



# HORIZONS

P O L I C Y R E S E A R C H I N I T I A T I V E

## Immigration and Social Cohesion

Generations of immigrants have successfully built what has come to be known internationally as the Canadian model. These immigrants and refugees are drawn to a society continually ranked as a destination of choice, a society that values their contributions not simply in the economic sphere, but in a social and cultural context as well. If this nation has not always been at ease with its multicultural heritage, it has nevertheless sought to make diversity a key feature of everyday Canadian life. Today this social investment is paying dividends.

The continued success of immigration, integration and ultimately, a flourishing, diverse society rests in large part with Canadians' perceptions of the immigration process. The quid pro quo or willingness to support immigration is reflected in a population at ease with an effective program made up of four elements, including a rational basis for the number of immigrants that settle in Canada each year; a sustained emphasis on balancing the need for economic immigrants and highly skilled applicants, a commitment to family reunification and meeting humanitarian objectives; a process that reflects public safety and security concerns; and a government role in facilitating immigrants' integration into Canadian society through settlement programs.

These four elements constitute the balance that Canadians expect to achieve if the process of integration is to be successful. Heightened anxiety with any one element can impede the process and lead to a decline in the receptivity of immigrants overall. Managing the risk Canadians associate with potential immigrants therefore stands as a key challenge in meeting the humanitarian, social and economic requirements of Canadian society as a whole.

Integration of new immigrants is a crucial investment in the social and cultural capital of the community. Policy research can play a key role in unlocking the "equity" that immigrants bring to Canada. For example, we now know the integrative process as a series of stages an immigrant passes through from integration first within a family or extended family, into a subgroup of their ethnic group, into the wider communal group and finally into the broader Canadian society. Recognition of these stages helps identify better policy levers for effective integration.

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# HORIZONS

POLICY RESEARCH INITIATIVE

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## INTRODUCTION (CONTINUED)

This issue of *Horizons* touches on the broad range of research being used to inform the policy process, such as the work of the Metropolis project, and the development of new data sources, including the innovative Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada. Yet it only represents a fraction of the research currently being conducted in Canada — an ambitious research agenda that will shape, foster and improve on the “Canadian model.”

## 2002 National Policy Research Conference

Our next issue of *Horizons* will explore the concept of ‘risk’, the theme of the fifth annual National Policy Research Conference. The conference takes place at the Ottawa Congress Centre, October 23-25, 2002.

Increasingly our public institutions are called on to anticipate and manage a wide range of risks. Indeed, we chose ‘risk’ as the focus for the 2002 National Conference as it is a concept that is broad enough to enable us to consider some of the most challenging policy research files currently before Canada. Consider, for example:

- In recent decades, the dramatic explosion in international trade, migration and travel have caused pathogens and exotic diseases to migrate huge distances. This sudden increase in activity is posing a huge threat to local ecosystems, economies and human health. How can risks associated with infectious disease be managed?
- The terrorist strikes on the United States have opened a new chapter of international politics in which a newly formulated American doctrine on terrorism is redefining the very nature of international risk. How will the war on terrorism shape geopolitics and the security agenda?
- How we manage the transition to the biotech age will be a critical determinant of the risks we face in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Public opinion is polarized between those who favour a *laissez-faire* approach to scientific exploration and those who support limits or even an outright ban. How will the biotechnology revolution unfold? What will be the global response? How should Canada respond?
- Extreme poverty, unstable governments and violent conflicts are Africa’s reality together with marginalized progress in science and technology, as well as the fastest growing HIV positive population in the world. As a result, the future risks for Africa and the world are daunting. How should we respond?

To explore these and other issues, please join us at this year’s conference. You may find out more about the program or register at [www.policyresearch.gc.ca](http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca).



## 2002 National Policy Research Conference **FUTURE TRENDS**

# RISK

October 23, 24 and 25, 2002 Ottawa Congress Centre Ottawa, Ontario



## CELEBRATE EXCELLENCE

Canadian Policy Research Awards Dinner October 24, 2002

Understanding and managing risk is central to policy making. Minimizing particular risks must be balanced against resource constraints and conflicting values. But not all risk is to be minimized. Risk plays a central role in investment and innovation, and a certain amount of risk must be accepted in a free society. The Conference will extend our understanding of risk in the Canadian context by looking at it through the lenses of:

- New Challenges to Governance
- Geopolitical Security
- Transformative Science and Technology

Please bookmark our web site at [www.policyresearch.gc.ca](http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca) and visit often for registration and program updates, or call (613) 947-1956 for more information.

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# Immigration and Integration through a Social Cohesion Perspective

**Michel Dorais**  
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Immigration has always contributed significantly to Canada's economic and social prospects. Highly skilled immigrants and temporary workers are key in supporting the development of the knowledge-based economy and are an important source for addressing skills shortages. Immigration also helps to foster Canada's international trade, commercial and cultural ties with countries of origin. More generally, immigration is one of the most visible expressions of many of the values that underpin our collective identity as Canadians: incorporation of differences, recognition of cultural diversity, building of communities based on mutual respect and bringing the world inside our borders.

In a socially cohesive society, both the individual and society recognize the value of building a sense of acceptance and belonging among people based on trust, shared values and common experiences that bridge social, cultural, linguistic and religious differences. People are willing to participate in several dimensions of societal life and have equitable opportunities to do so. In Canada, integration is a two-way process of accommodation between newcomers and Canadians: it encourages immigrants to adapt to Canadian society without requiring them to abandon their cultures. It encourages people and institutions to respond in kind by respecting and reflecting the cultural differences newcomers bring to the country.

As with most advanced industrial countries, Canada's population is aging. Although immigration is not a panacea for this complex demographic phenomenon, it does help mitigate the effects of a low birth rate and declining labour force. With increased

international economic integration and competition, countries that have not traditionally been open to immigration, including Japan and much of the European Union, are being forced to reconsider their policies. As one of only four countries with an open, managed immigration program, Canada is a model for other countries, such as Great Britain, as they move to manage migrant flows more proactively and to implement settlement and integration programs for newcomers.

Canada's immigration program provides a significant level of support for settlement and integration services and offers newcomers the opportunity to obtain Canadian citizenship following a three-year residency period. The federal government, through contributions and grants to provinces or to service-provider organizations, allocated \$336 million for settlement and integration programming for newcomers in 1999-2000. Settlement programs and services assist immigrants in becoming participating and contributing members of society and promote an acceptance of immigrants. While helping newcomers adapt and learn about their rights, freedoms, responsibilities and the laws that protect them from racial discrimination, settlement programs also serve to sensitize Canadians to different cultures and show how diversity strengthens community life.

To achieve this, integration policies, programs and services are managed and delivered through multi-jurisdictional partnerships with other federal departments, provincial and territorial governments, and the non-governmental sector. A multi-sectoral capacity assists newcomers through a settlement continuum that begins

with information to immigrants overseas, through orientation and adaptation services in Canada to the acquisition of citizenship. Ultimately, the goal of integration is to encourage newcomers to be fully engaged in the economic, social, political and cultural life of Canada.

To maximize the benefits that immigrants offer, successful economic and social integration is essential, thus enabling immigrants to achieve their full potential and become citizens with a stake in Canada's future. But they face challenges. Immigrants do experience difficulty entering the labour market. The absence of effective credential assessment and recognition processes, as well as insufficient supports for work-related language training, contributes to the gap between immigrant earnings and employment rates and those of Canadian-born workers.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is collaborating, along with all levels of government and civil society, to effect change in many ways. Through Canada's Innovation Strategy, CIC co-operates with various government departments to bring together the many stakeholders interested in tackling labour market barriers in general and in crafting solutions to problems in recognition of foreign credentials. Strategies to attract newcomers to small and medium-sized cities could assist the provinces and territories to encourage a more even distribution of immigrants to the various regions of Canada. The recent introduction of the Francophone minority community strategy should improve the capacity of French-speaking areas outside of Quebec to attract and retain newcomers.

More generally, under the new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and its accompanying regulations, CIC will modernize the selection system for skilled workers, shifting the emphasis from the present occupation-based model to focus more on choosing skilled workers with the flexible and transferable skill sets required to succeed in a fast changing, knowledge-based economy. This will certainly have a positive impact on settlement, integration and social cohesion, as those with adaptable skill sets should secure employment more quickly with less reliance on integration supports. In partnership with the Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI), CIC has created an ongoing policy dialogue on the settlement and integration of immigrants and refugees to facilitate learning and to strengthen the capacity of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the settlement sector. Through this dialogue, current gaps in integration services can be identified and creative solutions forged. The "Canada We All Belong" campaign addresses discrimination by celebrating diversity and cultivating a sense among adults and children that not only do newcomers belong to Canada, but also Canada belongs to them. Finally, the Metropolis Project and its domestic and international networks provide research from which all levels of government, NGOs and the private sector can draw to tackle issues from shared perspectives.

These, and other multi-stakeholder initiatives, as well as a commitment to incorporate the fundamental tenets of social cohesion, will continue to improve our selection and integration policies.

## Facts and Figures 2001

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) will soon release *Facts and Figures 2001*, providing comprehensive information about the attributes and distribution of Canada's immigrants in 2001. This publication outlines such general immigration statistics as the cross-Canada distribution of immigrants, their educational status, gender, age, language ability and intention to work. The 2001 data are often presented with data from previous years, allowing the reader to observe changes from period to period. Additionally, there is specific data regarding the attributes and categories of immigrants in certain high immigrant concentration centres in Canada, such as Montreal and Toronto. As well, categories of immigrants such as family class, business class, refugee and skilled worker immigrants are more specifically examined in terms of their attributes. Overall, this document provides Canadians a snapshot of the people who immigrated to Canada in 2001.

