. The creation of formal and informal bonds of community underscores the growing strength and resilience of the new African diaspora in Vancouver in spite of these daily reminders of unbelonging. These activities are all part of claiming spaces, physical spaces in specific neighbourhoods and sites, and psychic spaces in individual subjectivities and in the "imagined community" that is Canada.[7] In the long run, claiming such spaces transforms the new

7. The history of colonialism and preferences for European immigrants until the latter part of the 20th century has produced a white "imagined community" that continues to shape racialization processes long after immigrant origins have changed (see Li 2003, Mackey 2002 and Thobani 2007).

African diaspora into a vital local community, and is central to enacting demands to be recognized and accepted, and to belong, as Canadians.

About the Author

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Post-IRPA GARs from Aceh: An Analysis of Refugee Integration Five Years On

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Abstract: Between 2004 and 2006, the Canadian government resettled 154 government-assisted refugees originally from Aceh, Indonesia, entirely in Metro Vancouver. In many ways, they are representative of Canada's changing GAR population since the 2002 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* became law, having arrived from a protracted refugee situation with relatively high settlement needs. Their integration in Canada has not been straightforward, and economic struggles persist. In an analysis of official language acquisition, employment, housing and participation in Canadian society five years after arrival, obstacles to Canadian "belonging" remain. Here, we outline policy recommendations to better facilitate successful settlement.

Introduction

In 2002, the implementation of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) shifted Canada's selection of government-assisted refugees (GARs) away from individuals with an "ability to establish" (as determined by the Canadian government) to those "most in need of protection" (as determined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (see also the Brunner and Friesen article in this publication). This shift significantly altered the demographics of Canada's resettled refugee population to include more "high needs" individuals from protracted refugee situations with increased settlement requirements. Post-IRPA GARs face barriers in securing and maintaining adequate employment, housing, education and official language skills once in Canada (Yu, Ouellet and Warmington 2007; Hiebert and Sherrell 2009), and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) "recognizes that current resettlement programming may not adequately meet the unique and changing needs of refugees" (Pressé and Thomson 2007). However, the long-term implications of these "higher needs" on settlement are not well understood. Ideally, the Canadian government, researchers or service providers would trace the settlement outcomes of GARs from various countries over time, but such data are expensive to collect and challenging at the national scale.

In a modest effort to fill this gap, a team of Simon Fraser University researchers and Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia (ISSofBC) staff conducted a case study of GARs originally from Aceh, Indonesia, one year after arrival. A follow-up study was conducted four years later, or five years after most Acehnese arrived in Vancouver. Between 2004 and 2006, 154 individuals—mostly young, single men—arrived in Metro Vancouver after fleeing over 30 years of conflict in Aceh followed by years in detention or hiding in Malaysia. Initial research in 2005 found that the decision to keep all Acehnese GARs geographically together was unanimously favoured by the Acehnese surveyed and laid the groundwork for the consolidation of an Acehnese community (McLean, Friesen and Hyndman

2006). Despite "challenges posed by official language deficits and poor employment prospects" (McLean, Friesen and Hyndman 2006, 20), the formation of an Acehnese Canadian Community Society (ACCS), competitive sports teams within local Muslim leagues and participation in local mosques showed "small but important signs of settlement" (Hyndman and McLean 2006, 358).

Here, we summarize the 2009 follow-up study in an attempt to ascertain settlement five years after arrival.[1] Our methods consist of 75 surveys (51 men, 24 women) and 50 semi-structured interviews (28 men, 22 women) conducted between May and November 2009, followed by a dissemination and feedback event with participants and other community members on July 3, 2010. While these findings are but a snapshot of social and economic relations among the Acehnese at the time, they offer the fullest available picture of how these GARs are doing, what their concerns, priorities and challenges are, and what Canadian policies do to facilitate or hinder their aims as new Canadians and permanent residents.

"So, how's it going?"—Settlement in 2009

According to one community informant, 73 male and 25 female Acehnese adults were living in Metro Vancouver in the summer of 2009, apparently a closely knit if not homogeneous group of newcomers. At that time, the ACCS converted a collectively rented storefront in Vancouver into a mosque and community centre, and all 75 respondents said they attended at least once a month. The majority attended at least every Saturday. Respondents expressed the importance of this space as a place to pray, socialize, teach their children the Acehnese language and religion, exchange information about jobs, and support community members during celebratory or grieving periods following major events such as births and deaths. Many explicitly participated in the study in hopes of improving and raising the profile of the ACCS.

Five years after arrival, feelings toward life in Canada were mixed. All 50 respondents expressed their gratitude to the Canadian government, particularly for the safety and elevated status that permanent residence in Canada provides. They praised access to high quality, low-cost public education, medical services and transportation. However, unemployment remained high among respondents, official language skills remained low, and adequate housing in Metro Vancouver (and particularly in Vancouver) remained prohibitively expensive. This echoes the initial research conducted in 2005 when many participants were just ending a year of income support from the federal government (Hyndman and McLean 2006; McLean, Friesen and Hyndman 2006). As our 2009 research shows, issues lingering from this first year after arrival created an uphill battle from the start.

Learning English, Finding Work

GARs are eligible for federal government income support through the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) for up to one year or until they become self-sufficient, whichever comes first. After this initial year, they are eligible for provincial assistance based on the standard criteria for any Canadian citizen or permanent resident. The RAP amount mirrors provincial income support rates. In 2006, for example, an individual GAR received a total of up to $635 per month, while a family of four received up to $1,305 per month (ISSofBC 2007). Ideally, this year gives GARs an opportunity to focus on federally funded English Language Services for Adults (ELSA) classes and other initial settlement needs without the pressures of working, but the reality is often different.

First, the struggle to afford life in Vancouver created a serious distraction from taking language courses during the first year after arrival. Facing the highest housing prices in Canada, the assistance provided by RAP was simply not enough in Vancouver (see Sherrell and ISSofBC 2009). This left little room for the additional cost of the transportation loan GARs are required to pay back, with interest, to the Canadian government. In 2006, for example, an individual GAR arrived in Canada with a CAN$1,534 debt (ISSofBC 2007). Although repayment can be delayed for up to 12 months after arrival and interest only accrues after three years, all 50 of our respondents said they paid their transportation loans as quickly as possible. For some, this was partially to avoid paying *riba*, the term for interest forbidden in

1. This paper was adapted from our Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper (Brunner, Hyndman and Friesen 2010), based on a study generously funded by Metropolis BC.

Islamic economic jurisprudence *fiqh*. The widespread devastation of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami unexpectedly pressured Acehnese to send remittances months after arrival, creating an additional financial burden early on.

Secondly, taking ELSA classes proved difficult. Many respondents reported long waits for the classes, particularly for those offering child care. Unfamiliarity with Canadian teaching styles and limited previous exposure to English created challenges in terms of adjusting to and succeeding in ELSA classes. Some respondents described their initial difficulty in focusing on language training because of residual mental health issues from traumatic experiences in Aceh and Malaysia. Those who did take ELSA classes reached only limited levels. Like all immigrants, GARs are only allowed limited ELSA instruction, and individuals entering at a lower level—as most Acehnese did—are not offered sufficient support to reach full fluency.

These factors collectively contributed to quick part-time entry into the labour market, with some beginning before the RAP period was up. Once in the work force, respondents who were still taking ELSA classes faced difficulty juggling employment and other household responsibilities. Respondents mostly found employment in the secondary labour market where irregular, contractual or overtime hours required flexible schedules, many reluctantly quitting ELSA classes soon after beginning work.

Unfortunately, if official language skills are not obtained during the RAP period, they can remain elusive indefinitely. After stopping ELSA classes, the complex logistics of re-enrolment created a hurdle. In addition, once a permanent resident obtains citizenship, they are no longer eligible for government-subsidized classes. In 2009, English-speaking abilities among Acehnese men and women were varied but low overall. Among those surveyed, the median ELSA level obtained was between 2 and 3 among men and 2 among women out of 6 possible levels (literacy level, beginner levels 1–3, and intermediate levels 4 and 5). No one had successfully returned to ELSA, and despite a desire to do so, no one was formally studying English.

Life After RAP: Further Displacement?

Quick entry into the labour market despite low English proficiency levels proved disastrous when employment conditions changed during the late 2000s recession. The construction industry was hit hard and, as a result, many men in particular were forced to accept short-term, sporadic contract work or lost their jobs entirely. With few significant ties beyond their community, Acehnese were particularly affected. Out of 26 men interviewed, 24 found all their jobs through other Acehnese men. Thus, layoffs in one company affected several individuals.

Facing a shortage of "low-skill" job opportunities, those with limited English skills encountered great difficulty finding work and making ends meet. One sentiment frequently expressed again echoed responses from the 2005 survey: Acehnese men wanted work but simply could not find it. At the time of the 2009 survey, 19 of the 52 men were unemployed, although anecdotally, we learned that this proportion grew significantly as 2009 progressed. At the time of writing, community informants estimate that "most" are out of work.

Official language and employment struggles affected many aspects of settlement. Moving between apartments, cities and metro areas was a persistent theme throughout the interviews and in five years, almost all respondents reported moving at least five times, adding to personal histories of displacement. Single men and families alike undertook searches to find employment in Alberta, dividing this geographically concentrated community. Anecdotally, respondents estimated that there were about 30 Acehnese living in the Calgary area. Yet their moves were often temporary: many returned, citing cold weather, poor public transportation and a lack of "Asian" or Acehnese people and food as their reasons for returning to

Metro Vancouver. No respondent with whom we spoke was willing to move to an area with no other Acehnese nearby due to feelings of alienation.

For those struggling to survive, an uncertain future focused less on the decision to live in Vancouver or Calgary and more on the benefits of Canada versus Malaysia or even Aceh. A major irony for the majority of respondents who spent years working undocumented in Malaysia is that formal Canadian documentation does not guarantee a job. In Malaysia, respondents could work, communicate, pray, eat and so forth in a familiar context. They felt they "belonged," even without documents. In Canada, the opposite is true, and this paradox frustrated respondents, disrupting the assumption that everyone will stay in Canada permanently.

The signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Free Aceh rebel movement and the Indonesian government in August 2005 brought relative peace to Aceh and since then, repatriation has been a viable option. Of 50 interviewees, nine say they plan to return to Aceh in the future and five say it is a possibility. Of the 36 respondents who plan to remain in Canada permanently, eight said Aceh is not yet safe enough to return, nine mentioned the lack of jobs there, and six said education for their children would be prohibitively expensive. The remaining 13 mentioned only the positive attributes of Canada. Although two men mentioned the incompatibility between Canadian work schedules and Islamic prayer, and five parents mentioned their hope of sending their children to Islamic schools abroad, most cited the Canadian labour market as the primary reason behind their consideration of whether or not to leave Canada.

Finally, the community's ability to come together in a physical community centre is threatened. During the study, the Acehnese Canadian Community Society community centre was moved to a smaller storefront with cheaper rent. At the time of writing, the ACCS is only able to afford a basement space and its future remains up in the air as members struggle to collectively pay the rent. The centre plays a crucial role in facilitating settlement and social support networks, particularly for those with low English language skills who rely on other ACCS members for translation and other assistance. The federal decision to destine all Acehnese to live near one another has proven popular and is a factor in retention, but without a place to gather, its continued significance is at stake.

