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Our diverse cities

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Ontario

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Introduction
Our Diverse Cities: Ontario

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Welcome to this edition of *Our Diverse Cities*. This issue focuses on immigration and diversity in Ontario. The justification for an Ontario focus derives from the challenges and interesting initiatives that are discussed in this volume. Sheer numbers, however, make the importance of understanding immigration and diversity in our most populous province even more compelling.

As of the 2001 Census, 26.8% of Ontario's population was born outside of Canada. This compares to 18.4% of Canada's population as a whole. Toronto is the major, but by no means the only Ontario magnet for immigrants. Approximately 43.7% of the Toronto census metropolitan area population was foreign-born in 2001. In addition, Hamilton (25%), Kitchener and Windsor (22% each) and St. Catharines-Niagara and Ottawa-Gatineau (18% each) all had immigrant populations at or above the national average as of 2001.

Ontario's population is also increasingly diverse. As of 2001, 19% of the Ontario population was visible minority, compared to 13.4% for Canada as a whole (Anisef, Rummens and Shields). Today newcomers arrive from Asia and South-East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and former Soviet block countries.

However, as Givechian points out in this volume, diversity is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, Ontario is home to over one-fifth of Canada's total North American Indian population. This is the highest share of any province or territory (Statistics Canada). Approximately half of this population lives off-reserve. The province is also home to the third largest population of Métis in the country (Ibid.). In addition, Ontario is home to a Black population that began to arrive in the early 1800s from the United States. Further Black immigration from Africa, the Caribbean and other parts of the world gives Ontario a Black population that is notable for its own linguistic, religious and cultural diversity (Mensah and Firang). Consequently, this volume deals with longstanding issues related to diversity, as well as those that may have emerged more recently.

Broadly speaking, this edition deals with four themes. The first concerns the demographics of diversity in Ontario. For example, Mohamoud provides us with a detailed understanding of the changing characteristics of Ottawa's population, while Satzewich and Shaffir's treatment of immigrants and immigrant settlement in Hamilton does the same for that city. Other articles consider groups that are longstanding occupants of what is now Ontario, notably Aboriginal people (Fix and Sivak, who examine the issue of cultural isolation among Aboriginal youth) and the province's Black population (Mensah and Firang).

The second theme, which is perhaps the predominant one, concerns the challenges faced by newcomers and particular segments of the province's diverse population. It is notable that many of these contributions focus on efforts to deal with these challenges. Roderick et al. focus on the challenges faced by immigrant youth and the key role of self-motivation, the existence of a supporter or role model and community level supports in fostering positive education outcomes. Fix and Sivak look at social isolation among immigrant and Aboriginal youth. The nuances and challenges of housing and homelessness issues, as experienced by different segments of our population are dealt with extensively in this volume. For example, Boucher points out the mismatch between our social housing stock and the requirement for accommodation of relatively large families of newcomers. Looking at the homeless population in Ottawa, Klodawsky et al. find that there are significant differences in the education and health status between foreign-born and

Canadian-born homeless people. Foreign-born homeless are more likely to be homeless for financial reasons than their Canadian-born counterparts.

Employment is another area that receives significant coverage. Hathyani focuses on the institutional and individual barriers confronted by immigrant professionals who find themselves driving taxis in Toronto. Buhel and Truong report on a policy paper arguing for immigrant access to the regulated professions in the province. McFadden and Janzen describe the genesis and contributions of the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN) to making the connection between local employers and new arrivals. In Waterloo, employers came to recognize that they need to employ immigrants to maintain a skilled labour force and build local prosperity. McFadden and Janzen see this as key to the success of WRIEN. Ray and Bergeron look at the home-work commuter patterns of different populations within the Ottawa-Gatineau region and argue that we pay insufficient attention to the importance of workplaces as sites for cross-cultural integration.