This document will be available on the CIC web site at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/srr/research/reports-b.html>

# Changes in Canadian educational policy and the integration of young immigrants: Issues to explore

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*...more data needs to be produced to compare the results of educational institutions or specific groups, and these data must be made public so parents, decision makers or other advocacy groups can identify inequities and take the appropriate action.*

There is a tendency to treat the education of young immigrants as a special field, both in terms of defining policies, programs and activities and in terms of evaluating the results. A wealth of material is currently available in Canada that lets us compare various provinces or, in some cases, local school boards. We can also compare the systems they choose for teaching French or English and for providing educational support to young immigrants, how they handle heritage languages in the public education system, the balance they strike between majority and minority cultures in terms of the curriculum and educational standards, or their activities to promote good relations between young people from various backgrounds and encourage immigrant parents to participate actively in school life. The importance of this work and its usefulness over the short and medium terms for decision makers and stakeholders are unquestioned. But we need to recognize that, in essence, it touches on issues that we have been debating since Canada became a destination for immigrants. In other words, since it has been a country and even before.

This article has a different purpose. Instead of continuing with specialized studies of immigrant education, we have to do more to set this issue in the context of other changes occurring in education in Canada. Given the limited space available here, we will look at just three major trends whose impact on immigrants' educational mobility or on the socialization of young people from all backgrounds are seen from different, even conflicting, viewpoints.

## The accountability revolution

The first of these is the accountability revolution, also known as the performance-based approach. It first appeared in the United States in response to the failure of equalization measures instituted in the 1960s. Its popularity gradually spread throughout North America. Accountability delegitimizes the tendency of educational authorities to blame the low performance of some groups on social factors, and it causes the pendulum to swing toward reasons based in the educational system. Although its supporters generally recognize that some groups face special difficulties, they point out that, even with equivalent socio-economic conditions and ethnic concentrations, the differences in performance are glaring, which can only lead one to wonder about the schools that "make a difference." In most cases, there is an incentive: more data needs to be produced to compare the results of educational institutions or specific groups, and these data must be made public so parents, decision makers or other advocacy groups can identify inequities and take the appropriate action. However, in some cases (formerly in Alberta and currently in British Columbia), accountability involves compulsory corrective steps for institutions whose performance does not meet objectives, which can end in the closing of a school and the distribution of its staff and students to other areas.

Results-based education often creates panic among educational stakeholders, who fear the troops may become demoralized or purely cosmetic touches will be applied to increase school performance. Reaction among immigrant communities has been

mixed. Some think it promotes greater transparency and increased accountability on the part of the majority concerning the education of minority students. However, other spokespersons for immigrant communities have expressed concerns that underperforming communities may be stigmatized, especially since ethnic monitoring in education does not take into account classes composed of various ethnic groups. Beyond these standard responses lies a field of research that we have scarcely begun to explore, unlike our British and American counterparts.

### Competition among schools

However, a greater debate is raging in connection with the second trend emerging in western societies: competition among schools. While some provinces — particularly Quebec, influenced by the French model — continue to hold to the idea of the common school and resist marketing education, schools are becoming increasingly complex and diversified, whether in response to the labour market's multiple requirements or growing parental influence in schools. Moreover, here as elsewhere, there is a great deal of ideological momentum behind competition among schools and parents' freedom to choose the type of education they want for their children. Voucher education, a trend imported from the United States, is part of the platform of several Canadian political parties, although no province has adopted it fully yet. Persons who favour extreme liberalism in education feel government intervention must be kept to a minimum, namely, to ensure the availability of data on schools' comparative performance. Educational opportunities must

be regulated by consumer choice, both in terms of the survival of the schools and the type of education they provide.

The impact of this second revolution on the current educational integration of young immigrants and their future social and economic integration has

*...most governments try to ensure social cohesion by promoting within all schools a set of broad, common values known today as citizenship education. Across the country, we are seeing the emergence of this discipline in schools' mandatory curriculum...*

been interpreted in many, often contradictory, ways. The opponents of free choice in education — and research from Britain supports them in part — point out that this reform assumes parents can be enlightened consumers. However, experience appears to prove that only parents who are affluent or belong to the majority group exercise their opportunity to make choices, leaving multi-ethnic or disadvantaged schools in a worse situation than when educational opportunities were closely regulated. On the other hand, the American evaluation of charter schools is more divided. It shows that huge numbers of immigrant or racial minority parents choose these schools in response to the perceived limitations of public schools, although it is still difficult to comment on the longer-term impact of this option for giving children equal opportunities to be successful in school. Here again, we need Canadian research that does more than simply take ideological stances.

The impact of competition on the social integration of young immigrants is also under debate. Some wonder about the apparent resurgence in popularity of ethno-cultural or religious schools. People lobby for, and establish, these schools not to give disadvantaged students an equal chance (as in the case of afro-centrist

schools) but to maximize education's support for the community of origin's language, culture and identity. While public school has partially begun to be pluralist and is still often a common school in law only, some see it as a return to the divisions of the past where ethnicity and school structures corresponded closely. However, in keeping with current thinking, it is quite unlikely that public policy to fight de facto school segregation, which has had a limited impact, will rise from its ashes. We can also wonder how realistic it is for neo-liberal or conservative governments, which promote freedom of choice for parents, to develop a position that is ideologically unfavorable toward ethno-cultural or religious schools.

### The resurgence of citizenship education

Given this almost unavoidable growth in the types of schools available and the impression that the integrative function of schools has exploded over the past 20 years or so, most governments try to ensure social cohesion by

promoting within all schools a set of broad, common values known today as citizenship education. Across the country, we are seeing the emergence of this discipline in schools' mandatory curriculum, usually in the form of a specific subject but also horizontally, as a skill that must be acquired throughout the educational process. Instead of the traditional civic education, which was mostly standardized and uniform, this new citizenship

However, it is still difficult to evaluate the type of citizenship education "cocktail" found in various schools, and groups with opposing views are critical of it. For many members of the majority who are already opposed to multicultural or intercultural education for its divisive effect on education and society, citizenship education, which is just as pluralist and even more open to global perspectives, is not likely to respond to their concerns

*...there are many opinions on the order of priority for local, national and international citizenship, in which multilingualism and ethnicity, local or class solidarity, civic culture or national heritage and even internationalism come together to varying degrees.*

education is marked by its recognition that modern societies are pluralist and by the emphasis that it places on having young people actively exercise their citizenship. It aims at balancing the various rights through a set of common responsibilities and favours developing civic skills rather than simply acquiring knowledge.

Beyond this broad Canadian and international consensus, there are many opinions on the order of priority for local, national and international citizenship, in which multilingualism and ethnicity, local or class solidarity, civic culture or national heritage and even internationalism come together to varying degrees. The work conducted since 1997 by the Citizenship Education Research Network, as part of the Metropolis project, has made it possible to document the regional differences on this subject, as well as the many opinions of Canadian-born and immigrant youth concerning citizenship and cultural diversity.

over the weakening of education's integrative function. Representatives of minority groups believe the opposite: the emphasis on social cohesion would legitimize the return of cultural assimilation, and the highly normative aspect of citizenship education would help to hide the relationships of power and the inequities that continue to characterize host societies. In some contexts, particularly in Ontario, their position is backed by the fact that the resurgence in citizenship education has coincided with a review of the need for anti-racist and ethno-cultural equity policies. Therefore, there is a vital need for comparative analyses of educational options within various curricula and the impact of this trend on diversity in education.

The 2002 Donner Prize, a prestigious award that goes to the author of the best book on Canadian government policy, was given to Marie McAndrew for her book *Immigration et diversité à l'école : le débat québécois dans une perspective comparative*, published by Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

## Citizenship

"Citizenship has emerged as a major thematic link connecting policy domains that range from welfare, education and labour markets to international relations and migration. Citizenship provides this link because it brings within its orbit three fundamental issues: how the boundaries of membership within a polity and between polities should be defined; how the benefits and burdens of membership should be allocated; and how the boundaries of membership should be comprehended and accommodated. As a simple matter of law, citizenship, or nationality, is the primary category by which peoples are classified and distributed in polities across the globe. In political theory, citizenship, understood as active participation in governing, has been the benchmark of models of democracy since Aristotle. Over the past several decades, the sheer mass of the academic literature on citizenship each year attests not only to the breadth of scholarly interest in it, but also to the extent that citizenship themes have become interwoven across academic disciplines. Finally, the continuing rise of new forms of identity politics has challenged traditional understandings of belonging and membership and has contributed to rethinking the meaning of citizenship."

Douglas Klusmeyer, "Introduction," p.1, in Thomas Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas B. Klusmeyer (eds.) *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001.

## UPCOMING EVENTS & ANNOUNCEMENTS

### September 20–21, 2002

#### Integration and Fragmentation in Canada and the United States

Association for Canadian Studies in the US (ACSUS)  
(Ottawa)

The colloquium will explore the changing way in which people and places have been, are and will be drawn together and pulled apart in Canada and the United States in light of economic, technological, political and social reconfigurations. This multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary colloquium will provide an intimate forum for Americans and Canadians to compare research and perspectives, and to enhance links among American Canadianists and their colleagues in Canada. For more information, please visit: <http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/arts/cdn/acsusincanada.htm>

### Spring, 2003

#### Sixth National Metropolis Conference

(Edmonton, Alberta)

Over the last five years, the annual national conference of the Metropolis Project has become a key domestic venue for government decision makers, researchers and non-governmental agents to discuss the knowledge base informing policies and programs for managing migration, for integrating immigrants and minorities and for managing the impact of immigration and diversity on city life. The 2003 conference is scheduled for spring 2003, in Edmonton. Please visit [www.canada.metropolis.net](http://www.canada.metropolis.net) for updates on specific dates and program information.