Sponsorship Struggles and Transnational Marriages

A final hurdle to Acehnese settlement is related to the gender radio skewed toward (young, single) men. Although family reunification was a (thus far unobtainable) goal of every research participant, *spousal* sponsorship was a particularly salient goal for the majority of men who were (and still remain) single. For these men who came to Canada with no pre-existing ethnonational community to consult for support and social networking, finding a spouse in Canada is difficult. Given the recent peace agreement, most see the sponsorship of a wife from Aceh through a transnational marriage as their only option. They make this choice, in part, because they can. They share language, culture, faith and more. But they also make this choice because most do not have meaningful relationships with women in Canada. When asked why, most responded that their English was insufficient. The recursive links between the need to work to pay off transportation loans, the inability to attend English classes (or its lack of priority in relation to paid work) and their partner preferences are all woven together in the context of a more peaceful Aceh which makes courting there possible.

Marrying and sponsoring an Acehnese spouse, however, requires several things. In addition to money to travel home and pay for the wedding, it requires flexible commitments to language training, work and housing to make the trip and additional remittances to support the fiancée during the process. In addition, most view a Canadian passport gained through citizenship—as

opposed to the Convention Travel Document available to GARs while they are permanent residents—as a necessity to travel back to Aceh. All male respondents expressed distrust of both the Indonesian government and its embassy or consulates and were unwilling to return to Aceh without the protection of Canadian citizenship. Rather than focus on permanent settlement in Canada, many men were struggling to work toward, save for and wait for such relationships to materialize while sponsorship applications were processed.

For the few who were able to pass the Canadian citizenship test, acquire a passport and accrue enough money during our study, the waiting continued. After getting married in Aceh, the men returned to Canada where they began processing their wives' sponsorship applications if they had sufficient funds. The reunification process is long, and at least two men now have children who are Canadian citizens but who cannot yet enter Canada.

In an upcoming Metropolis BC working paper, we show how such hopes to marry someone from "back home" combined with government sponsorship policies impede official integration aims by putting lives in Canada "on hold" (Brunner, Mountz and Hyndman, forthcoming). For refugees, waiting "has become the rule, not the exception" (Hyndman and Giles, forthcoming). In an unfortunate twist on that argument, waiting can also persist after refugee resettlement as Acehnese men focus on returning to Aceh in order to marry, start families and get on with their lives more than five years after resettlement.

The Future

In light of its unique challenges, the Acehnese community is nonetheless doing well in many regards: they have very strong social bonds, high hopes for the next generation of Acehnese Canadian children, and a physical space serving as a community centre with extremely high numbers of attendance—for now. All three of these areas of success remain in question in light of high levels of unemployment and low official language proficiency. Although these former refugees (now citizens and permanent residents) are resilient, they still require some ongoing settlement support, access to employment and English language classes, the latter of which is no longer available to many in Metro Vancouver due to their new citizenship status.

Policy Recommendations

1. CIC should develop and deliver **pre-departure English language training** for refugees selected for resettlement.
2. CIC and the International Organization for Migration should review the existing **pre-departure orientation program** (Canadian Orientation Abroad) to ensure that the information provided reflects the experiences faced by refugees during their first few years in Canada (e.g., the low level of income support they will receive, the likelihood of unemployment, etc.).
3. CIC and provincial bilateral agreements on immigration should extend the **eligibility for language classes** to include naturalized citizens.
4. The B.C. government should review **ELSA daycare** and expand spaces in various locations.
5. CIC should fund research or undertake internal analysis to ascertain how changes to the new **Canadian Citizenship Act** (e.g., more difficult citizenship tests) will impact post-IRPA GARs.

6. The B.C. government should reinvest in **tailored, project-based language training programs.**

7. CIC should undertake a review of its **destining policy** to determine its effectiveness in meeting the goals of integration, particularly the destining policies for smaller ethno-specific refugee populations and the minimal optimal number that should be considered.

8. Post-IRPA GARs would greatly benefit from more **early intervention support services** during their first year in Canada. CIC should increase the funding to RAP to include additional services.

9. For several years, the CIC Refugee Affairs Branch has had a **RAP National Working Group** consisting of CIC national headquarters and regional representatives as well as four settlement sector representatives. The CIC national headquarters should consider expanding the permanent membership to include a representative from the B.C. and Manitoba governments.[2]

10. RAP service agencies, such as ISSofBC, would greatly benefit from an opportunity to share and learn from good practices happening across Canada. CIC, B.C., and the Manitoba government should jointly fund a **national conference on RAP** with the goal of collectively enhancing the settlement outcomes identified through the Acehnese experience.

11. In cases where GARs are kept in prolonged detention in a first country of asylum before being selected for Canadian resettlement, CIC should amend the **sponsorship policy** and reduce the processing time once for the sponsorship of a GAR's spouse, even if the engagement or marriage occurs after arriving in Canada.

12. The provision of **space for community gatherings** and a network/support building would be very beneficial for GARs, particularly during the first year after arrival for those who are "new and few." This space could be used by multiple GAR groups during different times and would also serve as a contact point for ISSofBC and other service providers.

13. Further research should probe options for GAR entrepreneurs to overcome obstacles in accessing **credit, collateral for loans, business education and culturally acceptable business models** (i.e., alternatives to paying interest for strict Muslims).

14. **Linguistic or ethno-specific official language training** should be considered for post-IRPA GARs, particularly those who are "new and few" or who come from protracted refugee situations.

Our research points to a larger question of what Canadian citizenship means in the context of refugee resettlement. Citizenship is commonly defined by two features: membership in a polity and a "reciprocal set of duties and rights" (Kivisto and Faist 2010, 227). As we have shown, a survival income may be a right in Canada through the provision of social assistance, but employment and full acquisition of official language skills are not. Without these, active citizenship in Canadian society—the idea that newcomers participate in this country's institutions, public life and communities beyond simple membership in a polity—remains elusive.

2. With the exception of Quebec, CIC manages all settlement and language-related funds outside of B.C. and Manitoba. This direct management allows for a greater degree of service continuum. Although RAP is managed by CIC in both B.C. and Manitoba (provinces with devolution agreements), in the case of B.C. for instance, settlement and language programs are managed through a competitive procurement policy. Hence, the continuation of specialized settlement support programs in B.C. targeting GARs is not guaranteed.

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Understanding Immigrant Experiences in B.C. Communities: A Driver Model of Engaged Retention

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Abstract: British Columbia's Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program[1] supports communities in building and sustaining more welcoming and inclusive communities across the province. As part of a larger evaluation framework for this program, the Immigrant Integration and Immigration Branch of the B.C. Ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development recently completed a survey that identifies the key drivers of immigrant retention and the development of welcoming and inclusive communities for newcomers and longer-term immigrants. The survey supports both strategic evaluation for programs of this nature and the development of driver models to support evidence-based policy and program decisions.

Introduction

"Welcoming communities" initiatives have become prevalent in many jurisdictions over the past few years as there is an increasing recognition of the "two-way street" of integration, where a key principle is the recognition that the goal of integration is a two-way process and that successful integration requires a commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in Canada and on the part of Canadians to welcome and adapt to new people and cultures. Within this framework, in 2008, the B.C. Ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development[2] developed a three-year initiative, the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP) with the goal of building communities where immigrants can realize their full potential, racism is eliminated and cultural diversity is valued and celebrated. There are four program elements that make up the core of the WICWP: community partnership development, knowledge development and exchange, public education and demonstration projects. Since the inception of the program, there have been 87 WICWP-funded projects across B.C. and 37 partnership tables developed.

As one measure to understand the overall impact of the WICWP and to help in understanding what gives newcomers a sense of belonging in their community, the Immigrant Integration and Immigration Branch undertook a province-wide survey in the fall of 2009. This paper provides a summary of B.C.'s learnings from the survey on immigrants' experiences in B.C. communities by presenting a driver model of "engaged retention," defined as having a sense of attachment to one's community.

1. Funded by the Government of Canada and the Province of British Columbia.
2. Formerly the Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development.

Survey Methodology

The WICWP survey was a longitudinal survey administered to British Columbians in two different phases. For the first phase of the study, respondents were surveyed in the fall of 2009, at which time WICWP-funded programs were in their preliminary stages. The second phase will be undertaken in the spring of 2011 when the programs will be well established in the communities.

In the first phase, conducted in the fall of 2009, a total of 4,541 telephone surveys (including over 2,500 immigrants) were completed with an overall response rate of 8.4%. The sample was compiled using both random-digit dialling and two contact lists known to contain a high proportion of immigrants. The survey consisted of 38 questions, which were based on literature reviews and developed in consultation with an advisory committee.[3] While the majority of the interviews (approximately 70%) took place in English, respondents also had the option of completing the survey by telephone in Punjabi, Cantonese or Mandarin.

Analysis

The objective of this research was to answer the question, "What are the most important factors affecting a welcoming community for immigrants?" To better address that objective, structural equation modelling (SEM) was chosen as the analytical technique. SEM allows analysis to identify questions that work together to measure concepts such as "welcoming community" and "intercultural communication" and to develop a driver model outlining the most important factors that drive "engaged retention." The results of the driver model analysis determined that different community factors and experiences appear to matter to recent[4] immigrants when compared to long-term[5] immigrants. Therefore, two different driver models of "engaged retention" were developed to accurately represent the experiences of these groups in their communities.

The multiple linkages and interactions between factors and their complex effect on recent and long-term immigrants' views about their community formed the overall structure of the driver models. For ease of understanding, in the summary below, in addition to a narrative description of the models, each of the models is also graphically represented as a tree, highlighting three main parts: the roots, the trunk and the crown (see figures 1 and 2).

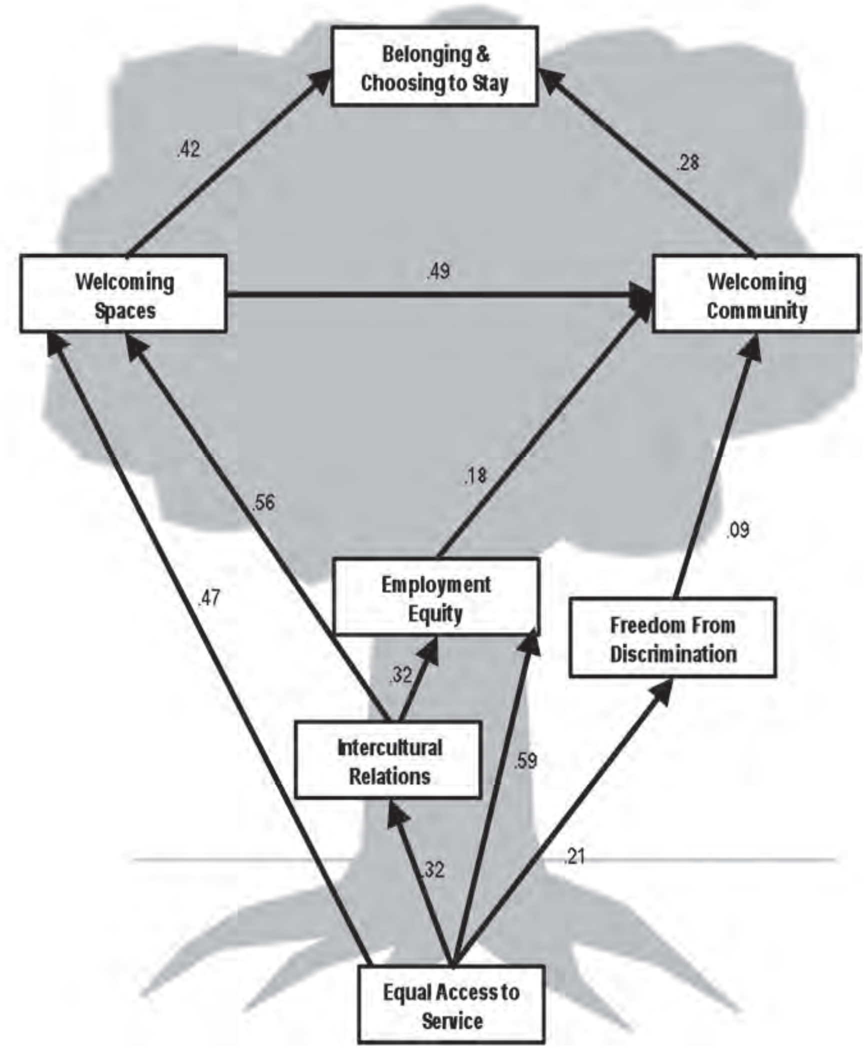
The tree is a useful metaphor that illustrates the commonalities in immigrants' experiences and how different factors come together to impact recent immigrants' and long-term immigrants' overall feeling of belonging in their communities. The labels attached to each of these model factors are based on its underlying survey questions, while the location of each factor in the tree is based on how it interacts with other model factors to affect recent immigrants' or long-term immigrants' overall beliefs about their community.