The third theme in this volume concerns the relationship of diverse populations and newcomers to local politics and governments in Ontario. Siemiatycki looks at munipal franchise and voting rights of non-citizens in Toronto. He offers five reasons why municipal voting rights should be extended to all permanent residents of the city regardless of citizenship. In the same vein, Bagga explores why Sikh Canadians have been so active in electoral politics. On the question of engagement, the London Diversity and Race Relations Advisory Committee (LDRRAC) has contributed an overview of its history and approach to building an inclusive community. Readers will also learn about the challenges and changes in the delivery of local services. For example Agrawal, Qadeer and Prasad look at municipal services and ethnic enclaves in the Peel Region. They conclude that the existence of ethnic enclaves may not have a significant impact on the demand for services but that enclaves may offer opportunities for targeted delivery of services. Quirke discusses the increasing role of public libraries in providing settlement services. Agrawal and Hathiyani examine the barriers that ethnic communities face in locating funeral home and practicing religious and cultural rites for the dead in traditional Ontario.

The final cluster of contributions to this volume deals with how Ontario institutions are trying to deepen our understanding of diversity through research and formal education programs. Anisef, Rummens and Shields track the evolution of the Ontario Metropolis Centre (CERIS) since its establishment in 1996. They report on its expanding reach, which has moved from conducting research focused on Toronto to the broader Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The volume contains reports on the 2006 speakers series at the University of Guelph (Lusis) and the newly established Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University of Western Ontario (Esses, Beaujot and Dodson). In addition, several of the articles included in this issue of *Our Diverse Cities* were written by graduates of Ryerson University's Graduate Program in Immigration and Settlement Studies (Bagga, Hathiyani, Navaratna, Quirke). Clearly, Ontario's research and scholarly community is interested in and committed to fostering understanding of immigration and diversity in the province.

This volume is important for another reason, as well. Many of the contributions deal with immigration and diversity in second- and third-tier cities – Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Windsor and the like. This is significant because historically, the bulk of research and commentary on immigration and diversity in Ontario has focused on Toronto and, more recently, the GTA. This is completely understandable given the rate of immigration to the GTA, the increasing diversity of its population and the benefits and challenges of having different populations that both mix and are sequestered in residential and workplace enclaves. However second- and third-tier cities and even smaller centres deserve attention as we move forward.

There are a number of reasons for this. Broadly speaking, Ontario's second- and third-tier cities fall into two categories. The first consists of centres like Hamilton, Kitchener, Windsor, St. Catharines-Niagara and Ottawa-Gatineau, which have immigrant populations at or above the national percentage. The contribution to this volume by the LDRRAC suggests that London is also experiencing a recent immigration boom after a significant period of population stability. A number of articles in this issue cover these localities: Navaratna as well as Satzewich and Shaffir cover Hamilton; McFadden and

The challenges faced by newcomers and other diverse population groups in Ontario raise a myriad of policy questions depending on whether one is looking at education, health care, relationship with the justice system or some other domain....There is one over-arching question, however: beyond public education and exhortation, what can governments do to foster welcoming communities?

Janzen cover Kitchener-Waterloo; Quirke touches on one aspect of Windsor's experience with immigrants and minorities; and a plethora of articles (Mohamoud; Luther; Bergeron and Ray; Boucher; Klodawsky et al., Adey and Gagnon) build on the Our Diverse Cities: Ottawa project featured herein and describe the challenges facing newcomers and minorities in Ottawa.

The second group consists of places like Kingston, Sudbury and Thunder Bay, which are now receiving very few immigrants and whose population diversity largely stems from historic settlement. The same might be said of small town and rural Ontario.

In the case of second- and third-tier cities receiving a significant number of newcomers and rapidly becoming more diverse, we need to understand the unique characteristics of each that may foster or hinder settlement and harmony and those that are shared – either with other second- and third-tier cities in Ontario and other provinces and with the major magnets such as the GTA and the B.C. Lower Mainland. What attracts immigrants, Aboriginal people and other visible minorities to these places? What are the attributes of a local environment that foster newcomers' settlement, retention, harmony and prosperity? What is the role of governments and public policy, the business sector and the voluntary sector in achieving these goals? Many of the contributions to this volume deal with these questions by giving examples of specific initiatives related to employment, education, housing and so on. However we need a more systematic program of research.