#### New Migration Information Source

The Migration Policy Institute (MPI), based in Washington, D.C., recently launched a major new initiative: The Migration Information Source (the Source). This on-line resource presents timely and accurate data and analysis on migration and refugee issues at [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org).

As debates about international migration grow increasingly polarized, the role of accurate data has grown even more critical. This web site offers the data and analysis needed to understand international migration challenges and to craft policy solutions to them. The Source gathers data in one easy-to-use on-line database, and presents the data with clear graphs and charts and concise explanations. Reporting from around the world by expert analysts places the data in a contemporary policy context.

### Struggles for Urban Citizenship

"The centrality of urban space as a site of conflict emerged from a survey we conducted in 1997 of the senior administrative staff of all thirty-five upper- and lower-tier municipalities then comprising the GTA [Greater Toronto Area]. The questions asked whether there had ever been conflicts between diaspora groups and their municipal government; the responses indicated that seventeen of the thirty-five municipalities had experienced at least one such dispute. ... Significantly, the most heated conflicts have arisen over attempts by immigrant and minority groups to establish collective, cultural expressions of their identity in places of worship, commercial environments, recreational facilities, and community centres. Urban space and planning, therefore, are able to embody a group's identity in ways that other municipal services typically geared to individual residents or clients do not. For all these reasons urban space has become a battleground of citizenship rights in the Greater Toronto Area."

Engin F. Isin and Myer Siemiatycki, "Making Space for Mosques: Struggles for Urban Citizenship in Immigrant Toronto," pp.196-197, in Sherene H. Razack (ed.) *Race, Space and the Law: The Making of White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002.

# Political participation by ethno-cultural groups and visible minorities

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*...the municipal level is more easily accessible to groups that have traditionally been excluded from representative and decision-making bodies than the provincial and federal levels.*

While there continues to be a deplorable lack of specialized studies into political participation by ethno-cultural communities and visible minorities, there is an increase in the literature concerning their participation in electoral policy and their representation in decision-making and parliamentary bodies.

In this article, we will look at some current trends in studies of political participation by ethnocultural communities and visible minorities, point out the most obvious gaps in these studies, and highlight some promising areas of research. This overview concerns formal political participation only.

Several of the studies into political participation by ethnocultural groups and visible minorities focus on exercising the right to vote, activism in political parties and seeking elected office, both federally and provincially as well as at the municipal and school-board levels. These issues are studied in many countries that accept immigrants, particularly Canada, the United States, and Europe (including France, Belgium, Great Britain and Holland) as well as Israel, Australia and New Zealand. In general, political participation by first-generation immigrants is low in most of these countries. The reasons offered most frequently include discrimination and the barriers facing groups traditionally excluded from political power; the coolness shown by the traditional political parties toward new immigrants; and the lack of mechanisms to encourage members of ethnocultural groups and visible minorities to participate in the electoral process.

In Canada, information on the representation of ethnocultural groups and visible minorities at the federal level was updated through the work of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, established in 1989 (Pelletier 1991, Stasiulis and Abu-Laban 1991, Simard 1991). More recently, Black and Lakhani (1997) noted a significant increase in the representation of ethnic and visible minorities in the House of Commons. In general, the numerical representation of minority groups is fairly consistent with their presence in the overall population. However, visible minorities are still clearly underrepresented in relation to their population base.

Ethnic political representation can occur at other levels, particularly provincial and municipal. Given the extremely high ethnic representation in major Canadian cities, other researchers have studied their level of representation on municipal councils. The issue of solidarity was also explored to see if numbers translated into action on ethnic issues.

It is generally agreed that the municipal level is more easily accessible to groups that have traditionally been excluded from representative and decision-making bodies than the provincial and federal levels. Simard (1999) reached the same conclusion in her study of the City of Montréal. Simard noted that ethnic minority representation is more common at the municipal level, given such factors as the residential concentration of some ethnic groups, generally smaller electoral districts, cheaper electoral campaigns and a more flexible party structure.

In a more extensive study, Simard (2001a) analyzed ethnic and visible minority representation in 16 cities

in Quebec. Eleven of these were in metropolitan Montréal and the other five, located outside the metropolitan area, were considered regional capitals. The study focused on the results of municipal elections from 1997 to 1999.

*What impact does political representation by ethnic groups have on the development of policies and programs that affect them directly? Is there a connection between the representative and the person being represented?*

The study linked the residential concentration of ethnic groups directly to their level of representation. The study also pointed out the relative lack of visible minorities. This group lags far behind their counterparts from other ethnic groups. As demonstrated at other levels, people of European origin, especially from the Jewish and Italian communities, have the highest levels of representation. In his study of the City of Toronto, Siemiatycki (1998) also estimated that elected representatives of Italian and Jewish descent were overrepresented in relation to their presence in the population.

What impact does political representation by ethnic groups have on the development of policies and programs that affect them directly? Is there a connection between the representative and the person being represented? Ongoing research must continue if we are to answer these complex questions, and new analytical tools need to be developed. Simard (2001b) points out that elected representatives from ethnic groups, if they are aware of being different from their majority background colleagues, do not feel the

need to push for special ethnic policies and programs. Aware of the pitfalls that await them once elected, municipal councillors from minority backgrounds seem to share a fairly similar vision of political participation and commitment with their majority

background colleagues. Simard's study is basically an introduction and should be expanded to a larger sample so its applicability can be verified.

In Canada, issues surrounding the political participation of ethnocultural and visible minority groups are starting to benefit from the comparative and interdisciplinary perspective of researchers from outside the country. These contributions show how important it is to study experiences similar to ours so we can develop broad enough empirical studies that let us gather up-to-date information on the behavior and political activities of minority groups.

There are many issues we could explore to increase our understanding of ethnocultural and visible minority groups and their political participation in Canada. One of the most important is how to increase the representation of groups traditionally left out of the electoral and decision-making processes. In essence, that is also a pathway to encouraging representative democracy.

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# Women, Gender and Immigration: Perspectives and Challenges

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This article was inspired by a longer report soon to be issued by the Strategic Workshop on Immigrant Women Making Place in Canadian Cities — a network of researchers (including the present authors) within the Metropolis Project. For further details, contact [damaris\\_rose@inrs-ucs.quebec.ca](mailto:damaris_rose@inrs-ucs.quebec.ca)

The ways in which individuals and families experience the processes of immigration, settlement and social integration are profoundly shaped by gender.

Gender relations and identities are malleable. For example, migration and settlement experiences may lead to significant changes in the social and economic roles of women and girls, men and boys, or they may reinforce gender identities from the country of origin.

If research on immigrant settlement and integration is to generate knowledge that is relevant to public policy, it will have to incorporate gender dimensions in a rigorous fashion. Disaggregating research procedures and analyses by sex are crucial first steps, but they are not enough. We must also adopt lines of questioning that ask how immigration and settlement policies and programs influence gender relations. Do they reduce inequalities between women and men in various arenas, or do they create barriers to full participation of immigrant women in different spheres of Canadian society? Do the yardsticks adopted to evaluate the civic participation of immigrants, their “success” in social integration and their contribution to the economy take into account the unpaid work and caring responsibilities of immigrant women?

## Gender in immigration and integration research: *an example*

Consider these facts:

- Recent immigrant families are doing less well economically than in the past (Preston and Cox 1999).
- Recent immigrant women’s labour force participation is declining compared to that of immigrant men and Canadian-born women (Badets and Howatson-Lee 1999).
- Recent immigrants who do not know at least one of Canada’s official languages are much less likely to be in the labour market than those who do, and this effect is stronger for women than for men (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001).
- Because “family-class” immigrants are not officially deemed “breadwinners” they are not eligible for stipends or child-care allowances when they take language- or job-training courses (Boyd 1997).
- Women’s access to language and job training, and to job vacancies, is further constrained by domestic responsibilities and by limited access to transportation, both of which are exacerbated by the spatial separation of home and workplace (Boyd 1997; Preston and Man 1999; Truelove 2000).

A **research agenda taking gender into account** would treat immigrant economic integration as a family and household affair, rather than focusing only on the individual. It would use qualitative and quantitative research methods to explore the connections between the points listed above. The research would help formulate policies supporting the development and recognition of immigrant women’s human capital thus assisting their labour force integration.

Integrating gender into the policy research agenda entails taking on new conceptual challenges. Notably, a transnational optic — involving research in “sending” and “receiving” countries — is needed to examine how gender relations and identities change through the experiences of migration and flight, as well as how gender can influence migrants’ social support networks, economic contributions and civic participation in places of settlement and places of origin. Research must also focus a gender-aware lens on proposed public policies. For instance, what are the gender implications of making it more difficult to claim refugee status at the Canadian border? How will public policies that encourage recent immigrants to settle in small towns lacking a significant immigrant concentration affect immigrant women’s access to job and training opportunities and will this increase their social isolation?