Also illustrated in the tree diagrams are the model path coefficients, which range from 0 to 1. The higher the path coefficient connected between two latent variables, the stronger the relationship. The specific meaning of the path coefficients can be interpreted through the following example: if we increase Welcoming Spaces in the recent immigrant model by one standard deviation from its mean score, then Welcoming Community would be expected to increase by 0.30 standard deviations from its own mean score while holding constant all other connections between the latent variables in the model.

The next two sections of the paper summarize the Recent Immigrant Model of Putting Down Roots in the Community (Putting Down Roots Model) and the Long-Term Immigrant Model of Deepening Roots in the Community (Deepening Roots Model). Through a detailed explanation of the relationships between survey questions and community factors, the story of Putting Down Roots and Deepening Roots begins to emerge.

3. Representatives of the committee included the United Way of the Lower Mainland, academics and research associates from the University of British Columbia, Metropolis BC, the Social Planning and Research Council of B.C. and service providers from the immigrant settlement and multiculturalism sector.
4. For the purposes of this project, recent immigrants are defined as people who immigrated to Canada within the past ten years.
5. For the purposes of this project, long-term immigrants are defined as people who immigrated to Canada more than ten years ago.

Figure 1: Recent Immigrant Model of Putting Down Roots in the Community



The uppermost feature on the tree representing the recent immigration model (see Figure 1) is called **Belonging and Choosing to Stay,** which is characterized by two survey questions that measure one's sense of belonging in the community and one's choice to stay in his or her community rather than move elsewhere. Recent immigrants who report high scores on this measure have a strong sense of belonging and would rather stay in the community than move elsewhere. Conversely, recent immigrants who report low scores feel they neither belong nor want to stay in their community.

The model results indicate that 39% of the differences in recent immigrants' levels of Belonging and Choosing to Stay can be explained by their views on six factors in their community. Each of these community factors will be discussed in relation to their location in the tree.

Two factors have a direct and strong impact on recent immigrants' Belonging and Choosing to Stay. For this reason, the two factors are presented in the crown of the tree. Each factor is defined by its underlying survey questions measuring specific conceptual topics and described as follows.

Welcoming Community: Recent immigrants feel welcome in their community. This factor is measured by agreement with one survey statement, "I feel welcome in my community."

Welcoming Spaces: Recent immigrants are very comfortable visiting local business establishments and attending local festivals, art shows or cultural events. This factor is based on agreement with two survey statements, "I would be very comfortable visiting local business establishments" and "I would be very comfortable attending local festivals, art shows or cultural events."

In the model, how welcoming a recent immigrant perceives his or her community and public spaces to be can either strengthen or weaken his or her sense of belonging and choice to stay. Recent immigrants' perceptions of a Welcoming Community along with Welcoming Spaces are primarily influenced by the factors found in the rest of the model. Specifically, 40% of the differences in views about Welcoming Communities and 70% of the differences in views about Welcoming Spaces can be explained by four community factors located in the trunk and roots of the tree.

Three community factors are positioned in the trunk of the tree because they provide key information on how the model works. In other words, these factors influence recent immigrants' perceptions of Welcoming Communities and Welcoming Spaces, which in turn impacts their Belonging and Choosing to Stay. Each of the three needs is defined below.

Intercultural Relations: Measured friendship and communication with people from other ethnic backgrounds. Those who agree with the two survey questions, "I am able to effectively communicate with people of ethnic backgrounds different from my own" and "I have a good friend who has an ethnic background different from my own," have strong positive intercultural relations.

Employment Equity: Recent immigrants are treated fairly when applying for new employment and can find employment opportunities that use their education, skills and abilities. The agreement questions, "I am able to find employment opportunities that use my education, skills and abilities" and "I am treated fairly when applying for new employment opportunities," measure employment equity.

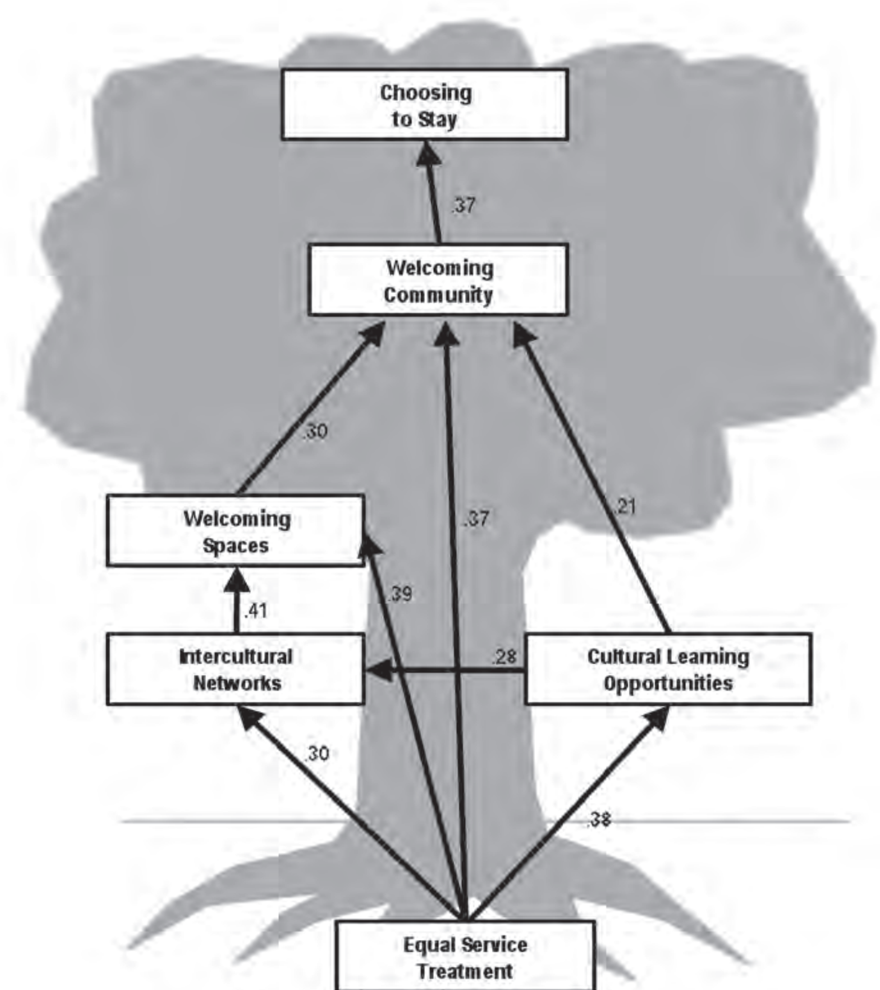
Freedom from Discrimination: Recent immigrants do not believe discrimination is a problem in their community. This measure is based on the survey question, "Discrimination is a problem in my community." This question is the only factor where "disagreement" is a positive outcome.

In the model, recent immigrants' experiences with meeting the above needs can either strengthen or weaken their impressions of their community and its public spaces as being welcoming. The roots of the tree are represented by one factor in the community because this factor either directly or indirectly influences every other factor at each part of the tree. This factor is measured by two survey topics and is defined as Equal Access to Service.

Equal Access to Service: Recent immigrants have access to the same educational opportunities and health-care services as everyone else in their community. The statements, "I have access to the same number of educational opportunities as everyone else in my community" and "I have access to the same quality of health-care services as everyone else in my community," measure Equal Access to Service for recent immigrants.

Essentially, acquiring a sense of belonging and a desire to stay begins at the roots with access to basic services. Having accessible services positively impacts a recent immigrant's need for Employment Equity and Intercultural Relations as well as Freedom from Discrimination. As a result, the recent immigrant's impressions of a Welcoming Community and Welcoming Spaces are reinforced, which enables the growth of a sense of Belonging and Choosing to Stay in the community.

Figure 2: Long-Term Immigrant Model of Deepening Roots in the Community



The Deepening Roots model (see Figure 2) emphasizes less of a need to belong, as with the recent immigrant model, and more of a desire to grow as members of the community. The uppermost feature on the tree is called Choosing to Stay because it reflects one survey question that measures a long-term immigrant's choice to stay in his or her community rather than move elsewhere.

The model results indicate that 14% of long-term immigrants' differences of opinion about staying in their communities can be explained by their experiences with five community factors. Each of these community factors will be discussed in relation to their location in the tree.

One aspect of the community that has a direct and strong impact on long-term immigrants' preferences to stay in their communities is how welcoming they believe their community to be. The **Welcoming Community** model factor is presented in the crown of the tree and is defined by the survey topic measuring the extent to which long-term immigrants feel welcome in their communities.

Long-term immigrants' impressions of a Welcoming Community are influenced by the remaining community factors in the model. Analysis revealed that 49% of the differences in their opinion can be explained by their experience of four community factors positioned at the trunk and roots of the tree.

Three of the community factors are positioned in the trunk of the tree because these factors impact long-term immigrants' impressions of Welcoming Communities, which in turn affects their Choosing to Stay. Each of the three needs is defined below.

Welcoming Spaces: Long-term immigrants are very comfortable accessing public programs and services such as libraries, senior centres or cultural centres and are very comfortable attending local festivals, art shows or cultural events. This factor is based on two questions from the survey: "I would be very comfortable attending local festivals, art shows or cultural events" and "I would be very comfortable accessing public programs and services such as libraries, senior centres or cultural centres."

Intercultural Networks: Long-term immigrants enjoy getting to know people of another ethnic background and would be very comfortable working for someone with an ethnic background different from their own. The agreement questions, "I enjoy getting to know people with ethnic backgrounds different from my own" and "I would be very comfortable working for someone with an ethnic background different from my own," measure this factor.

Cultural Learning Opportunities: Long-term immigrants believe their community provides opportunities for them to learn about other cultures. Agreement with the statement, "My community provides opportunities for me to learn about other cultures," measures this aspect of their community.

In the model, long-term immigrants' experiences of these three aspects directly influence whether or not they view their communities as welcoming, which subsequently has an impact on their decision to stay in their communities. These three factors can also interact with one another. Cultural Learning Opportunities influence long-term immigrants' openness to intercultural networking. Intercultural networking, in turn, has an impact on perceptions of Welcoming Spaces.