Thomas Dunk's contribution to this volume, focusing on Thunder Bay, highlights the situation in other second- and third-tier cities and in small town and rural Ontario – immigration is down to a trickle and diversity is historical rather than evolutionary. Municipalities are increasingly preoccupied with the needs and interests of the current ageing population and sustaining the local economic base. The paradox is that these places need to focus on encouraging new immigration and diversity in their population in order to survive and prosper economically and socially.

An important question is how our second- and third-tier cities and other parts of the province outside of the GTA can make themselves more welcoming to attract and retain immigrants. As Bauder points out, those parts of small town and rural Ontario that increasingly rely on seasonal migrant workers for production at least display a lexicon of valuing these people. Seasonal migrants were much more welcome to work in agriculture than social assistance recipients who might have been deployed in a farmfare scheme proposed by the Ontario government in 1999. To be blunt, however, there are significant challenges in localities across Ontario in creating a welcoming environment for immigrants and visible minorities. A number of the contributions to this volume show collaboration between governments, the private sector, voluntary organizations and, where they are present, established members of ethnocultural populations, who may be significant ingredients to enhancing immigration outside of the GTA.

From a public policy standpoint, the federal government is by no means the only actor in encouraging immigration and developing positive relations among an increasingly diverse population. The 2007 first-ever Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement reflects this fact. Among its provisions is a pilot Provincial Nominee Program that enables the provincial government to nominate needed skilled workers and their families for fast-track approval by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Local governments also have a policy role by virtue of their direct experience in delivering services to newcomers and diverse communities. Incorporation of an understanding of diversity into municipal planning processes and decisions is a particular challenge for local governments. So, to conclude,

what are some of the policy questions related to immigration and diversity that need to be addressed in the Ontario context? Let me suggest two or three priorities related to each of the themes that emerge from this volume.

The demographics of the province suggest that all governments in Ontario – federal, provincial and local – need to strengthen their approach to public policy by incorporating a "diversity lens." This implies constant monitoring of the composition of the population and determining necessary changes in policy to reflect the need for positive outcomes as a result of immigration and to deal with the interests and challenges of the Aboriginal population. Governments need to develop a better understanding of the policy implications of having broadly defined populations ("Black," "Asian," "Aboriginal") that may themselves be very diverse linguistically, culturally and in terms of religion. Municipal governments in particular need to examine their planning and zoning policies in light of changing demographics. Issues here range from accommodating burial and funeral rights to encouraging housing stock that can appropriately accommodate families with different needs and cultural backgrounds. The development and use of public space in light of increased population diversity is also an important policy issue for municipalities.

The challenges faced by newcomers and other diverse population groups in Ontario raise a myriad of policy questions depending on whether one is looking at education, health care, relationships with the justice system or some other domain. For example, in the case of education and employment, a central question is what education and employment initiatives are required to foster positive outcomes for immigrant, Aboriginal and other visible minority youth and for experienced, skilled immigrants. There is one over-arching question, however: beyond public education and exhortation, what can governments do to foster welcoming communities?

Beyond the proactive role that governments need to play in monitoring immigration and population diversity, there are policy issues specifically concerning the relationship of immigrants, Aboriginal people and other visible minorities to governments. Many of the contributions to this volume beg the question: What is the optimal role for government, as compared to the private and voluntary sectors in immigrant settlement and in fostering positive outcomes in a diverse Ontario? The question raised by Siemiatycki concerning whether all permanent residents of Toronto of voting age should be able to vote in municipal elections is a serious policy question and may have more general application outside of Toronto. Finally, there needs to be increased focus on what policies regarding citizen engagement between elections foster governments' ability to connect with diverse populations.

Knowing what we now do about the activities of various post-secondary institutions and research groups in trying to understand the province's changing population raises a question about ongoing and expanded research. How will research be supported to sustain the development of further understanding of immigration and diversity in Ontario? This is not just a domestic question. Ontario needs to be understood and assessed in the context of national and international developments, as well.