A diversity of research methods must also be deployed. For instance, new statistical data such as the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada will enable researchers to follow the progress of all members of an immigrant household. Quantitative research can also help in separating out the relative effects on employment and earnings of gender versus immigrant status and visible minority status. Qualitative methods — such as in-depth interviewing — are needed for rich understanding of questions such as how immigrant women and men themselves interpret their labour market experiences and how immigrant women, as primary family caregivers, mobilize social networks to deal with health management issues. Finally, as always in Canada, geography does matter! Differences in the context of immigrant reception and adaptation by region and type of urban environment call for comparative multi-site case studies — which are costly and time-consuming — so as to uncover the range of circumstances and outcomes that must be taken into account in developing policy sensitive to local and regional context.

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## Sponsorship and the Equality Rights of Immigrant Women

“Sponsorship is a procedure that allows people to immigrate to Canada in order to join their families without having to satisfy the usual selection criteria... The fact that sponsorship involves the undertaking of responsibility for women by the spouse, the fact that the application for permanent residence may be refused if the spouse withdraws his sponsorship and the fact that the access of sponsored women to social assistance is limited by provincial regulations (and remains so for the entire duration of the sponsorship, even after citizenship has been obtained) means that the equality rights of women immigrants are being violated. Indeed, our research revealed that the sponsorship regime has a discriminatory effect on immigrant women who are sponsored by their husbands in that it exacerbates their unequal status within the marriage, diminishes their dignity and degree of independence, aggravates existing socio-economic disadvantages and violates their most basic human rights...”

From Andrée Côté, Michèle Kérisit and Marie-Louise Côté, “Sponsorship... For Better or Worse: The Impact of Sponsorship on the Equality Rights of Immigrant Women,” *Status of Women Canada Research Directorate*, 2001.

Available at  
<http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/research/010504-0662296427-e.html>

# Communication and Social Cohesion in a Post-September 11th World

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Following the disastrous events of September 11th, some Canadians expressed concern that the terrorist attacks on the United States might have a negative impact on the social cohesion of the country. Various departments within the Government of Canada desired to know whether these events had resulted in any racist or anti-immigrant attitudes.

Consequently, Environics conducted six focus groups and a survey of 2003 Canadians in late November and early December 2001, at the behest of Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Immigration, and Communication Canada. Overall, the results of the research suggest that the social cohesion of the country, in terms of tolerance, remains quite strong.

The quantitative component of this research clearly suggests that Canadians are generally quite positive toward minorities and the contribution they make to Canada. Indeed, some nine out of 10 Canadians (92%) feel comfortable with people of different races in social situations. Moreover, 83 percent believe that people from different racial and cultural groups enrich Canadian culture.

Attitudes toward immigration also support the view that intolerant attitudes are not becoming more prevalent among the general population. Indeed, it should be noted that the percentage of Canadians who believe we allow too many immigrants into Canada (36% in December 2001) has dropped significantly from what it was a half a decade ago (46% in January 1996) and is not statistically much different from where it stood in more recent years.

While diversity is clearly now a hallmark of Canadian society that people are proud of, this research also suggests that Canadians believe that intolerance still exists within Canada. Indeed, more than half the population (56%) believe that discrimination against non-whites is a problem in Canada. Moreover, some focus group participants indicated that there continues to be an undercurrent of racism and discrimination in our society.

The research indicates that Canadians believe the Government of Canada has a role to play in combating racism through educational and communication tools. But combating racism through advertising and other methods of communication requires a nuanced approach. For instance, the research suggests that people living in larger communities tend to be more tolerant than those living in less populated communities. But we also know that those living in smaller communities are more difficult to reach than those living in larger urban centres where there is a greater concentration of media.

In addition, the research we conducted also shows that while Canadians tended to rely more on television to gain information about the events surrounding September 11th, those who are more affluent and educated tended to rely more on newspapers. Thus, different media must be used to reach all demographic groups.

This research project illustrates the continued need to uncover the root causes of more latent forms of discrimination and develop methods to combat them. Such research is necessary to determine what strategies the government might employ to combat intolerance across the country and what sorts of strategies will best promote social cohesion within Canada.

# The Metropolis Project

Immigration affects most aspects of public policy. Consequently, immigration policy issues must be dealt with horizontally, taking into account economic, cultural, health and other perspectives. From its inception the Metropolis Project has addressed this demand, organizing itself as a consortium of nine federal departments and agencies (soon to be 12). These constitute the project's principal partners, but Metropolis also involves stakeholders, including provinces, municipalities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The Metropolis Project was launched in 1996 with the objective of improving policies for managing migration and diversity, especially in major cities. It seeks to enhance academic research capacity on this topic while focusing the research on critical policy issues and options. And in the policy world, Metropolis promotes the use of research in decision making. Fundamentally, Metropolis strives to effect a change in culture among the project's academic and policy-making partners.

The Metropolis Project has used various means to facilitate knowledge transfer between academic research and public policy, such as its annual conferences and Metropolis Conversations series. Currently, Metropolis is developing an exciting new tool for knowledge transfer: the Program of Migration and Diversity Studies, to be launched through the Metropolis Institute in the fall of 2002. There are 13 courses in this comprehensive curriculum, with topics ranging from smuggling and security to educational issues. The material is based on academic research and policy and community experience, and will be available to civil servants — such as policy analysts and program officers — from the three levels of government and NGO leaders.

In Canada, the federal consortium provides core funds to four university-based Centres of Excellence in Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. Each Centre is a partnership involving a total of 15 universities. The four Metropolis Centres of Excellence have emerged as leading think tanks in the immigration field, with more than 200 active Metropolis researchers.

Metropolis is also a project with international bearings. It is the largest policy-research network in the world dealing with migration and integration, and involves 5,000 partners from over 20 countries coming from government, academe, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, (e.g., European Commission, Migration Policy Group, International Organization for Migration). The international network is extremely active. The seventh International Metropolis Conference will take place in Oslo, Norway, September 9-13, 2002.

On April 1, 2002, Metropolis began a new five-year phase for the project. Under the project's new mandate, the Centres of Excellence have agreed to focus part of their grant monies to a set of pre-determined federal policy priorities. These are posted on the Metropolis web site. In phase two, Metropolis also hopes to help create a fifth Centre of Excellence in the Atlantic Provinces based in Halifax and Moncton.

The Metropolis network of web sites at [www.metropolis.net](http://www.metropolis.net) provides information about the Metropolis Project, its Centres of Excellence, its forthcoming Institute, and current or past activities.

# The Manitoba Advantage – Opportunity and Diversity

**Gerry Clement**  
**Assistant Deputy Minister**  
**Immigration and**  
**Multiculturalism Division**  
**Manitoba Labour**  
**and Immigration**

*Manitoba has in many ways charted a unique course in the development of its immigration and integration policies.*

At a recent national conference sponsored by Metropolis Canada, I had the pleasure of sharing the podium with provincial immigration representatives from Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. I prefaced my presentation by highlighting that among the four of us, we represented approximately 92 percent of all immigrants destined to enter Canada in 2001. When I clarified that Manitoba accounted for two percent of the total, I heard a few chuckles in the room. As I led the audience through the evolution of our innovative made-in-Manitoba policy directions, the audience realized that our future economic prosperity and social identity are inextricably linked to immigration and settlement and, therefore, constitute an issue that we take very seriously.

Some provinces have only recently recognized immigration and its potential contribution to labour market and population growth. Manitoba, however, has been receptive to the opportunity for greater provincial involvement in immigration levels since the passage of the 1976 Immigration Act.

We began slowly by identifying a lead federal-provincial immigration official within our division and a demographic researcher to explore potential pathways. In 1980, through a Canada-Manitoba agreement regarding the admission of special needs refugees (SPAR), the province truly entered the realm of “shared” responsibility for immigration as defined in section 95 of our constitution under the 1867 British North America Act.

Over the next two decades, successive provincial governments recognized the contribution immigration makes to various sectors of our economy. We

undertook creative initiatives, albeit modest, to test new directions for the integration and settlement of newcomers. From the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, Manitoba’s role in immigration services grew in its coordination and collaboration capacities. Special attention was focused on language training and the development of a community infrastructure to assist in the delivery of integration programs. Always receptive to testing new models of service delivery, our province collaborated with our federal counterparts to become an incubator for new community-based programs. At the heart of these innovative models stood immigrants unable to benefit from traditional institutional approaches.

Sharing this snapshot of Manitoba’s historical response to policy development lays the framework for understanding our current path. Manitoba has in many ways charted a unique course in the development of its immigration and integration policies. Achieving objectives means embracing change, such as creation of the Immigration Division that was momentous in advancing our provincial long-term goals. It enabled us to co-ordinate adult language training, settlement and immigration activities within one department, thereby building program cohesion and efficiencies.

We formalized our objectives and directions in the Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Immigration signed in 1996. With a basis in this national framework, both levels of government continued development of the realignment of settlement service delivery and the selection of skilled workers under the Provincial Nominee (PN) category. Manitoba concluded agreements in both areas in 1998,

leveraging its effective infrastructure, its experience in developing and delivering programs and its broad support from both community and service providers.

The scope of Manitoba's activities has changed significantly in a short period of time. In the area of immigrant selection, the PN category is

*In 1998, Manitoba became one of only three provinces to assume responsibility for the design and delivery of settlement programs.*

fast becoming a critical tool in achieving annual provincial immigration levels. Manitoba's program currently accounts for almost 80 percent of all provincial nominees admitted to Canada, growing fivefold since its introduction in 1998.