In the Deepening Roots model, the roots are represented by one factor in the community because this factor either directly or indirectly influences every other factor at every part of the tree. For long-term immigrants, this factor is measured by two survey topics and is defined as Equal Service Treatment.

Equal Service Treatment: Long-term immigrants believe that the government or authorities treat them the same as everyone else in the community. They also believe they have access to the same quality of health-care services as everyone else in their community.

Ultimately, long-term immigrants' choice to stay in the community is anchored in their perception of equal treatment. Deepening one's roots in the community starts by being treated the same as everyone else in the community when dealing with the government and authorities or accessing health-care services. Perceptions of Equal Service Treatment will have a positive impact on long-term immigrants' views about Cultural Learning Opportunities, Intercultural Networks and Welcoming Spaces. As a result, impressions of a welcoming community are reinforced, thus cultivating the choice to stay in their communities rather than move elsewhere.

Conclusion

At a fundamental level, the driver model of "engaged retention" presented in this paper serves as a lens for understanding how immigrants experience their communities and for measuring the impact of B.C.'s Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program. However, the results can extend beyond this to serve as a tool to engage policy makers regarding the implications of these results for future immigration, labour and education policy development. These results may also serve to advance the current evidence base on immigrant retention and welcoming communities initiatives by identifying both the key drivers of the immigrant's sense of belonging and the magnitude of the effect of those drivers on immigrant retention.

Hidden Avenues of Immigration: Experiences of Mail-Order Brides in Northern British Columbia

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Abstract: The global mail-order bride (MOB) industry is a booming legal business based on the spousal sponsorship of women in countries of the Global South by men in countries of the Global North, often facilitated by international introduction agencies. Many women settle with their new husbands in rural communities and a growing number are settling in communities of northern British Columbia. In this paper, we highlight the unique and little understood social and spatial geographies of MOB settlement and integration (or lack of) into rural and remote northern B.C. We explore the highly gendered hidden avenues of immigration and settlement of MOBs in northern B.C., with specific focus on the experiences of women living in the “periphery.”

We will provide a brief overview of this marriage industry. We will then review the goal of our recent study, with special attention paid to the study region of northern B.C. We will introduce the field work we conducted in the summer of 2008 and focus on two “transnational ethnographies” (Nolin 2006) of MOBs living in northern B.C. We conclude with some final discussion points.

Introduction

The contemporary MOB experience involves online agencies that market foreign brides from developing countries to predominantly western men. Unlike the standard online dating services popular among singles in North America, the multimillion-dollar industry has been criticized for perpetuating unequal relations between western men and foreign women. A simple Internet search for MOB yields thousands of websites advertising services to meet women. The use of Internet-based agencies has resulted in a dramatic increase in both the number of agencies operating and the countries serviced.

Some researchers argue that the mail-order bride experience is part of a backlash to the Western feminist movement (Hughes 2004; Langevin and Belleau 2000; Oxman-Martinez 2001; Pehar 2003). For example, some research suggests that the majority of men seeking women through the use of formal agencies are in search of an alternative to “overly demanding women” of the West (Langevin and Belleau 2000). On the other hand, research suggests that foreign brides are treated as commodities and exploited as part of the larger human trafficking industry. This approach is criticized for categorizing all women as victims, essentially disregarding the diversity of women involved. The MOB phenomenon has proven to be an internationally contentious subject.

When trying to get a closer look at the number of mail-order brides immigrating to Canada, very limited research and no actual data exist (Nolin et al. 2009; Rossiter 2004, 2005; Sy and Rhyson 2009). Quantitative data—numbers from Citizenship and Immigration

Canada—are not available because no specific mail-order bride category exists. Therefore, it is difficult to gauge the number of women entering the country under this "non-traditional group." The transition of mail-order brides to Canada is happening, but our knowledge of the phenomenon and their experiences are vastly understudied. Current Canadian immigration policy enables foreign brides to enter the country, either as visitors or spouses through a sponsorship agreement.

This can place women in a subordinate relationship to men for a variety of reasons, one of the most significant being the sponsored spouse's financial dependency on the sponsor. Therefore, research is needed to better understand the challenges of settlement in rural, northern, remote or isolated communities for these women and their families.

The Research Project

This immigration stream is bringing women to so-called frontier locations and requires us to be creative and collaborative researchers. In light of this situation, our university-based research team—Northern BC Immigration Network[1]—worked in collaboration with the Immigrant and Multicultural Service Society (IMSS) in Prince George and UNBC's Community Development Institute on a broader study of the "Warmth of Welcome" offered by northern B.C. communities to new immigrants. Our research examines the settlement process and the social and economic integration and retention experiences of immigrants and refugees in northern B.C.

As part of the second phase of this project, we embarked on a more focused exploration of the hidden avenues of immigration to this region, which includes the marriage immigration phenomenon that brings many women to northern B.C. outside of the regular family or labour migration channels and therefore beyond the scope of many service providers.

Interest in developing this project comes from Catherine Nolin's long-time affiliation with IMSS. As well, in recent years, a growing number of women have settled in the northern region of B.C. as a result of spousal sponsorship. Certainly, since our own arrivals to Prince George in the early- to mid-2000s, several people mentioned these hidden and unacknowledged experiences to us. The regionalization of this form of immigration to rural and isolated communities raises many important questions regarding integration and settlement experiences, which we hope to address through our study.

Because of the sensitivity, vulnerability and almost taboo nature of the mail-order bride phenomenon, this research project would not have been possible without the collaboration of all members of IMSS who facilitated meetings when it would not have been possible otherwise. IMSS is the only designated immigrant service provider in the North and helps provide settlement and adaptation services to immigrants and refugees (McCallum, Nolin and Halseth 2007).

Members of IMSS indicated that in their own experience, some women were sensitive to the term "mail-order bride" and do not use it to identify themselves. Based on existing literature on MOBs and consultation with IMSS, our research team wanted to remain neutral and sensitive to the needs of the women being interviewed. Therefore, we made changes to the information sheets and questions provided to potential participants to be sensitive toward the women we hoped to interview. This necessitated interviewing a wide range of women who immigrated through marriage to northern B.C. in order to access those relationships that are centred on correspondence. To reach a wide range of women, therefore, our information pamphlets, shared by IMSS with their clients, simply read *Women—Migration—Marriage* (Nolin 2009).

1. The Northern BC Immigration Network's activities are available online at http://www.unbc.ca/immigration/index.html.

The Study Region of Northern British Columbia

The northern region covers approximately 70% of the province, an area of at least 500,000 square kilometres (UNBC 2010). Northern B.C. is a complex region where spaces of inclusion and exclusion shape the cultural and physical landscape (Nolin and McCallum 2007). The marginal geographic locations of many communities in northern B.C. place them at a disadvantage with respect to immigrant services and geographic distance from the immigrant settlement hubs of Vancouver and the Lower Mainland.

Field Work Logistics

The Northern BC Immigration Network team's field work began in the summer of 2008. In addition to two round table discussions, we conducted a total of 38 in-depth interviews with women from the Philippines, the Ukraine, Russia and Thailand. The field team conducted research in seven quite distinct resource-based communities: Prince George (the regional hub) and the smaller communities of Fort St. John and Dawson Creek to the north, and Fort St. James, Smithers, Terrace and Kitimat to the west. We recognized that the dimensions of rural and remote settlement differed significantly from their urban counterparts. Therefore, it is essential that attention be directed toward determining the needs

Figure 1: Map of Study Area

(Map by: Alexander Martin, 2009)

of this diverse and thinly spread population pulled to a region characterized by the masculine nature of employment and opportunities connected to resource extraction.

A key question asked during the interviews was *How would you like to be identified?* We witnessed a pause for consideration upon asking this question. In answering, the women turned to reflect on what they felt comfortable with in identifying themselves. Their responses were both blunt and delicate, but ultimately gave us some insight on marriage and immigration. Enabling self-identification allowed us to see the importance of not just seeking out someone we might have thought was a mail-order bride or a foreign bride and disregarding the diversity of women involved in the research.

Out of the 38 interviews we conducted, only five participants identified themselves as mail-order brides or a category related to the term. Eighteen of the participants are grouped under "other." They ranged from undocumented immigrants to participants in arranged marriages, or they chose not to identify themselves with a label. Fifteen of the participants identified themselves as "foreign brides." Some of the women in this category met their husbands through correspondence or through the Internet, but appreciated the term "foreign bride" as generic and not as offensive as "mail-order brides."

Selections from Transnational Ethnographies

The following narratives highlight how the experiences of MOBs and foreign brides are diverse and cannot be explained through a one-dimensional or basic quantitative approach. Here, we focus on two "transnational ethnographies" (Nolin 2006, 123). These are personalized accounts that address the individual experiences of women, marriage and immigration. The selections are chosen because they share unique experiences related to journeys and settlement, developing new social relations, grappling with transnational identities and building new lives in northern B.C. (Abu-Lughod 1991). Interspersed between the transnational ethnographies are voices of other participants who shared their experiences of marriage, immigration, transnational connections and life in remote, isolated communities in northern B.C. Our discussion of these selections is based on an initial analysis of the in-depth interviews and round table discussions organized into two themes: (1) the relationships women have with their husbands, and (2) the experience of northern life.

We use real names or pseudonyms depending on the request of the participant. If a participant requested the use of a pseudonym, then all associated names in their interviews are concealed as well. Actual place names are used when describing the participants' source countries as well as the northern B.C. communities they live in in order to distinguish between the different experiences depending on departure and settlement locations. In a longer piece, we explore these geographical dimensions more closely. Here, we focus on two cases to demonstrate the extremes of positive and negative outcomes of the MOB experience.

SVETLANA was 28 years old when she arrived in Prince George in 2003 with her six-year-old son ALEX. She arrived with a visitor's visa, looking forward to adventures in a new country. She met her husband CHRIS through an online dating agency. He came to visit her in the Ukraine twice and on the second visit, they were married. She knew he was an older man, but he was caring and "family oriented," something she was looking for in a husband. SVETLANA explained that when she arrived in Canada, everything changed. For the first 10 months, SVETLANA experienced emotional, psychological and sexual abuse, and isolation. She was vulnerable and had little support for herself and her son.

MARIA was only 16 when her family put her name in a pen pal catalogue, claiming she was 18. She explained that in the Philippines, when you are a girl and the oldest sibling, it is your responsibility to look after your family. MARIA's family thought the best way she could

help her family was to get married to a "white guy" or an "Americano." MARIA was 18 years old when she began to correspond with her husband. After two years of correspondence, they were married and she arrived in Canada in 1995. Her husband was very supportive and ensured that MARIA was involved in the community, which helped her to become an independent and strong woman. In 2008, MARIA and her husband divorced but they remain good friends.

It is important to recognize the multiple perspectives on the experiences of MOBs as a diverse range of participants and circumstances are involved. One must consider this diversity in order to critically examine the subject and avoid passing judgment based on popular media depictions. Some foreign brides view the immigration process as an opportunity to acquire greater stability for themselves and their families (Kojima 2001, 200; Belleau 2003, 597). Many brides explained that they were hoping to escape the poverty of their home countries (Constable 2003, 167; Lauser 2008, 102). Personal prosperity came second to securing the financial well-being of parents and immediate family members back home in terms of motivation among some of the women. The women we interviewed were proud of their ability to provide financial support to their parents and family members as a result of their marriages.