Immigration and diversity are huge factors in the development and future of the Greater Toronto Area. However this volume also stresses the importance of understanding diversity in Ontario's second- and third-tier cities, as well as in smaller centres. Looking specifically at these places, the policy questions are pithy and profound. How can these localities attract and retain newcomers? How best to combat discrimination in places that have yet to receive significant visible minority populations? How can critical settlement services for new immigrants be provided in smaller centres?

I am sure that as you read through this volume other questions will arise. That, along with imparting greater understanding of diversity in Ontario, is one of the goals of this volume.

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When CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre[1] was launched in 1996, Toronto was already firmly established as Canada's "global city." As the primary destination for many newcomers to this country, the city's very character and energy is derived from continuous waves of new immigrants and refugees from diverse regions of the world. This article tracks the evolution of CERIS over the past decade as one of Canada's leading research centres analyzing the impact of immigration and resettlement in urban settings, within the context of the changing diversity both within the Greater Toronto Area and across Ontario.

Diversity and the City

CERIS Research Partnerships and Knowledge Exchange for Policy Impact

PAUL ANISEF
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CERIS and the City

By any measure, Toronto truly is a "world in a city."[2] In 2001, 43% of all newcomers to Canada chose the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) as their settlement destination, with an additional 17% coming to other Ontario urban centres (Schellenberg 2004: 11, CIC n.d.). Between 2001 and 2005, the Toronto CMA attracted an average of 107,000 international immigrants each year.

The transformation of Toronto over the past few decades into one of the most multicultural metropolises in the world has been profound. As Harold Troper notes in his historical examination of immigration to the city since the Second World War, successive inflows of new immigrants came from every corner of the globe. He observes that "Once a parochial Protestant town – the Ulster of the North – where the Sunday blue laws, draconian liquor legislation, and the Orange Order held sway, Toronto now trades on its cultural diversity as a draw for tourists" (Troper 2003: 20).

The diverse nature of Toronto's populace is well established. More than 100 languages and dialects can be heard in its diverse neighbourhoods, and over one third of Toronto residents speak a language other than English at home. Figures supplied by the City of Toronto indicate that in 2005, ten countries accounted for more than half of its new immigrants. In descending order, these are the People's Republic of China (19.4%), India (8.9%), Pakistan (6.6%), the Philippines (5.8%), Bangladesh (3.5%), Iran (3.1%), the United States (2.8%), Russia (2.8%), Sri Lanka (2.1%) and the Ukraine (1.9%) (City of Toronto 2007). Changes in immigrant source countries have also altered the visible landscape of Toronto's population.

[1] The original name for the Centre was the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement – Toronto (CERIS). The Centre later changed its name to CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre, which better reflects the expansion of its research framework to include a larger regional focus, as first mandated in 2002.

[2] The use of the phrase "world in a city" to capture the deep diversity of the city was coined in Anisef and Lanphier (2003).

As the cultural, linguistic, religious and racial diversity of both city and province continues to increase, CERIS has kept pace by undertaking policy-relevant research on the various challenges and opportunities that are brought by Canada's increasing socio-demographic complexity.

These socio-demographic changes are further reflected in the media, with Toronto now having 79 different ethnic publications.

According to the 2001 Census, 18.4% of the Canadian population and 26.8% of the Ontarian population was born outside of Canada (Statistics Canada 2003). For the CMA of Toronto, the foreign-born figure stood at an impressive 43.7%, making it a global leader among major cities in terms of the relative density of newcomer versus local-born population; the corresponding figure for the city of Toronto itself is 49.4%. Similarly, while 13.4% of the Canadian population and 19% of the Ontarian population was made up of visible minorities, 37% of the Toronto CMA population – and 43% of the city of Toronto population – was comprised of various visible minority populations (Statistics Canada n.d.: 12-14). Other Ontario cities also have significant immigrant populations. In 2001, the proportion of foreign-born population was nearly 25% in Hamilton, 22% in Kitchener and Windsor, and 18% in St. Catharines-Niagara and Ottawa-Hull. The respective visible minority populations in these cities stood at 10%, 11%, 13%, 4.5%, and 14% (Ibid.: 5-6, 10).