The first and foremost benefit of the PN initiative is that our province develops Manitoba selection criteria, grounded in Manitoba's economic and labour market priorities. Another distinguishing attribute of Manitoba's immigration policy is our balanced approach. Our economic stream is extended by provincial nominees, ongoing family reunification and a very strong humanitarian program in both government and privately sponsored refugee movements. Taken together, these and several other elements intrinsic to our unique approach give us a particular "advantage" as an immigration destination.

The "Manitoba advantage" is a term used to describe many different factors that positively influence the movement of immigrants. Public and private sector support for increased immigration provides a strong message of acceptance and receptivity

to individuals considering Manitoba as an immigration destination. Ethno-cultural communities and their existing infrastructures offer common cultural and linguistic links to support integration. Information and guidance from provincial authorities on selection and immigration issues particular to our region are yet another example of Manitoba's sincere interest in

attracting and retaining new families. Our strategy is to ensure that the issues of critical importance to potential immigrants, such as employment, cost of living, safety and security, and education for their children are effectively addressed.

Equally important to increasing the level of immigration is the emphasis on integration and settlement. In 1998, Manitoba became one of only three provinces to assume responsibility for the design and delivery of settlement programs. Our capacity to undertake this critical role has evolved. Settlement realignment has been a win-win situation for all and has enabled us to create a Manitoba approach. Building on both the capacity and support of local organizations, Manitoba has achieved a co-ordinated cross-sectoral service-delivery system of program funding and consultation. A network of government and non-government working groups facilitates responsiveness in programming and provides a solid foundation from which to tackle difficult issues. Settlement and adult language training services are key elements that support both the initial and longer term well-being of individuals, families and

communities. So far, our experience has been very positive and, indeed, the focus of many national conferences.

The policy and program landscape in Manitoba has evolved significantly in the last five years. While we maintain our historical roots in providing co-ordination and development support, our role has become more proactive. Determining what approaches are effective and which situations require immediate attention are responsibilities that weigh heavily on provincial jurisdictions. Innovation is a requirement in a dynamic environment where there is growing interest in immigration as a means to address economic issues regionally. As a country, and as a province, we must identify means to achieve a broader geographic distribution of annual immigration levels. The provincial nominee program, now in seven provinces, is a successful approach that needs to be examined in the context of global competition for skilled workers.

Manitoba will continue to look for partnerships and innovative means to communicate the Manitoba advantage in recruitment and selection. Manitoba actively participates with the federal government in examining immigration targets and provides direction for an immigration program responsive to provincial planning priorities. While in 2001 we received more than 4,500 immigrants, our provincial goal remains 3.8 percent of the total annual intake representing our proportional share of Canada's population. We must continue looking for initiatives in all immigration classes to increase our levels and strengthen retention through effective settlement programs.

# The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

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The 1978 *Immigration Act* was overhauled twice and amended more than 30 times. It was considered too complex, too difficult to understand and not flexible enough to allow for effective action. The new legislation, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA), is designed to address these problems. IRPA received royal assent on November 1, 2001 and came into effect on June 28, 2002, except for the implementation of the Refugee Appeal Division.

IRPA is divided into four main sections: immigration to Canada, refugee protection, enforcement of the Act, and the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). The clear distinction between immigration issues and refugee protection was welcomed: it is hoped this legislative distinction will be respected in practice.

IRPA is framework legislation, which means it is limited to setting out general principles and it lets the government expand on them through its regulatory power. While IRPA sets out the main principles and features of the immigration and refugee protection programs (the rights and responsibilities of permanent residents, protected persons and foreign nationals seeking to enter or live in Canada; the responsibilities of immigration officers; protection and enforcement, etc.), the regulations cover the many important rules. They deal with such areas as selection of immigrants, examination, permanent resident status, inadmissibility, detention and release, stays, IRB determination of the eligibility of refugee protection claims, the obligations of carriers, etc. The Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) and even the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology were just some of the groups that

indicated their concerns over the wide-ranging regulatory power the Act gives the department. While section 5(2) of the Act states that each proposed regulation must be presented in each House of Parliament, section 5(3) states that the proposed regulation does not have to be presented to Parliament again, even if it has been altered. As a result, amendments can be made without Parliament having the opportunity to examine them.

Many of the improvements in IRPA have been well received. New provisions allow for the *best interest of the child* to be taken into account (s. 60, s. 67(1)(c)). The Act contains a separate definition for permanent resident, making the distinction between permanent residents and other foreign nationals (s. 2). Greater recognition is given to the rights of permanent residents, which helps them integrate into Canada. New selection criteria have been added to attract more highly skilled independent immigrants. The family class has been expanded and updated: common-law partners and same-sex partners are included (s. 12); the maximum age of dependants who can be sponsored has been increased from 18 to 21 years of age; the minimum age of sponsors has been lowered from 19 to 18; the length of a sponsorship undertaking for a spouse has been reduced to three years from ten; and family class sponsored spouses, partners and dependent children will not be refused entry if they have a condition that places an excessive demand on health or social services.

Elinor Caplan, Minister of Immigration and Citizenship at the time, proudly stated that the new Act was tough. IRPA does contain very stringent provisions concerning people

suspected of being a danger to public safety, not respecting the law or abusing the Canadian system. Specifically, the Act:

- **increases and strengthens powers of detention.** The government wants to increase the number of persons detained and the length of detention.<sup>1</sup> IRPA expands the provisions concerning detention without warrant and extends the power to arrest and detain persons who cannot establish their identity (s. 55). Refugee claimants without proof of identity could be detained if they refused to co-operate with measures to establish their identity;
- **expands inadmissibility categories** on the basis of security (s. 34), human or international rights violations (s. 35), serious criminality (s. 36), organized criminality (s. 37), health reasons (s. 38), financial reasons (s. 39), misrepresentation (s. 40), non-compliance with the Act (s. 41) and inadmissible family members (s. 42). Neither the Act nor the regulations define terrorism, although it is a grounds for inadmissibility under IRPA;
- **restricts the right of immigration appeal.** IRPA removes all right of appeal and power to review removal orders against any person, even a permanent resident, who is inadmissible on the grounds of security, violating human or international rights, serious criminality and organized criminality (s. 64);
- **toughens penalties for persons who break immigration laws.** Tougher maximum penalties for organizing illegal entry into Canada, and very severe penalties for the new offence of human trafficking, etc. (s. 117–121);

- **strengthens removal orders.** IRPA requires persons who have been issued enforceable removal orders to leave Canada immediately (s. 48) and prohibits them from returning (s. 52). The government will also increase the funds for deportation measures.<sup>2</sup>
- **strengthens interdiction provisions.** IRPA increases the penalties for traffickers (s. 117–121) but does not distinguish between persons who are motivated by humanitarian concerns and those motivated by other factors. Someone who helps a family member flee persecution can be refused a refugee claim hearing or lose permanent residence without possibility of appeal.

The new Act also makes some important changes to refugee protection.

It is designed to speed up the processing of refugee claims. Section 100 states that an officer has three working days to decide on the eligibility of a refugee claim. Under the Act, claims will be automatically referred to the Immigration and Refugee Board if Citizenship and Immigration Canada has not made a decision on eligibility after three days (s. 100(3)). IRPA establishes a new system within the IRB for grouping decisions concerning risks. All grounds relating to protection will now be examined at a single hearing before the Board's Refugee Protection Division instead of being reviewed at various stages by various authorities.

From now on, most refugee claim hearings will take place before a one-member rather than two-member panel (s. 163). A Refugee Appeal Division will give failed refugee claimants the right to a paper appeal of an IRB decision, which will help

reduce discrepancies in the numerous decisions. Members' training and expertise therefore takes on even greater significance. The Minister recently announced a delay in implementing the Refugee Appeal Division, given the large backlog that has developed.

IRPA expands the grounds for which refugee claims are ineligible (s. 101(f)). Applicants who have received removal orders for reasons of security, human or international rights violations, serious criminality or organized criminality will be ineligible for an IRB hearing and will be unable to appeal to the Refugee Appeal Division. The Refugee Protection Division and the Refugee Appeal Division can suspend their consideration of a claim at any stage on these same grounds (s. 103). In addition, security screening will be initiated for refugee applicants as soon as they make their claim.

As for multiple claims, IRPA extends the waiting period before a new claim can be submitted from 90 days to six months to discourage what the government calls the "revolving door."

IRPA introduces the Pre-Removal Risk Assessment (PRRA) (s. 112). In cases where there is new evidence, the PRRA will help repeat claimants and persons whose claims have been rejected, or who have been declared inadmissible on the grounds of serious criminality, security, human rights violations or organized criminality, to be assessed based on the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees and the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture. However, persons who cannot be referred to the IRB on security grounds will not have access to the refugee determination process, and the PRRA will concern

only those risks under the Convention Against Torture. Consequently, these people will not face removal, but they will not be able to obtain refugee protection (s. 112(3)).

This is only a quick overview, and the new IRPA merits closer study. However, by looking at the new legislation as a whole, it seems that the emphasis is on protecting Canada, controlling borders and fighting migration threats rather than welcoming and integrating immigrants. The Canadian government's defensive approach reinforces negative perceptions of immigrants in general and threatens to make refugees the scapegoats for society's collective insecurity.

Introducing tougher legislation will not address all concerns if we lack the economic, material and human resources to back it up. Remember that in October 2001, 34,000 refugee claims were still waiting to be heard. These resources are needed both for security and for receiving immigrants and protecting refugees.