MARIA was almost 20 years old when she first arrived to Fort St. James with her husband. She explained that it was her duty as the eldest to take care of her family back home: "My cousin put my name in the pen pal catalogue … I told my parents I don't want to get married, I am too young."

MARIA described herself as being "shy and gullible" when she first arrived in Canada. Some of the other women interviewed explained that women in the Philippines are taught to remain quiet and are not encouraged to have a voice. TINA, from the Philippines, explained this best:

> "We have freedom to speak here in Canada, and this was hard for me to get used to. We had no freedom of speech [back home], whatever we [are] think[ing], we never say. It was difficult [at first] to come to a place where you can express what you are feeling."

MARIA explained that through her husband's love and support, she learned to drive, became involved in the community and became an independent person. She says, "The way I look at life now has changed, especially when I got involved with the women's shelter."

In the end, MARIA's relationship with her husband did not last and they divorced.

> "I was becoming more independent, but my husband wanted me to stay like 'little MARIA,' young and gullible."

Although MARIA's marriage ended, she remains good friends with her ex-husband. She continues to live in Fort St. James because she has a fulfilling job and a long-lasting connection with the community and friends.

While success stories like MARIA's are common, tales of abuse are also prevalent. The case of SVETLANA is illustrative of situations where dominance and abuse are present. SVETLANA was able to escape her situation and provide candid and detailed accounts of her relationship with her ex-husband. She explained that as soon as she arrived in Canada, the way her ex-husband treated her changed.

> "These [guys] are looking for someone that they can abuse, control, and who don't speak English. I don't know what they want. Just a sex slave, that's what they're looking for. They feel better about themselves when they get a young woman and totally have control over her."

Different forms of abuse also existed, and in the case of SVETLANA, her ex-husband was verbally, emotionally and sexually abusive. SVETLANA explained that CHRIS would verbally and emotionally try to "bring me down."

She broke down during the interview as she described the following:

> "He would treat me like a prostitute, not like a wife or bride … he would say 'why is it so hard for you to spread your legs?' and I said 'because I actually want love, how can I do that when I feel like this?' One time, my son got a hole in his shoe and CHRIS told me, 'Show me love in bed and then we will talk about new shoes for your little boy!'"

Although not all mail-order marriages result in abusive relationships, evidence suggests that this is a significant risk associated with correspondence marriages. The potential for power and control imbalances exists within these arrangements and, therefore, the provisions that enable these circumstances must not be ignored.

There are challenges and difficulties associated with living in northern B.C., such as access to service provision (Chouinard and Crooks 2008; Hanlon and Halseth 2005) and social and geographic isolation (Nolin and McCallum 2007, 146; Halseth and Ryser 2006, 70). However, many of the women found that smaller cities were easier to become familiar with, had a variety of services available and were easier to get around in, and it was easier to access the services available in the community (Hyndman, Schuurman and Fiedler 2006).

SVETLANA attributes her success and ability to leave her abusive relationship to Jehovah's Witnesses who would come and visit her. She explained that she was completely isolated from everything and everyone as she was at home all day and was not allowed to leave. The only people who would come by the house were the Jehovah's Witnesses. SVETLANA was able to confide in them about her situation. They gave her information about the Phoenix Transition Society, a transition home dedicated to serving the needs of women and children in Prince George. With the help of SUSAN, her neighbour, SVETLANA escaped with her son and moved to the Phoenix Transition House.

She recalls the support and help she was given:

> "Everyone was so helpful here … it is a small community, it is very nice. It is easy to get around. When I didn't have a car, I could bike. [My neighbor and friend] Susan would drive me, she would take us sometimes for sleepovers [away from] Phoenix [transition house] and she would teach me how to make coffee cake and just, you know, spend time with me. She is like my Canadian mom."

Some of the interviewed women indicated that the challenges of settlement become apparent only once women settled into their new environments. Several of the women experienced geographic and social isolation, which can be exacerbated when living in rural northern communities (Sherrell, Hyndman and Preniqi 2005, 81). Factors such as culture shock, language barriers, lack of an established ethnic community, and lack of knowledge of community resources and personal rights can create an overwhelming experience for women (Côté, Kérisit and Côté 2001, 3; Smith 2007, 169; Merali 2009, 321).

A key issue identified by some of the women was that they were unaware of the services and support groups in the community and where to access them. In SVETLANA's case, not only did she not know of the services available, she was never able to leave the house to find out:

> "I would never have found [IMSS] by myself because I couldn't leave the house. I didn't know where to go, I didn't know where the bus station was, I have no money, I have no access to the Internet or the phone or how to use the phone book, I didn't know how to find it, so there is nothing you can do. And I was not allowed to find out."

IMSS determined that a growing number of MOBs were settling in northern B.C. The regional settlement agency argues that issues regarding Canadian immigration policy and the unmonitored number of MOBs entering the country, in addition to the fact that northern B.C. communities "have not yet developed a coordinated

strategy to assist their settlement into the community" (Aldaba-Ferguson, Millar and Gwaneza 2006, 1), make for integration and settlement challenges. As a result, some of the MOBs we spoke to felt like they were being ignored by the community.

> "It would be a good idea if services can come and check how those women and their children are doing when [our husbands] brought us over here. I am doing very good now. I can go to school, work, my son has a job
> at 11 years old. I help him to deliver a Free Press, he is saving for a laptop and very happy … but it wasn't always easy."

We conclude by reinforcing key aspects of our immigration research positioned at both the geographical and methodological frontiers. There is something special and perhaps unique about the rural and remote settings of northern B.C. that impacts the settlement and integration experiences of mail-order brides, including:

- the limited nature of service networks and spatial dislocation from the majority of immigrant populations in Canada; and
- the resource-dependent, masculine landscapes of resource extraction which enable many hidden avenues of immigration and settlement, including those which are both temporary and permanent and those which are highly gendered, including MOBs, foreign brides and live-in caregivers.

We argue that immigration research at the methodological frontier requires:

- flexibility in terms of where, when, how and who will be interviewed; we must be prepared as researchers to work with smaller numbers of participants, expect the need for multiple interviews across many months, honour the testimony of those who share their experiences, and work with immigration and other social service providers to ensure assistance for participants when needed; and
- more resources to carry out research across a vast geographical area and the ability to conduct research when weather conditions allow and when people are actually in the region.

Immigration research is enhanced when we ensure that the gendered nature of the immigration experience is central to our work (Nolin 2006). More gender-central research within the "hidden avenues of immigration" is necessary as it exposes women to potential disempowerment due to the fact that this type of movement is typically instigated as the result of preconceived gender ideologies, and the construction of inequitable power dynamics and dependency. As long as research and public policy focus almost exclusively on major urban centres, rural and remote communities will not have the support they require and these hidden immigrations will continue to thrive. Finally, the most important component in all of this research is to ensure that the voices of those directly involved are heard.

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New Canadians in Search of Affordable Rental Housing in Central Okanagan, B.C.

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Abstract: Rapid urbanization is redefining the landscape of the Central Okanagan Valley. Expensive housing is a major problem for the local economy throughout Central Okanagan. Kelowna—a mid-sized city and the main economic engine of the Valley—is one of the fastest-growing cities in British Columbia. Teixeira's findings indicate that the housing crisis affecting Central Okanagan—low vacancy rates and a restricted supply of affordable housing (to buy or rent)—together with the area's high cost of living make Central Okanagan a uniquely challenging region for immigrant settlement.

Immigrants must have several basic needs met before they can be successfully integrated into a new society. Of these, one of the most important—particularly in the initial stages of settlement—is access to adequate, suitable and affordable housing (Carter, Morrish and Amoyaw 2008; Murdie 2008; Preston, Murdie and Murnaghan 2007; Ghosh 2007; Murdie and Teixeira 2003). This has long been a concern in the gateway cities of Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, but it is increasingly an issue in growing small and mid-sized cities such as Kelowna, Vernon and Penticton in British Columbia's Central Okanagan Valley.[1]

While immigrants continue to arrive in traditional gateway metropolitan areas, recent data from the Canadian census have sparked significant interest in immigrant dispersal to new destinations outside major urban centres that is contributing to changes in the geography of immigrants (Abu-Laban and Garber 2005). Research into the constraints and outcomes of immigrants' housing experiences has policy implications for all levels of government, especially given that access to adequate, suitable and affordable housing facilitates successful resettlement and accelerates the immigrants' integration into a new society (Murdie 2008).

Canadian scholars have recognized that immigration is a key driver of housing demand. The housing literature in Canada has examined the barriers and challenges that immigrants and refugees face in the rental housing market as well as the different factors that allow various groups to achieve home ownership. However, most of these studies have focused primarily on the major metropolitan areas where most immigrants settle and work in Canada (see Murdie et al. 2006).

At this stage, we know relatively little about how ethnic and racial differences affect the housing experiences of immigrants in Canada's small and mid-sized cities. This study addresses this gap by evaluating the housing experiences, stresses and coping strategies of new immigrants in the Central Okanagan Valley.[2]

Central Okanagan: Migration Destination

Rapid urbanization is redefining the landscape of the Central Okanagan Valley. Kelowna—a mid-sized city and the main economic engine of the Valley—is one of the fastest-growing cities in British Columbia. Its population increased from 20,000 in 1971 to approximately 107,000 in 2006. In contrast, Vernon's population increased from 13,283 to 35,944 and Penticton grew from 18,146 to

1. For the purpose of this study, the term "Central Okanagan" is used to refer to the three study areas: the cities of Kelowna, Vernon and Penticton.
2. Data for this study were generated from June to August 2008 through eight focus groups of 53 new immigrants and informal interviews with stakeholders in Kelowna, Vernon and Penticton. To be eligible to participate in the focus groups, informants had to have been born outside Canada, had to have arrived in Canada between 2000 and 2008, and had to be living in rental housing in Kelowna, Vernon or Penticton. A total of 35 key informants were used for this study, a group that included social workers, politicians, planners, entrepreneurs, managers of local housing agencies and city officials, including two mayors.

31,909 in the same period (B.C. Statistics 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). The immigrant population in these three cities is relatively small (Kelowna 15%; Vernon 12%; Penticton 16%) and considerably lower than British Columbia's overall figure of 25%. Central Okanagan's population also tends to be older than the rest of the province, with a median age of 42.8 years for Kelowna, 44.5 years for Vernon and 47.3 years for Penticton, compared with the provincial median of 40.8 years (B.C. Statistics 2008, 2006d, 2006e, 2006f).

Growth in the Central Okanagan is fuelled by migrants from other parts of British Columbia or from other Canadian provinces (particularly Alberta), rather than by international migration (Bahbahani 2008; Casey 2008; Stueck 2006). Most of Kelowna's (11,485 or 72.5%), Vernon's (3,245 or 77.7%) and Penticton's (4,085 or 82.9%) international immigrants arrived in these cities before 1991. Recent immigrants (those who arrived between 2000 and 2006) are fewer, and of these, 11.3% settled in Kelowna, 7.9% in Vernon and 4.4% in Penticton. Kelowna's new immigrants came primarily from the United Kingdom, the United States and Eastern Asia while Vernon's came from the United States, Southern Asia and India. Penticton's came from Southern Asia, India and Western Europe (B.C. Statistics 2006d, 2006e, 2006f).