In 2006, the city of Toronto was home to slightly more than 2.5 million residents; when the suburban areas within the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) are included, this urban population is doubled. Between 2001 and 2006, the city of Toronto's population grew by only 0.9%. In sharp contrast, suburban communities surrounding the city experienced very rapid expansion. For example, the populations of the GTA municipalities of Brampton, Vaughan and Markham increased by 33%, 31.2% and 25.4% respectively. Other large urban centres across Ontario, though growing much more rapidly than Toronto proper, have witnessed more modest growth between Census periods, with Windsor, London, Ottawa and Kitchener registering rates of 3.5%, 4.7%, 4.9% and 7.5% over this same five-year period (Statistics Canada 2007). Moreover, according to the 2001 Census, within the GTA 43.1% of the population of Peel Region, 39.1% of York Region, 22.4% of Halton Region, and 18.9% of Durham are foreign-born. It is now the 905 suburban area code region surrounding Toronto that has quickly become the destination of choice for many new immigrants to the GTA.

CERIS was established to undertake collaborative, interdisciplinary, scientific research in order to address pressing policy issues and practice needs arising from immigration-based population growth. Illustrative priority areas include: the recognition of foreign credentials; economic and social integration of newcomers; education and training; health status; barriers and pathways to health care; access to suitable housing; racial barriers and profiling; identity, diversity and citizenship; and the creation of welcoming communities. As immigrant resettlement rapidly expanded beyond the boundaries of the former city of Toronto, CERIS broadened its horizon beyond the GTA to include other urban areas across Ontario. Similarly, as the cultural, linguistic, religious and racial diversity of both city and province continues to increase, CERIS has kept pace by undertaking policy-relevant research on the various challenges and opportunities that are brought by Canada's increasing socio-demographic complexity.

The evolution of CERIS

When Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) initiated The Metropolis Project in 1994, it was motivated by a need to develop a system for generating and using knowledge in the formulation of public policy on immigration and integration. This need became particularly manifest in public consultations on a ten-year immigration policy framework, culminating in the 1994 publication of *Into the 21st Century: A Strategy for Immigration and Citizenship* (Dubois and Watson 1998). CERIS was subsequently established in March 1996 to conduct policy-oriented research relevant to immigration and to the integration of immigrants and refugees into the economic, social, political and cultural life of the Greater Toronto Area.

Together with Metropolis centres in Montréal, the Prairies and Vancouver (and later the Atlantic region), CERIS became a major component of Canada's participation in the international

Metropolis Project. During Phase I, the Metropolis Project focused on issues related to the settlement of immigrants in large cities and sought to identify "best practices" that should inform public policy. The first six-year cycle of the Metropolis Project was funded by CIC, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and a consortium of other federal departments. Statistics Canada provided support through data donations, subsidies and technical support. Three partner universities – Ryerson University, University of Toronto and York University – contributed substantial in-kind and financial support.

CERIS founding partners created an academic research centre that differs from other more traditional university-based centres both in its focus on policy- and practice-relevant research and in its collaborative partnership between the academic and community sectors. To do this, it designed a Management Board composed of three representatives from each of its three partner universities and one representative from each of its three founding community organizations (Community Social Planning Council of Toronto, Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants and United Way of Greater Toronto). This partnership was later expanded to include representatives from the Centre's larger Partnership Advisory Committee (now transformed into a Community Partnerships Council), representatives from various governmental departments at municipal, provincial and federal levels, and Metropolis Project funders as part of a newly constituted Governance Board.