The new Act was passed in the tense atmosphere following September 11 and under pressure from the United States to harmonize immigration standards. Canada's immigration policy was modified by the new Anti-Terrorism Plan (the *Anti-terrorism Act*<sup>3</sup> and the new bill C-55, the *Public Safety Act*<sup>4</sup>) and the two joint Canada-U.S. declarations (Joint Statement on Cooperation on Border Security and Regional Migration Issues<sup>5</sup> and the Canada-U.S. Smart Border Declaration<sup>6</sup>). In this way, the new anti-terrorism plan supports measures to control illegal immigration. In the end,

the association between migrants, refugees and terrorists — already heavily covered by the media — is reinforced.

- 1 Government of Canada, "Strengthened Immigration Measures to Counter Terrorism," Niagara Falls: October 12, 2001.
- 2 Government of Canada, "Strengthened Immigration Measures to Counter Terrorism," Niagara Falls: October 12, 2001.
- 3 *An Act to amend the Criminal Code, the Official Secrets Act, the Canada Evidence Act, the Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) Act and other Acts, and to enact measures respecting the registration of charities, in order to combat terrorism.* Passed by the House of Commons, November 28, 2001. Received royal assent December 18, 2001. Text available at [http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/chambus/house/bills/government/C-36/C-36\\_3/C-36\\_cover-E.html](http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/chambus/house/bills/government/C-36/C-36_3/C-36_cover-E.html).
- 4 *An Act to amend certain Acts of Canada, and to enact measures for implementing the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, in order to enhance public safety.* Bill C-55. House of Commons of Canada, first session, thirty-seventh Parliament, 49-50-51 Elizabeth II, 2001. First reading April 29, 2002. Text available at [http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/chambus/house/bills/government/C-55/C-55\\_1/C-55\\_cover-E.html](http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/chambus/house/bills/government/C-55/C-55_1/C-55_cover-E.html).
- 5 "Joint Statement of Cooperation on Border Security and Regional Migration Issues," signed December 3 by John Ashcroft, Attorney General of the United States, Elinor Caplan, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and Lawrence MacAulay, Solicitor General of Canada. Text available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/01/0126-pre.html>.
- 6 "Canada-U.S. Smart Border Declaration," signed December 12 by John Manley, Minister of Foreign Affairs Canada and Chairman of the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee on Public Security and Anti-Terrorism, and Tom Ridge, Director of the Office of Homeland Security in the United States. Text available at: <http://dfait-maeci.gc.ca/anti-terrorism/can-us-border-en.asp>.

## Studying Political Participation

"Although political participation has been central to what political scientists study, attention to the intersection of gender and the activities of minorities in this country has been limited. The available evidence shows that women, ethnic minorities, and particularly visible minorities are under-represented in positions of formal power in Canada. The evidence also shows that minorities — both male and female — are not politically passive and engage in a range of activities from voting and electoral politics to community activities. Seriously attending to questions of immigration, ethnicity, gender and political activism requires rethinking and redefining political participation and making use of both quantitative methods (e.g., survey research) and qualitative methods (e.g., open-ended unstructured interviews). These are the tasks of a political science geared to address politics in the twenty-first century in a globalizing, immigrant-receiving, ethnically diverse country like Canada, where, undoubtedly, the gendered vertical mosaic will be further challenged."

Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Challenging the Gendered Vertical Mosaic: Immigrants, Ethnic Minorities, Gender, and Political Participation," p.279, in Joanna Everitt and Brenda O'Neill (eds.) *Citizen Politics: Research and Theory in Canadian Political Behaviour*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002.

# Globalization's new influence: Structuring the new refugee determination system

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*...the State's choice of tools of governance is increasingly shaped by globalization in the form of international rules, such as emerging customary norms, and instruments, such as human rights covenants.*

In a special volume, the *Revue québécoise de droit international* (RQDI) recently commemorated the 50th anniversary of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees (the 1951 Convention). This RQDI publication points to an emerging challenge to governance in the 21st century: the State's choice of tools of governance is increasingly shaped by globalization in the form of international rules, such as emerging customary norms, and instruments, such as human rights covenants. The RQDI volume shows how this has affected the structure of the decision-making process in the area of refugee protection in Canada.

Emerging and complex norms and standards are creating a new fabric of rights, protections and obligations for refugee claimants as well as for states. However, human rights obligations flowing from international covenants ratified by Canada have not all been directly implemented into Canadian law, resulting in gaps between our commitments and actionable rights. The Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights makes this issue very clear in its December 2001 report and calls for better implementation of our international obligations.

Indeed, the implementation of the obligations imposed by various norms and standards in an integrated manner is becoming an important — but difficult — feature of instrument choice and policy design. Rather than adopting a “silo approach” to decision-making processes for refugee determination, humanitarian law and human rights, there is now an effort to consolidate decision making so that the responsible body has the capacity to weave these threads together in a coherent decision.

To address these various issues through a single instrument, Canada has chosen to consolidate the decision-making process by modifying the “protection grounds” that can be considered by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB), the administrative tribunal charged with refugee protection. The critical feature of this consolidation of decision-making strategies is that a single body has been chosen as the appropriate instrument to address several sets of rights claims arising from international law and related to refugee protection. These are, notably, the protection of persons in danger of being subjected to torture (section 1 of the Convention against Torture) and persons who are subject to cruel or unusual treatment or punishment (protected, *inter alia*, under section 12 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms). This consolidated decision making also extends to administrative decision-making processes that previously occurred after refugee determination. Now, the new IRB will be able to handle the decisions in an integrated manner. Although the new determination process will undoubtedly come under a great deal of scrutiny, it demonstrates the growing influence of international and global factors on the development of critical governance strategies in administrative decision making in Canada.

For more information, please see *Revue québécoise de droit international*, Cinquantenaire de la Convention de Genève sur les réfugiés, vol. 14.1 (2001).

# Does a Rising Tide Lift All Boats? Recent Immigrants in the Economic Recovery

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**and**  
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*It is difficult to sort out why recent immigrants have not done as well in the job market as those who arrived in earlier periods.*

Canada welcomes many new immigrants and refugees each year, contributing to a much more diverse population. About three in four immigrants belong to a visible minority group, and the proportion of visible minority persons has doubled since 1996, to about one in eight Canadians today. Despite human rights laws and Canada's commitment to multiculturalism, equal rights and inclusion, large gaps in economic outcomes exist among Canadians drawn from different ethnic groups.

Research by the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) based on the last census found that many recent immigrants — particularly visible minority immigrants — have experienced high unemployment and underemployment in low-wage jobs that do not match their skills and formal credentials.

In 1995, 35 percent of immigrants who arrived in Canadian cities after 1986 were living in poverty (below the pre-tax low income cut-offs), rising to 52 percent of those who arrived after 1991. Other analysts have documented a lengthening catch-up period between immigration and convergence to average rates of employment, earnings and family incomes.

Our recent research for the United Way of Greater Toronto (see A Decade of Decline at [www.uwgt.org](http://www.uwgt.org)) found that many recent immigrants to the City of Toronto are living in deep poverty, in severely crowded housing and in extremely low-income neighbourhoods. They are struggling to access the language, training and settlement services they need to join the economic mainstream. Canada

still does not have the big city ghettos to be found in the United States, but are we moving in the wrong direction?

It is difficult to sort out why recent immigrants have not done as well in the job market as those who arrived in earlier periods. Many factors are at play. The overall economic context within which immigrants arrive is clearly important. With very high unemployment rates in the first half of the 1990, it is hardly surprising that new arrivals had trouble finding steady, well-paid work. Young Canadians entering the job market for the first time experienced similar difficulties.

Also, immigrants have changed in terms of the mix among refugees, family-class immigrants and those selected for skills that are relevant to the Canadian job market. Currently, about four in 10 immigrants entering the job market have been selected for their skills.

On average, recent immigrants are younger and better educated than other Canadians. In 1998, 22 percent of recent immigrants held at least one university degree compared to 17 percent of the rest of the population. Non-recognition or undervaluation of foreign education, skills and credentials, however, constitute a widely recognized problem, and many recent immigrants have good professional qualifications but limited language skills.

Some authors have attributed discrepancies in income and employment among racial groups to discrimination. Earnings gaps have grown as immigrants have increasingly come from

groups vulnerable to racism. Recent immigrants definitely see racism as part of the problem, and the most careful academic attempts to disentangle pay and employment gaps find significant unexplained differences.

Our recent research (available from [www.ccsd.ca](http://www.ccsd.ca)) examines the labour market experiences and incomes of recent immigrants to Canada over the recovery period from 1995 to 1998. Using data from Statistics Canada's Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), we focused on levels of employment, earnings, family incomes and poverty rates of recent immigrants (those who arrived after 1985) compared to the rest of the Canadian population. The population for this study included only the core working-age population, individuals aged 25 to 59 years.

The table shows some key economic outcomes for recent immigrants in 1995 and 1998. For those who were working, the average number of weeks employed rose in this period of strong economic recovery, by four weeks, and

the number of weeks unemployed fell by almost the same amount. There was a significant increase in real hourly wages, up by 70 cents per hour or five percent in real terms.

While these data suggest a "good news" story, they should not come as a great surprise. One would expect the underemployed to benefit from a strong economic recovery, particularly

*One important policy conclusion to be drawn is that tight labour markets can provide a major impetus toward equality and the inclusion of recent immigrants into the economic mainstream.*

Because of more weeks of work at higher hourly wages, average annual earnings of recent immigrants rose by \$3,416 or 23 percent. Employment and earnings increases were greater for women, though annual earnings of recent immigrant women in 1998 averaged just \$12,067.