The Challenge of Finding Affordable Housing

Expensive housing is a major problem for the local economy throughout Central Okanagan. In 2008, when the average price of a house in British Columbia was $454,599, sale prices averaged $716,494 in Kelowna, $628,927 in Vernon and $417,456 in Penticton (CMHC 2009b). Rental rates are also high. In 2008, a one-bedroom unit in Kelowna typically cost $800 per month and a two-bedroom unit cost $1,000. In Vernon, rates for similar properties were $614 and $741 while in Penticton, they were $750 and $900 (CMHC 2009b), respectively. Vacancy rates are also very low: 0.3% in Kelowna, 0.9% in Vernon and 0.4% in Penticton. In 2006, renters paid an average of $945 in Kelowna, $781 in Vernon and $791 in Penticton (CMHC 2009b and CHMC 2008).

According to the 2006 census, 22% of owner-occupied households in Kelowna spent 30% or more of their income on shelter. In Vernon and Penticton, the comparable proportions were 21% and 19%, respectively. Almost half of the tenant households in the three cities spent 30% or more on shelter in 2006, some 6% more than in British Columbia as a whole, while only 22.8% of all homeowners found themselves in the same situation (B.C. Statistics 2008, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). More and more people, including immigrants, have been forced into substandard housing and homelessness has increased (Moore 2007).

The Rental Market: Challenges and Barriers

Most respondents said that they chose to live in one of the three Central Okanagan cities in order to join family members already established there, or to search for economic opportunities and jobs.[3] Not surprisingly, contact networks played a determining role in the majority of new immigrants' searches for temporary housing or a first job upon arrival in the Valley (75% in Kelowna, 73% in Vernon and 79% in Penticton).

All immigrants were renting at the time of the interviews (91% in the private sector, 9% in public/social housing or not-for-profit or co-operative housing). Approximately half of the respondents were paying $1,000–$1,500 per month in rent, while 32 of the 53 were spending 30%–50% of their incomes on shelter. Fully a quarter were spending more than half their income this way.

3. Of the 53 respondents in the three cities, most were born in Asia, a third of which were born in India. The remaining immigrants were born in Europe, Mexico, the Caribbean, Central and South America and Africa. About two-thirds had come directly to the Central Okanagan; the other third had lived in the Lower Mainland, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg or Toronto before moving to the Central Okanagan.

Housing Trajectory

Most immigrant families observed in this study had sought to improve their housing conditions. For most, this meant first moving from temporary housing with relatives or friends to a residence in the private sector, with infrequent moves thereafter. Close to half of all focus group participants initially lived in a basement—quite often of poor quality—in overcrowded conditions. For many, this was an essential survival strategy in Central Okanagan's unaffordable rental housing market. Despite the numerous difficulties that immigrants face in Central Okanagan today, homelessness was not considered by them to be among them (notwithstanding the prevalence of their "hidden homelessness").

At the time of the interviews, approximately one-third of the respondents still lived in a basement suite or shared their dwelling with relatives or friends. This suggests that while many of the immigrants experienced some progress with regard to housing, they still had a long way to go before they attained better housing in general. While respondents acknowledged that living in a basement suite allowed them to save money, they also noted the many disadvantages of the arrangement.

When asked why they had moved to their current residence, most immigrants cited unaffordable rents and housing conditions as the two most important reasons. Many believed they were paying too much for their previous residence and that they had no choice other than to move in search of cheaper housing.

Housing Search Strategies: Formal vs. Informal Networks

Finding adequate, suitable and affordable housing in one of the most expensive real estate markets in the country can be a very stressful experience for newcomers to Canada. About half of the respondents in the three cities relied extensively on their own social networks (i.e., relatives and friends) rather than on formal sources such as non-governmental organizations, government organizations or professional housing service agencies when looking for their present residence.

Only about one-third of respondents said they turned to services provided by local organizations during their housing search. Many cited an overall lack of immigrant housing services in Central Okanagan. Previous research conducted in small Canadian cities has identified "immigrant service gaps" as a major problem when it comes to attracting and retaining immigrants in the most remote regions of the country, and an urgent need to invest in and increase the number of organizations specializing in immigrant settlement, including specialized housing services (Zehtab-Martin and Beesley 2007).

There has been very little research on the major barriers to housing access new immigrants face in small and medium-sized Canadian cities (see Lai and Huffey 2009; Teixeira 2009). Two-thirds of focus group respondents described the search for their current residence as "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult." The most frequently cited difficulties were the respondents' low incomes and a lack of in-depth, reliable information about the local rental housing markets.

About 40% of respondents indicated that they had felt discriminated against by landlords at least once when looking for temporary or permanent housing. The strategies reportedly used by landlords ranged from refusing to rent to large families to questioning the immigrants' cultural practices (their cooking habits, for example). This study thus indicates that "immigrant status" (being born outside Canada) affects housing searches and that landlord education is needed with regard to immigrants' diverse housing needs and cultural practices. One informant noted:

> For the rental market, we are at less than 1% vacancy rate [Central Okanagan/summer 2008], so landlords can pick and choose whoever they like and they can also put the prices up . . . Immigrants are going to face racism if that landlord has any preconception about where they [immigrants] are from or whether they have an accent, or whether they should be in our community or not.

Despite Kelowna, Vernon and Penticton's recent efforts to partner with other levels of government, such as BC Housing, to construct affordable housing units, there is a critical shortage of public and not-for-profit housing in these cities. It is thus not surprising that the majority of the focus group respondents were renting in the private sector, with most (32 out of 53) indicating some form of dissatisfaction with their present residence. The type, quality and size of participants' dwellings—which included old, poor quality basement suites, overcrowded conditions or not enough rooms to accommodate their families—were cited as major dissatisfactions.

Tackling the Problem

Both immigrants and key informants agreed that the housing crisis affecting Central Okanagan—low vacancy rates and a restricted supply of affordable housing (to buy or rent)—together with the area's high cost of living make Central Okanagan a uniquely challenging region for immigrant settlement. In particular, the steady arrival of internal migrants (i.e., baby boomers seeking to retire from other parts of Canada) has affected the housing market. Also, the native-born in the Valley are not moving out of the city centre as they are in larger cities (Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver) where the native-born population is leaving the city centre and, for example, moving to surrounding areas.

The Role of Government

Further funding from all levels of government (local, provincial and federal) for more affordable housing—both for-profit and not-for-profit—in the Central Okanagan is urgently necessary. This could include funding affordable housing construction, regulating and cooperating with developers, facilitating dialogue between landlords and renters or supporting community organizations.

Findings from key informants suggest that there has been some positive change at the policy level in Central Okanagan municipalities with regard to housing. Nevertheless, there is also general agreement that municipal governments lack both the resources and the constitutional powers to deal with this issue on their own. Informants' perceptions are that support from the Province of British Columbia has been strong, but support from the federal government has been lacking (although the federal government has been providing financial support to the Government of B.C. for several years through cost-shared affordable housing programs and other housing initiatives).

Despite initiatives by the municipal governments of Kelowna, Vernon and Penticton to address this issue, the moral aspect of the current housing crisis puts it beyond the facility of municipal governments to fix on their own.

The Role of the Private Sector

Notably, inflated accommodation costs have made it difficult to attract employees to the region's tourism and service industries. However, efforts aimed at encouraging the private sector to respond to the demand for affordable housing in Central Okanagan have met with limited success. Many informants believe that the optimal approach to the problem requires blending the strengths of the different sectors.

Both the immigrants and key informants interviewed for this study agreed on the important role basement suites play in the lives of new immigrants. The suites have also eased some of the pressures the existing housing crisis has created for other residents of Central Okanagan. But while renting a basement is a common means of achieving affordable housing, it is not an ideal solution. Some basement suite renters are vulnerable to abuse by their landlords (who may impose excessively high rents, issue evictions without notice, enter the premises unannounced or discriminate against immigrants).
To rectify this situation, landlord education needs to become a priority and enforcement of the law against housing discrimination is necessary. More dialogue between landlords and immigrants in search of rental housing should also be encouraged. Stricter regulatory controls and changes, including the legalization of

illegally rented basement suites, would also serve to address many of the problems associated with unsafe, poor-quality housing in Central Okanagan.

Immigrants have identified the need for more community organizations specializing in the provision of housing services as well as more detailed, high quality information on local housing markets, such as where to find affordable housing, how to obtain information on tenants' and homeowners' rights, how to get credit, loans or mortgages, and how to access not-for-profit or public housing in Central Okanagan.

Whether or not residents of Central Okanagan are welcoming to new immigrants, including visible minorities, remains an open question. For some, the issue is taboo, while for others it deserves more attention and discussion (Michaels 2008). The consensus among key informants and leaders of Central Okanagan communities is that, although efforts have been made to welcome more new immigrants to the region, far more remains to be done with regard to dealing with barriers such as discrimination and supporting the retention of immigrants in the region.

One thing all parties seem to agree on is that innovative, economical approaches to meeting the housing needs of the increasing population of the Central Okanagan[4] cannot be achieved without greater dialogue between governments and the private sector. In recognition of the urgent need to present a stronger voice at the regional level, in September 2008, the municipalities of Kelowna, Vernon, Penticton and Westside formalized a new working relationship on important regional issues such as affordable housing, sustainability, economic development, water and air quality, and transit (the first regional agreement of its kind in British Columbia) (Wierda 2008).

Conclusion

Urbanization in Central Okanagan is shaping not only the social, demographic and economic aspects of its communities but also its complex real estate and housing markets. Despite efforts by local governments and businesses to attract new immigrants, implementing attraction and retention strategies is challenging. Although new immigrants are necessary both to supply labour for the region's service and tourist industries centred in its largest cities and to replace an ageing population in Central Okanagan, new immigrants continue to avoid this part of interior British Columbia in favour of cities like Vancouver or Calgary.

This study found that the barriers encountered by our respondents in their housing search were numerous and varied. About 40% felt landlords had discriminated against them. Immigrants' countries of origin, as well as their immigration status and ethnicity or race, have influenced some landlords' behaviours and decisions in the rental housing market. The issue of discrimination and the role and impact of landlords as urban social gatekeepers to immigrants' access to housing are important subjects that clearly require further research.

The cost of housing has also been a significant barrier, with fully 60% of the focus group participants spending 30%–50% of their income on shelter. Sharing housing with relatives or friends to save money and renting basement suites were the two main strategies immigrants used to cope with this barrier. These strategies have advantages (savings) and disadvantages (poor housing conditions, overcrowding, lack of privacy).

Findings from this study suggest the need for government support through funding affordable housing construction, regulating and cooperating with developers, facilitating dialogue between landlords and

4. In March 2008, the City of Kelowna, in partnership with BC Housing, announced Kelowna's successful bid for three social housing development projects in response to community concerns about homelessness in the city (Plant 2008).

renters and supporting community organizations. Municipal governments lack the resources and the constitutional powers to deal with this issue on their own. The Province of British Columbia has been supportive, and the federal government has been providing financial support to the province for the development of affordable housing. Nonetheless, there is a clear and present need for increased intergovernmental cooperation on this crucial issue. Policy makers at the municipal, regional and provincial (as well as federal) levels, in cooperation with the private sector and local community organizations, need to develop a range of strategies to meet the challenges of affordable housing in such complex mid-sized housing markets as those of Kelowna, Vernon and Penticton.

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Francophone Immigration in Minority Settings: Productive Collaboration

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Abstract: Increasingly, in Francophone minority communities as in Canada's population as a whole, demographic growth depends on international immigration. The strategy developed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and its partners to attract, retain and integrate French-speaking immigrants in French-speaking communities outside Quebec is starting to bear fruit. This article examines projects undertaken in British Columbia and nationwide, and highlights the need for ongoing concerted action.

It is no secret: increasingly, Canada's demographic growth depends on international immigration. In fact, immigration is not only the most significant factor in Canada's demographic growth, but it is also expected to be the sole factor in that growth by 2030 (Statistics Canada 2008). According to Statistics Canada projections (2010), in 20 years, one Canadian in four may well have been born outside the country. In these circumstances, it is important to reflect on the role of international immigration in Canada's changing linguistic landscape and the effects of international immigration on the future of the official language minority communities.

Immigration and Francophone Minorities Outside Quebec

While the federal government has made Canada's demographic, economic and cultural development a clear objective of its immigration policy for over 35 years, Francophone minority communities have not benefited from this demographic influx as much as has the Anglophone majority (Jedwab 2002; Quell 2002). For example, in 2000, only 8.9% of new permanent residents in Canada stated that they understood French, and only 2.45% settled in French-speaking communities outside Quebec (CIC 2010).

The repercussions for Canada's Francophone population are obvious. The most recent censuses have shown not only a decrease in the French-first-language proportion of Canada's population, but also a decrease in the French-speaking proportion of the population outside Quebec. According to these data, people whose first language is French living in a minority setting, who accounted for 4.4% of the total population outside Quebec in 2001, constituted only 4.1% of the population outside Quebec in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2006).

As a contributor not only to demographic but also to economic and cultural vitality, immigration is fundamental to the development of the minority communities, and must form an integral part of any action plan designed to promote linguistic duality in Canada. For some 10 years, awareness of this fact has led governments and communities to develop strategies for attracting immigrants to French-speaking communities outside Quebec and integrating them into those communities.

Francophone Immigration Outside Quebec as a Strategy for Action

While immigration as a means of promoting linguistic duality has been a federal government concern for a number of years, it was only after the Dialogue tour, organized by the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA), that a genuine strategy for action was proposed. As a result, in 2002, the federal government made the vitality and development of the official language minority

communities clear objectives of its immigration policy, by including language provisions in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* and in certain federal-provincial-territorial agreements. That same year, CIC, in partnership with the FCFA, created the CIC Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee (CIC-FMC). Made up of representatives of the federal, provincial and territorial governments, as well as community partners, the CIC-FMC has as its mandate to develop and implement a strategy for increasing the number of French-speaking immigrants settling in French-speaking communities outside Quebec and developing these communities' capacity to take in and integrate French-speaking immigrants.

The Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities (2003) and the Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities (2006) define the CIC-FMC strategy for action. For the first time, the CIC-FMC has set a Francophone immigration target highlighting the fact that, if the Francophone minority communities are to benefit from the contribution of immigration and maintain their demographic position in the long term, they must attract and retain a percentage of French-speaking immigrants that corresponds to the percentage of Canada's population that these communities represent. On the basis of 2001 census data, the Strategic Plan sets an annual Francophone immigration target for the next 15 years of 4.4% of French-speaking newcomers to Canada (outside Quebec), that is, between 8,000 and 10,000 people each year.

Promotion and Recruitment: A Strategy That Is Bearing Fruit

A number of activities initiated since the creation of the Strategic Plan are evidence of efforts by governments and communities to attract more immigrants to the minority communities.

The Destination Canada job fair, held each year in Paris and Brussels, brings together immigration candidates and representatives of governments, communities and employers in Canada. This job fair is a unique forum at which hundreds of potential immigrants can discover the multiple faces of Canada's Francophonie and, with a little luck, be offered employment in Canada. In fact, Destination Canada is so successful that it is starting to be offered in other locations: since 2009, nine other Canadian missions have participated in this job fair in order to glean ideas for extending the potential recruitment of Francophones to their own areas of influence. This year, similar activities were held in Tunis and Beirut.

As well, briefing sessions and student fairs are held regularly in France and Belgium. Media tours organized each year also allow French-speaking European and African journalists to visit a number of Canadian cities whose concentration of Francophones makes them ideal destinations for potential immigrants. The provinces and territories, often present at joint events, hold their own promotion and recruitment activities abroad and are encouraged to make use of their own immigration procedures, such as the Provincial Nominee Program, in promoting Francophone immigration.

In addition, CIC works in partnership with the Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité du Canada and with France's Pôle Emploi International agency on a pilot project designed to improve the information provided to potential immigrants on labour needs in Francophone businesses and communities outside Quebec. One achievement of this pilot project has been the transmission of profiles of available positions, which helps identify the best qualified foreign workers.

Immigration statistics highlight the progress made in these projects, which help attract more French-speaking immigrants to French-speaking communities outside Quebec. In 2009, 29% of new permanent residents in Canada stated that they had a knowledge of French (compared with 8.9% in 2000), and 3.93% of all newcomers joined the population of the French-speaking communities outside Quebec (CIC 2010). Although the knowledge-of-French indicator tends to

overestimate the number of French-speaking immigrants in comparison with the definition used in the Strategic Plan,[1] these figures nonetheless point to an increase in knowledge of French among immigrants settling in Canada.

British Columbia, with only 6% of Francophones outside Quebec, nevertheless appears to be particularly successful in attracting French-speaking immigrants. According to 2006 census data, British Columbia is home to the second largest number (after Ontario) of immigrants outside Quebec whose first official language spoken is French.[2] British Columbia's efforts have meant that the number of French-speaking immigrants to this province nearly doubled from 2002 to 2006, from 2.2% to 4.2% (Statistics Canada 2010). British Columbia also posts, within the total French-speaking population, the highest proportion of the immigrant population whose first official language spoken is French.

To summarize, these figures are evidence of the effectiveness of promotion and recruitment programs. That said, although the number—and the proportion of all permanent residents—of French-speaking immigrants have been higher for some years, these results are still below the number and the proportion of Francophones in the total population, a fact that highlights the need for ongoing concerted action.

Integrating and Retaining Francophones: Crucial to Community Vitality

A 2004 study carried out for the FCFA showed that French-speaking communities outside Quebec were relatively inexperienced in taking in and integrating immigrants, and that access to French-language settlement services was lacking in a number of regions of Canada (PRA Inc. 2004). Beyond activities aimed at increasing the number of French-speaking immigrants, then, the strategy implemented by the CIC-FMC is designed to increase the French-speaking communities' capacity to take in newcomers and facilitate their economic, social and cultural integration.

For example, in the past year, CIC has funded over one hundred contribution agreements supporting Francophone immigration outside Quebec: in all, 121 French-language service outlets, now available in all parts of Canada, offer services tailored to the specific needs of French-speaking newcomers settling in Francophone minority communities. While clauses in the Canada-British Columbia Agreement on Immigration give that province lead responsibility for administering and delivering settlement services, CIC works closely with the provincial government, for example, through the Regional Francophone Immigration Steering Committee.

Recent years have also seen the creation of community Francophone immigration networks in most provinces and territories. As a locus for consultation among the various local, regional and national stakeholders, networks such as the one organized by the Fédération francophone de la Colombie-Britannique ensure coordination of immigrant integration and retention and improve the availability of services.

As part of "Welcome BC," the main listing of settlement services in that province, services such as those offered by the Agence francophone pour l'accueil des immigrants help orient French-speaking immigrants as soon as they arrive. To facilitate labour market entry, free courses in English taught by Francophones are also offered to new permanent residents. As well, by offering

1. According to the Strategic Plan, a "French-speaking immigrant" is "an immigrant whose mother tongue is French, or whose first official language is French if the mother tongue is a language other than French or English" (CIC 2006, 4). This definition departs from the definition used in the 2003 Strategic Framework, which emphasizes knowledge of the French language, and is closer to the concept of first official language spoken, which is favoured by Statistics Canada (2010). In June 2010, the data gathered from the CIC permanent and temporary residence forms were changed to reflect this interpretation of "French-speaking immigrant." Reliable statistics should be available soon.
2. The first official language spoken variable is derived from census data. It takes into account first a person's knowledge of the two official languages, then the first language, and finally the language most often spoken at home.

counselling and referrals, the Settlement Workers in Schools Program improves access to settlement and social integration services for families. This service is made available in schools in Greater Vancouver through the Conseil scolaire francophone de la Colombie-Britannique.

Since economic integration is the main factor in immigrant retention, pilot projects have been set up to study businesses' capacity and needs for hiring French-speaking immigrants, for example, in the Greater Vancouver area.

Lastly, ongoing research and information-sharing activities help improve integration and retention policies and practices. The annual National Metropolis Conference is a conclusive example. As well, in 2010, thanks to financial support from CIC, the *Best Practices Manual on Francophone Immigration in Canada* and the *Statistical Portrait of the French-Speaking Immigrant Population Outside Quebec* were produced.

Future Challenges and Outlook: What Should We Focus On?

Tremendous progress has been made since the publication of the Strategic Framework in 2003. That said, a number of challenges must still be addressed if we want not only to reach the Francophone immigration target of 4.4% of French-speaking newcomers to Canada (outside Quebec), but also to integrate and retain these newcomers in Francophone minority communities. While each year the CIC-FMC identifies action priorities, paying attention to the conditions that will bring this action to fruition is paramount.

As immigrants' main point of contact with their new reality in Canada, the communities are central to this strategy: it is through the communities that integration is achieved in concrete terms. Because the French-speaking communities are so diverse, they must actively assume responsibility for the immigration process, make it a part of their comprehensive planning, and take action at all stages of attraction and integration by publicizing their local needs and assets. By orchestrating the efforts of the various stakeholders on the ground, the networks are helping develop local action strategies, which must now become a priority in all areas of municipal and regional life if the French-speaking communities are truly to become places of welcome.

Given the extent of this concept, action by the communities can achieve its full potential only with the leadership and vision of the federal and provincial governments responsible for setting up facilitating structures, whether these structures are recruitment strategies, reception and settlement services, or research funding. That said, we must acknowledge that the Canadian model of immigration is multifaceted and cannot be applied indiscriminately to every setting, context and individual immigrant. To the extent possible, then, the development of policies and programs must be not only structured but also flexible and adaptable to the changing demands and needs of immigrants and the communities they will be joining.

In conclusion, the success of Canada's Francophone immigration strategy—a strategy that has been deployed at home and abroad and that covers not only immigration but also integration, as well as economic, social and cultural aspects—necessarily depends on ongoing cooperation among all stakeholders. In working with the communities, the provinces and territories, and academics, CIC demonstrates its commitment to including its partners in decision making. That said, the necessary development of a more holistic vision of the immigration process points to progress still to be made in ensuring complementarity of efforts and ongoing exchange of knowledge and experience.

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“In the Smaller City, a Settlement Worker Wears Many Hats”: Understanding Settlement Experiences in Kamloops, British Columbia

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Abstract: This article shares original research findings from a community-based study that investigates the settlement experiences of family class immigrants and settlement workers in the small-sized city of Kamloops, British Columbia. The methodology is guided by a mixed method design using key informant interviews, focus groups and photovoice research methods. Findings demonstrate the importance of social supports and services in facilitating settlement and integration experiences, the roles and challenges of settlement workers in smaller communities and the need for collaboration among various sectors to address systemic barriers and promote social cohesion.

What is the settlement experience of immigrants coming through the family reunion intake class in Kamloops, British Columbia? Based on original research findings, this community-based study investigates the settlement experiences of family class immigrants and settlement workers in a small city. Given that many newcomers to Canada have predominantly settled in larger cities (Drolet et al. 2008), it is increasingly important to better understand the settlement challenges, as well as settlement workers' experiences, in smaller communities outside the metropolitan areas of Canada (Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal).