Total, before family-tax incomes rose by \$9,134 or 20.8 percent between 1995 and 1998. The poverty rate (below pre-tax low income cut-offs) fell from 37 to 27 percent. (Note that immigrants tend to have larger families, raising the poverty threshold.)

given that the vast majority of recent immigrants are anxious to take advantage of labour market opportunities when they appear. Evidence from the United States indicates that racial earnings gaps closed significantly in the strong growth period of the 1990s. A rising tide of recovery does seem to counter some sources of apparent racial disadvantage. Employers are less likely to discriminate in a tight job market, and more likely to discover hidden skills, and train an applicant who does not quite fit the needs of the job.

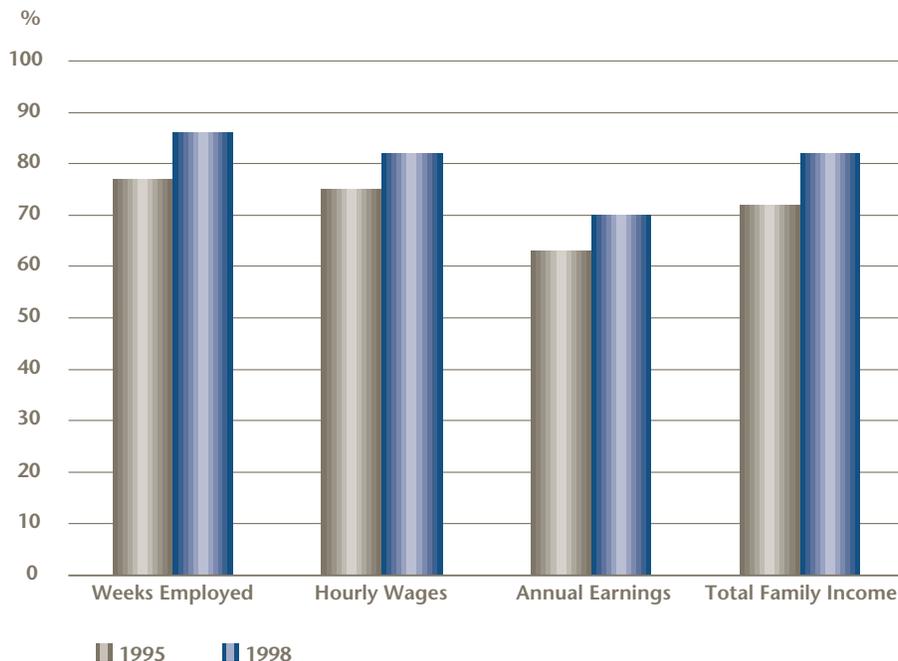
The data also show that large economic gaps between recent immigrants and other Canadians still remained firmly in place in 1998. As shown in the chart, while distance in terms of employment, earnings and family incomes narrowed, recent immigrants in 1998 were employed for 14 percent fewer weeks and had annual earnings 30 percent less than other Canadians. Total family incomes were 18 percent below those of other Canadians.

To summarize, the large gap in employment and income opportunities that exists between recent

## Recent Immigrants

<b>Employment</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1998</b>
Weeks Employed	32 weeks	36 weeks
Weeks Unemployed	9.0 weeks	5.2 weeks
<b>Income</b>		
Real Hourly Wage	\$13.30	\$14.00
Real Annual Earnings	\$14,595	\$18,011
Real Family Income	\$43,964	\$53,098
<b>Poverty</b>		
Below Pre-Tax LICO	37%	27%

## RECENT IMMIGRANTS COMPARED TO OTHER CANADIANS



immigrants and other Canadians narrowed considerably between 1995 and 1998. But this must be seen in the context of the significant gaps that still remained. One important policy conclusion to be drawn is that tight labour markets can provide a major impetus toward equality and the inclusion of recent immigrants into the economic mainstream.

Still, other measures to promote greater equality in the labour market are needed. Consultations with recent immigrants and settlement agencies undertaken for our Toronto report highlighted the need for language

training programs, which allow immigrants to achieve language skills that match their education and professional qualifications. Individualized employment and training programs, including mentoring and outreach to employers, could further facilitate the integration of new immigrants to Canada.

Canada welcomes and actively seeks new immigrants. Improvements to our settlement process are needed, however, to help eliminate the significant income and employment gaps that persist.

## Multiculturalism and Local Government in Greater Vancouver

“The results of the access and equity survey in Greater Vancouver suggest that only a few municipalities — mainly confined to the region’s traditional core areas — had developed anything like a necessary range of policies and programs to deal with a more diverse population.... This is due partly... to either perceived or real resource and jurisdictional constraints, which act as impediments to effective local responses to international immigration. Local authorities in Canada currently lack constitutional obligations to respond to higher levels of immigration and a more multicultural population. This no doubt conditions and constrains attitudes among elected officials and municipal staff, as well as limits the scope of effective response.”

From David W. Edgington and Thomas A. Hutton, “Multiculturalism and Local Government in Greater Vancouver,” Vancouver Centre of Excellence: RIIM, 2002.

Available at

<http://riim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/2002/wp02-06.pdf>

# Facilitating the Labour Market Integration of Immigrants to Canada

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*The downward slide in economic outcomes relative to both the Canadian average and previous cohorts appears to have abated for those immigrants who landed in the mid-1990s.*

The labour market outcomes of immigrants are more and more important to Canada's economy and society. The 2001 Census revealed that the period 1996 to 2001 was characterized by historically slow population growth. Moreover, a declining natural increase meant that immigration accounted for more than half of Canada's population growth during this period. Over the long term, net labour force growth is likely to depend solely on immigration. This makes the successful labour market integration of immigrants particularly vital.

Immigrants to Canada are increasingly educated and skilled. Over half the immigrants admitted in the last decade are economic immigrants, where the majority is selected based on labour market attributes. In spite of this, the labour market outcomes of immigrants who landed in Canada in the early 1990s deteriorated, whether compared to previous cohorts of immigrants or to Canadian-born individuals. For example, economic principal applicants who landed in 1980 had earnings 23 percent above the Canadian average one year after landing. By the late 1980s, the premium had disappeared, and by the mid-1990s, economic principal applicants generally suffered a 20 percent deficit relative to the Canadian average one year after landing.

The downward slide in economic outcomes relative to both the Canadian average and previous cohorts appears to have abated for those immigrants who landed in the mid-1990s. More recent cohorts enjoyed higher earnings growth and the overall low-income rate among recent immigrants is declining. Information contained in the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) reveals that employment

earnings of economic principal applicants landed in 1990 grew at an annual rate of five percent for the first three years after landing; this rate rose to 12 percent for the 1995 cohort. The Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) shows that the low-income rate for recent immigrants fell from 38 to 30 percent between 1996 and 1999, while it fell from 17 to 15 percent among all persons over the same period. More analysis, particularly on the dynamics of earnings catch-up rates, is needed before a trend can be established.

In spite of the improvements shown among more recent cohorts, immigrants still have low levels of initial employment earnings and high incidence of low income. Immigrants continue to experience significant barriers to labour market integration due to a lack of Canadian experience and difficulties in the recognition of foreign credentials.

Through the Innovation Strategy launched in February 2002 by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) and Industry Canada, the federal government plans to collaborate with provinces, territories, and other stakeholders to reduce barriers to labour market integration of immigrants. Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians, HRDC's contribution to the Innovation Strategy, sets out two milestones: the proportion of adult immigrants with post-secondary education be increased to 65 percent by 2010, and the income gap between immigrant and Canadian-born workers with comparable skills and education be reduced by half. As the Innovation Strategy moves forward, there are opportunities for all sectors of society to work together to ensure progress is made on achieving these milestones.

# Tracking the Progress of Recent Immigrants to Canada : the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada

**H**ow can we answer the many questions surrounding how new immigrants adjust to life in Canada? The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) will soon help provide many of the answers. Sponsored by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and carried out by Statistics Canada, this comprehensive study conducts interviews in 15 languages with a representative sample of recent immigrants. The interviews take place at three points in time during the newcomers' first four years in Canada. LSIC will provide critical information from the immigrant's perspective on many aspects of the adjustment process of newcomers, including employment, housing, health, language and social networks. Results of the survey will aid in the development of programs and policies that facilitate immigrants' integration into Canada's economic and social fabric.

To set the context, Canada, compared with other OECD countries, has one of the highest inflows of immigrants relative to its population. Over half of recent immigrants to Canada come from just 10 (mainly Asian) countries. In recent years, economic immigrants have made up 50 percent of landings, with refugees and family class immigrants accounting for the other half. A large proportion of recent immigrants reside in large urban centres (Montreal 13%, Toronto 42% and Vancouver 18%), where they account for up to 10 percent of the population in these centres.

We know from other sources (e.g., census and administrative data) that recent arrivals have experienced greater challenges in the labour market, compared with those who landed in the 1980s. Part of the explanation for this lies with the shifting state of the economy, but other, more "micro" factors are likely also at play. LSIC, therefore, will delve into the situations of individual immigrants to collect detailed information on, for example, their experiences finding work and accessing training opportunities. Once aggregated, the collective stories of these people will provide a solid, representative evidence base for the development of policy and programs at various levels of government, and among other agencies working with new immigrants, their families and their communities.

LSIC completed its first wave of data collection in spring 2002 and these data are now being processed. Initial results are expected in early 2003, with more detailed, thematic analyses scheduled to follow. A public-use micro-data file will be produced and data will also be made available through Statistics Canada's Research Data Centres. For more information on the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, contact Martha Justus, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (613-957-5924 or [Martha.Justus@cic.gc.ca](mailto:Martha.Justus@cic.gc.ca)).

# Canada's Immigration System

The following section has been developed to give the reader a brief overview of Canada's immigration and citizenship system and to acquaint readers with the specific acts and terminology germane to this area.

## Canada's immigration objectives

The Canadian immigration program embodies three basic social, economic and humanitarian goals:

- to facilitate the reunion in Canada of Canadian residents with close family members from abroad;
- to foster the development of a strong, viable economy in all regions of the country; and,
- to fulfil Canada's international legal obligations with respect to refugees and to uphold its humanitarian tradition.

In support of these goals, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) administers to two major statutes: the *Immigration Act* and the *Citizenship Act*. A new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* was implemented in June 2002.

The *Immigration Act* states that the immigration program should protect the health and safety of Canadians and prevent the entry of people who pose a potential threat to Canada's safety and security. In concert with the *Immigration Act*, the *Citizenship Act* specifies who is a citizen of Canada and who may be granted Canadian citizenship by promoting citizenship values and through the process of granting citizenship.

The Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada supports immigration and citizenship programs and policies by:

- setting immigration levels in consultation with the provinces and the private sector;
- admitting skilled workers and business immigrants;
- reuniting families;
- admitting visitors, foreign students and temporary workers;
- resettling refugees;
- working with the Immigration and Refugee Board to protect refugees in Canada;
- integrating newcomers, in co-operation with the provinces and community organizations;
- granting citizenship and promotes citizenship values; and
- managing an enforcement strategy to protect the health, safety and security of Canadian society.

## Key partnerships

A key feature of CIC's work involves partnership with other federal departments, the provinces, municipalities and international organizations as well as the private sector, the voluntary sector and not-for-profit organizations. In fact, under the Constitution, immigration is an area of shared jurisdiction. CIC has entered into bilateral agreements with almost all provinces

and territories with the most comprehensive, the Canada-Quebec Accord, giving Quebec sole responsibility for selecting independent immigrants and refugees who are destined for Quebec. It also gives Quebec the responsibility to provide its own reception and integration services — linguistic, cultural and economic — for permanent residents of the province. Through formal agreements, three provinces (Quebec, British Columbia and Manitoba) are responsible for the design and administration of settlement programs and services comparable to those in the rest of Canada, for newcomers to the province, with federal compensation.

CIC has also signed immigration agreements with British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba in 1998, and stand-alone provincial nominee agreements with New Brunswick and Newfoundland in 1999. In 2001, agreements were signed with Prince Edward Island and Yukon, and letters of understanding exist with the other Atlantic provinces. These federal-provincial agreements outline specific responsibilities and establish formal mechanisms by which the provinces and territories can contribute to the development of immigration policies and programs.

The Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) is an independent quasi-judicial administrative tribunal that decides on Convention refugee claims made within Canada; hears appeals against denial of admission, removal orders and refusals of family class sponsorship, and appeals by the Minister of decisions made by adjudicators; and conducts immigration inquiries and detention reviews in accordance with the *Immigration Act*.

Other key federal partners include the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Health Canada, Canada Customs and Revenue Agency, Department of Justice Canada, Federal Court of Canada, Solicitor General Canada, Canadian Security Intelli-

gence Service (CSIS) and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Statistics Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, Industry Canada, and Canadian Heritage.

**Family class immigrants** are immigrants sponsored by close family members already living in Canada. Sponsors must be Canadian citizens, or permanent residents aged 19 or over, and be able to provide for the lodging, care, maintenance and normal settlement needs of the applicant and accompanying dependants for 10 years. They can sponsor members of their immediate family, their parents and grandparents, or other relatives in certain circumstances.

**Economic or “independent” immigrants** are immigrants who qualify for certain types of jobs or have other important assets to bring to Canada. They apply on their own initiative and are selected for their skills or other assets that will contribute to the Canadian economy and are assessed on the basis of selection criteria for a specific category. This class includes skilled workers and business immigrants. Business immigrants include entrepreneurs, investors and self-employed persons. The principal applicant is the person being assessed. Accompanying persons are included in the same category.

**Refugees** are persons seeking protection in Canada. They are either Convention Refugees selected abroad for resettlement in Canada in accordance with the Geneva Convention definition of refugee or are refugee claimants, persons who have arrived in Canada and seek Convention Refugee status at the Immigration and Refugee Board. Refugees resettled from abroad are usually categorized as government assisted or privately sponsored, while those who are granted status by the IRB are categorized as in-Canada refugees. Non-accompanying dependants are admitted in a different category — dependants abroad.

A **foreign student** is a visitor who has been approved by an immigration officer or visa officer to study in Canada. The student’s authorization document identifies the level of study and length of time the individual may study in Canada. Foreign students may not accept employment unless authorized by CIC.

A **foreign worker** is a visitor who is authorized to work in Canada on a temporary basis. Most foreign workers who want to work temporarily in Canada must have a validated job offer and an employment authorization before they arrive. Temporary workers may not undertake full-time studies and may not change jobs unless authorized by CIC.

## Immigrating to Canada

The rules for the admission of immigrants and refugees deal with three basic categories that correspond to the three main program objectives: reuniting families, promoting economic development and protecting refugees. They are usually referred to as Family Class, Economic Immigrants and Refugees.

Other classes of immigrants established for humanitarian or public policy reasons may also be defined by regulation. Currently, these classes include Provincial Nominees, Live-in Caregivers, Post-Determination Refugee Claimants in Canada Class and Undocumented Convention Refugees in Canada.

The immigration program also deals with people who want to visit Canada but do not plan to settle here. This non-immigrant, or temporary, part of the program involves the rules and procedures governing the entry of visitors, students and temporary workers. Every visitor, except those from countries specifically exempted, must obtain a visitor visa before arriving in Canada.

Until such time as their claims are determined by the IRB, refugee claimants are considered part of the temporary population. Successful claimants may apply for permanent resident status as in-Canada refugees. Unsuccessful claimants may depart the country voluntarily, appeal the IRB's decision or seek other avenues including review of their cases on humanitarian or compassionate grounds. Refugee claimants are eligible, in certain circumstances, to apply for the right to work or to attend school.

## A welcoming nation

The settlement and integration of immigrants and refugees is a gradual process that requires an active commitment from both newcomers and the receiving society. The ability of immigrants to reach their potential and to become full contributing members of Canadian society depends not only on their personal characteristics, knowledge, skills, experience and the traditions that they bring with them but also on the social and economic conditions they encounter on arrival. Settlement and integration programs encompass both pre-arrival

orientation services abroad and settlement and integration services upon arrival in Canada. These programs are delivered in communities across Canada through settlement service providers such as voluntary sector and not-for-profit organizations, school boards, colleges and universities.

Settlement programs and services are available to persons who are permanent residents of Canada, persons who have been granted permission to remain in Canada, or persons who have been selected for immigration to Canada and to whom it is the intent to grant landed immigrant status.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada has many programs in place designed to enable the settlement and integration of immigrants and refugees into Canadian society.

- Canadian Orientation Abroad is offered in various countries to immigrants and refugees before their departure for Canada to provide general orientation on life in Canada.
- The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) provides services such as reception, referral, orientation, para-professional counselling, interpretation and translation, and job-finding assistance.
- The Host Program matches Canadian volunteers (individuals and groups) with newcomers to help with cultural and social orientation — a mentoring program.
- The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada Program (LINC) provides basic language training in one of Canada's official languages to adult immigrants to facilitate their social, cultural and economic integration.
- The Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) provides assistance to Convention Refugees and members of the Humanitarian Designated Class admitted to Canada as government-assisted refugees. The funds help pay for basic household items, income support and a range of immediate essential services. Income support can last for up to 12 months or until the refugee becomes self-sufficient, whichever occurs first. RAP is designed and delivered federally other than in Quebec.

# Persons Admitted to Canada by Category, 2001

<b>IMMIGRANTS</b>	
<b>Family Class</b>	
Immediate family	37,710
Parents and grandparents	21,261
Other family class	7,675
<b>Total Family Class</b>	<b>66,646</b>
<b>Economic Immigrants</b>	
<b>Skilled Workers</b>	
Skilled worker principal applicant	58,860
Accompanying persons	78,259
<b>Business Immigrants</b>	
Entrepreneur principal applicant	1,612
Accompanying persons	4,483
Investor principal applicant	1,766
Accompanying persons	4,565
Self-employed principal applicant	704
Accompanying persons	1,450
Business immigrant principal applicant	4,082
Accompanying persons	10,498
<b>Provincial Nominees</b>	
Provincial nominees principal applicant	411
Accompanying persons	863
<b>Total Economic Immigrants</b>	<b>152,973</b>
<b>Total Other Immigrants</b>	<b>2,833</b>
<b>TOTAL IMMIGRANTS</b>	<b>222,452</b>
<b>REFUGEES</b>	
Government-assisted refugees	8,693
Privately sponsored refugees	3,570
In-Canada refugees	11,891
Dependants abroad	3,740
<b>TOTAL REFUGEES</b>	<b>27,894</b>
<b>TOTAL IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES</b>	<b>250,346</b>
<b>TEMPORARY RESIDENTS</b>	
<b>Foreign Students</b>	
Foreign students admitted in 2001	73,979
Foreign students present on December 1	133,021
<b>Foreign Workers</b>	
Foreign workers admitted in 2001	93,083
Foreign workers present on December 1	96,055
<b>Refugee Claimants</b>	
Refugee claims made in 2001	44,608
<b>CITIZENSHIP GRANTS</b>	
Citizenship grants in 2001	167,353