The research brings together social work educators, settlement workers, practitioners and student researchers from Thompson Rivers University and Kamloops Immigrant Services (KIS) in the Interior of British Columbia. KIS is the primary not-for-profit organization that delivers a broad range of programs and settlement services that assist immigrants, visible minorities, first-generation Canadians and their families in becoming full and equal members of Canadian society (Kamloops Immigrant Services 2009).

The study uses a community-based research approach to enhance the development of short- and long-term strategies that address the *aspirations* of immigrants, laying the foundations upon which immigrants' potential can be nurtured, supported and realized (Drolet and Robertson forthcoming). The importance of this study lies in the settlement challenges faced by immigrants and settlement workers in smaller communities in Canada, and the need to better understand these experiences in order to better serve newcomers.

Literature Review

During the past few years, initiatives to attract immigrants to smaller cities have been undertaken collaboratively by both Canadian federal and provincial governments (Drolet and Robertson forthcoming). Every year, more than 40,000 immigrants move to B.C. to start a new life. B.C. is a large province and settlement experiences can be very different from one community to another. For example, WelcomeBC initiatives have a twofold purpose: to assist immigrants in accessing a

wide variety of settlement and integration services, and to ensure that B.C. communities have the capacity to be welcoming and inclusive.

The concept of social inclusion/exclusion is useful for understanding the settlement and integration experiences of family class immigrants and the practice realities of settlement workers in Canada (Drolet and Robertson forthcoming). Likewise, the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP) recognizes that the goal of integration is a two-way process. WICWP is innovative in that it seeks to engage diverse sectors to enhance social cohesion in fostering welcoming and inclusive communities (Drolet et al. 2008).

The socio-economic characteristics of immigrants who settle in B.C. communities are quite different from each other, and are influenced by the size and structure of the small city. From 2001 to 2006, the population of immigrants in Kamloops grew from 7,945 to 8,490, which translates into 545 new immigrants (10.6% of the population) settling in the city of Kamloops (BC Stats 2006). In 2007, there were more family class immigrants who settled in Kamloops than any other class (Drolet and Robertson in progress). The realities of the local economic context combined with labour shortages and a decreasing population require new strategies to attract and retain newcomers in small cities. For example, the global economic downturn in 2008–2009 continues to affect resource-based industries in British Columbia, and the local economic context impacts settlement experiences in the labour market and employment options at the community level.

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada considers the settlement process and the factors that influence immigrants' ability to integrate and adapt in large urban Canadian cities. It does not include immigrants from rural areas and small cities like Kamloops. To better understand settlement, Goss Gilroy identifies three distinct phases of newcomer settlement and integration in Canada.

Settlement refers to the meeting of the basic needs of newcomers, including housing, food, registering children in school, signing up for language training, accessing general mainstream services with the assistance of the service provider, and understanding basic rights and responsibilities.

Adaptation refers to the next step in the process, characterized by an immigrant's ability to realize some benefits of settlement—that is, being able to access mainstream services independently, understanding Canadian social and cultural norms, improving language skills, developing contacts and building friendships in the community, and reassessing personal goals.

Integration refers to the ultimate goal of the process, at which point immigrants act as fully functioning members of Canadian society. Among other things, they have found and are maintaining employment appropriate to their skills and background; they participate in mainstream organizations; they offer a portion of their time to the community; they feel comfortable with Canadian values, and participate in the political process (voting, running for office, etc.) (cited in Handford and Tan 2003, 8).

This study considers the critical importance of all three phases as interrelated, integral and dynamic, and the importance of the role of settlement workers in assisting newcomers with these aspects, particularly in a small city.

The provincial government provides a variety of programs to support immigrant settlement, adaptation and integration. In fact, the provision of settlement services is an important investment (Fontana 2003, 2). "The success of the Canadian approach to integration is attributed to a large extent to the extensive network of local service delivery partners" (CIC 2001, 16). Settlement workers are an important component of this network where services are often limited in smaller communities.

Methodology

The research team, in consultation with a community advisory committee made up of immigrants, settlement workers and service providers, used key informant interviews, focus groups and photovoice research methods to elicit the voices of family class immigrants, settlement workers and people involved in service delivery in a creative, diverse and respectful manner. Social work practitioners, health service providers, settlement workers, educators and local officials familiar with the settlement needs of immigrants were interviewed from January to August 2008 to gather information about their experiences. Focus groups were employed to encourage group interaction between family class immigrants, thereby ensuring insight that would otherwise not be accessible through individual interviews.

Participants were asked to describe their settlement experience, what their needs and specific challenges were within a small city, and how improvements could be made to enhance their settlement experience. Nine key informant and four focus group interviews were facilitated, and respondents were invited to participate in photovoice. Photovoice, an innovative participatory research method, was used to allow immigrants and settlement workers to reflect on their experiences and support needs through the taking of photographs that represent their "voice" or narrative in their own words (Drolet submitted).

Results

Important factors for settlement and integration include employment, business and educational opportunities, the presence of family and friends, established ethnic and religious communities, the provision of settlement and integration services—such as English-as-a-second-language and translation services—access to health care and affordable housing, and a welcoming population (Drolet and Robertson in progress). Retention issues identified were affordability of basic life needs, accessibility of services for themselves and their children (health care, education), safety, community openness and acceptance, proximity to services, employment and leisure activities (Drolet and Robertson in progress). Specifically, credential recognition and employment, and uniform education and qualification requirements, were identified as challenges for newcomers.

Many respondents expressed appreciation for the supports provided by KIS and the need to be aware of their services. As stated by respondents:

> "In the smaller city, a settlement worker wears many hats."

> "If it wasn't for KIS, I don't know what I would have done because this place really, really helped me to adapt to the culture, to the country, because I learned not only the language, but my rights."

However, a number also expressed concern for the lack of staff and resources for this organization and challenges associated with working in smaller communities:

> "I used to do a lot of outreach work. Some of the clients don't come here, we have to reach them, give services to them. That has been cut down with the gas prices, things have become worse. With the funding that we get, we are not allowed to escort. Outreach services have been cut down, there are a lot of clients that I don't reach, they cannot afford to come here."

Respondents spoke of the benefits of settling in a small city. The majority of respondents stressed the critical role of employment and income. However, for some newcomers, their initial work experiences are characterized by a lack of recognition of their credentials, a lack of decent work opportunities and a lack of well-paying jobs.

> "Every person needs a work permit, meaningful employment. As a skilled person, I expect adequate opportunities in this country. We need good jobs. Number one is employment, meaningful employment. If we don't find employment, we don't have anything."

> "It's a nice city, nice people … who want to help you. There are just not enough jobs and, if you have kids, it's hard to survive on $8 an hour."

Understanding the new culture can be difficult due to language and communication barriers, particularly among older immigrants. In the words of one respondent, "It takes patience. You come here and they have to respect you. But you need to have respect for the new culture. So both sides have to be patient." According to another respondent, "The majority [older newcomers] have a problem with English. Older adults find it very, very hard. The tongue doesn't work in the same way. The process is slow." A few respondents suggested that not knowing English is more difficult in a smaller city due to the lack of ethnic diversity. A respondent noted, "In a small centre, you can't customize your course [English training] for everybody." Another stated that "once you get here, you must adapt or leave. If you don't speak English, you leave."

However, medical practitioners stated that they must often rely on family members to communicate with their patients due to a lack of translation and interpretation services. In addition to a lack of cultural competence, respondents expressed concern for the lack of physicians accepting new patients, and emphasized their reliance on walk-in medical clinics to address their health-care needs (Drolet and Robertson forthcoming).

Respondents perceived a lack of awareness of citizens and professionals regarding other countries and cultures, and a lack of respect in this regard.

> "It is incredible that Kamloops is a multicultural city, yet most people are not aware of other cultures. They assume things ... Lots of people don't know anything about other cultures. They should know that they have to be respectful ... People here should be educated about other cultures, at least in general."

In addition to language, education and health, respondents emphasized the need for adequate housing. Like many regions in B.C., real estate and rents have increased significantly during the past few years in Kamloops, which challenges permanent settlement.

> "We need a place to live. Shelter. We know how the real estate is. The prices have doubled. It is harder for newcomers to have a place of their own. We are temporary residents. We are all forced to rent. [This] doesn't help people to settle."

The findings highlight the ongoing nature of settlement that cannot be associated with a specific phase. Settlement needs are dynamic and change over time as individuals adapt to their new surroundings, as illustrated below.

> "This one [photo] for me is adaptation, because I had to adapt to the weather. It reminds me the first time the weather, so cold … I arrived in 1997. I had some time to adapt, little by little, very difficult, very hard, and still is, hard for me … I am here 11 years. [It] takes time to adapt, very difficult and hard and still is hard for me.

Many respondents identified the impact of unmet needs on family cohesion. Parents stressed the need for school, leisure activities and future employment for their children in order to retain them in the community, as stated in the following comments:

> "My kids are grown now, one already has a degree. They don't want to stay in Kamloops, there are no jobs so they go to bigger cities. You can't make them stay. Not many activities for young kids after school. Especially for newcomers, there are language barriers, no programs for them in the schools. It is hard for them to catch up."

Settlement workers explained the importance, and challenge, of maintaining confidentiality in a small community.

> "Violence in the family, I see the spouse, I see other relatives. That's very challenging if I'm interpreting for both of them, so I try to tell them in the courts I can't do that, I have to let them know that's a conflict of interest if I'm interpreting for one and then for the other. But when they come and see me at work, that's a challenge, how to keep confidentiality, that's a big thing. They also want to know, some of my clients, they ask me questions like "What is your last name?" They want to know where in the class system I fall in. If I'm not one of them, then they feel confident, she's not within our group. They also ask "where does your husband work?" If your husband works in a mill, he might know us. He might talk to them. I tell them everything that I do stays here, it is confidential, it doesn't matter where my husband works, but they still want to know. That gives them some satisfaction, they open up.
>
> "So that is a challenge, you have to portray yourself that you respect their confidentiality, otherwise they won't say anything, you can't do your job, so that is a challenge. Now it has changed in the community, your name is out in the community, people start trusting, they become really open, they know the word is out in the community so fast, if something leaked from here, they won't come to you the next time, so you have to be very careful about that, confidentiality is very important to them, You have to respect that, you have to prove that as well."

Discussion

The findings reaffirmed that the identities of immigrants in a small city are complex, intersectional, relational and multicultural in relation to race or ethnicity, gender, class, spirituality, and other factors (Drolet submitted). Immigrant settlement needs are ongoing; in other words, they are immediate, transitional and long-term and must therefore be met with a continuum of services on all levels (Drolet and Robertson in progress). Systemic barriers to settlement in the form of institutional policies and regulations must be addressed to create equitable economic and social opportunities for newcomers. The important roles of employment, health, education and social services in the settlement experiences of family class immigrants in a small city cannot be stressed enough. It is the researchers' premise that much more emphasis needs to be placed on these aspects.

There is a need for future research on the role of social workers in Canada to promote diversity and challenge discrimination, advocate for human rights and determine how to best utilize and deliver community resources and social services. It is imperative that settlement workers be supported to participate in the debates on immigration policies on a community, provincial and national level, through organizations like Metropolis and other immigrant-serving agencies, in order to learn from their experiences and contribute to a welcoming and inclusive community that respects human rights and social justice for newcomers in Canada.

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