The Centre's objectives during Phase I were to: 1) create a community dedicated to research on immigration and settlement; 2) promote innovative, multidisciplinary research on the integration of immigrants into Canada's economic, social, political and cultural life, with particular attention to the GTA; 3) to create sustained, collaborative research programs involving academics and policy makers concerned with immigration issues; 4) provide training opportunities for students interested in immigration issues; and 5) disseminate research broadly to stimulate policy development and debate among the general public.

During its first six years of existence, stimulated in part by annual Requests for Proposals (RFP) and other Centre initiatives and activities, CERIS set important foundations for itself. A key achievement was the establishment of an active community of committed academic and community-based researchers, service agencies, community groups, NGOs and governmental departments. Individuals and organizations from across these sectors came to know each other, work collaboratively on research and dissemination projects and learn from each other. Together they identified pressing immigration and settlement issues, formulated relevant research questions, designed and implemented relevant research projects, and informed policy and practice with their findings. In so doing, they also began to train a new generation of policy-oriented researchers and scholars, both in academe and in community organizations.

As the Metropolis Project moved into Phase II, increased emphasis was placed on research domains, pan-Canadian research and research priorities articulated by federal partners. CERIS responded to these shifts in emphasis in numerous ways, including: 1) expanding its collaborative network of academics, students and community and government partners, including across Metropolis centres; 2) expanding pan-Canadian research; and 3) emphasizing research within the Centre's research domains that focused on federal partners' research priorities. Throughout Phase II, CERIS research became more rooted in domain and cluster research networks, more closely integrated with activities at other Metropolis centres, and more focused on overarching policy- and practice-relevant research themes and questions. CERIS expanded its research agenda and activities to include other Ontario municipalities, engaged with community and government partners in a number of comparative and community-oriented research initiatives, and developed a collaborative pan-Canadian research agenda in key areas with researchers based at other Metropolis centres across the country.

Over its 11-year history, CERIS research outputs have been substantive. From 1996 to 2006, the Centre allocated $1,220,537 in internal research funding to 75 peer-adjudicated RFP research projects and four major research initiatives. Between 2002 and 2006, some 34 books, 107 book chapters, 220 refereed papers and 166 non-refereed papers, invited articles and reports were published. In the same period, CERIS affiliates collectively presented some 81 workshops, 494 papers at conferences, and 374 lectures, seminars, workshops and poster presentations. During Phase II (2002-2007) CERIS directors, domain leaders and research affiliates

CERIS is committed to graduate student training and mentoring (more than 200 students have been trained through CERIS-funded projects), a commitment that culminated in Ryerson University's very successful 2004 launch of an M.A. program in Immigration and Settlement Studies, Canada's first graduate program devoted to advanced study of immigration policy and services.

also leveraged more than $23,828,128 in additional external research project funding for research directly related to immigration, diversity and settlement.

CERIS currently has more than 186 affiliates. Through its Phase II internal RFP projects, these affiliates engaged in collaborative research with some 40 community groups both in the GTA and other parts of Ontario. CERIS is committed to graduate student training and mentoring (more than 200 students have been trained through CERIS-funded projects), a commitment that culminated in Ryerson University's very successful 2004 launch of an M.A. program in Immigration and Settlement Studies, Canada's first graduate program devoted to advanced study of immigration policy and services. This initiative grew directly out of Ryerson University's partnership with the Centre.

In large part, the success of CERIS can be attributed to high levels of engagement by various stakeholders. The strong relationships and partnerships that CERIS has built over the years with numerous community organizations are central to both its research and dissemination activities. In addition to informal connections and relationships, there are several structured ways through which CERIS ensures that there is continuing dialogue with the community sector and other stakeholders. At our annual research retreats, non-governmental and diverse community groups participate in pinpointing priority research questions for our annual RFP funding competition. They contribute as researchers, research assistants, collaborators and advisors in all CERIS research projects and they participate in the Centre's Brown Bag Seminar Series, Research Forum and Metropolis conferences. They also co-author various research dissemination materials, including the CERIS *Working Papers Series* and *Policy Matters*, and readily facilitate the effective "uptake" of the Centre's research findings.

As CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre moves into Phase III, it will build upon this solid foundation with a renewed and expanded mandate by: 1) further expanding and supporting a highly productive network of academic and community researchers, NGOs, graduate student trainees, policy makers, practitioners and funders, interested in migration, diversity and civic participation within the province of Ontario; 2) further facilitating, supporting and undertaking interdisciplinary policy- and practice-relevant research at the local, provincial, national and international levels through active collaboration across the Metropolis Project network; and 3) initiating additional *knowledge exchange* and knowledge transfer activities across all relevant stakeholders in order to further optimize the "uptake" of research findings for knowledge mobilization among policy makers and practitioners.

CERIS knowledge transfer and mobilization

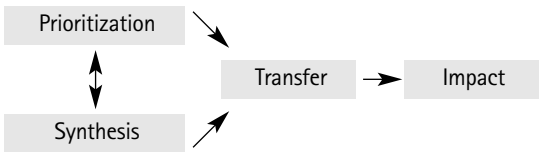
CERIS strategies for knowledge transfer and mobilization are designed to build ongoing and systematic exchange of information between academic and non-academic stakeholders, thereby establishing networks, partnerships and infrastructure for knowledge creation and exchange. In this way, CERIS research is best positioned to actively and effectively inform decisions about public policy, professional practice and programme development.

The Centre's experience has demonstrated that knowledge has greater value when it is shared and implemented. We conceptualize this overall *knowledge exchange* process as an active, two-way exchange of information and people, between knowledge creators, knowledge brokers and knowledge users. *Knowledge creation*, if it is to be more relevant and applied, is best done through partnerships – in the case of CERIS, through the joining of researchers, community representatives, policy makers, practitioners, and both non-governmental and governmental partners. This is because policy- and practice-relevant research questions that address the need for evidence-based policy and programme development are more likely to both arise in this context and be successfully addressed. Similarly,

knowledge brokering is also more effectively accomplished through the development and nurturing of knowledge exchange networks, in part because such spaces open up the opportunity to share relevant information and related research findings among multiple stakeholders, and in part because it brings different perspectives, fresh insights, as well as new knowledge creation, across a broader range of *knowledge users*.

Effective *knowledge transfer* of policy- and practice-relevant research findings thus requires the building of partnership networks and infrastructure that permit, facilitate and support ongoing, systematic, timely exchange of social science knowledge between academic and non-academic stakeholders. Beyond the actual research itself, these are the primary activities to which CERIS has committed its energies and resources during Phase I and II of the Metropolis Project. The Centre's very success is firmly rooted in the importance accorded these collaborative research and knowledge exchange partnerships. It is thus both well positioned and fully committed to expanding this mandate further in Phase III.

CERIS functions as a knowledge creator, a knowledge broker and a knowledge user. Through its research collaborations and governance structures, it provides a forum for effective knowledge exchange. Its various research dissemination strategies are geared towards knowledge translation (to address the informational needs of diverse stakeholder audiences) and knowledge transfer (to facilitate the rapid uptake of research findings into policy and practice through knowledge mobilization. CERIS community, governmental, and non-governmental partners are all integrally involved in every step of the research cycle, from the initial identification and prioritization of pressing research needs, to the synthesis of existing knowledge, the design and implementation of research initiatives, the analyses of project data and preparation of reports and manuscripts, the subsequent determination of implications of research findings for policy and practice, and the effective knowledge transfer of study findings via various media to diverse stakeholders.



Conclusion

As leaders in knowledge transfer and mobilization, the very success of CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre and the Metropolis Project itself in addressing policy challenges arising from newcomer settlement and integration within the context of Canada's increasing diversity can be attributed to the innovative way in which our research is undertaken and shared to inform policy and practice. As CERIS moves into its second decade, the identification of key policy research priority themes, renewed emphasis on knowledge transfer, and attendant structural changes envisioned for Phase III of the Metropolis Project, have been embraced as optimally consistent with SSHRC's goal of "systematically moving knowledge into active service for the broadest common good."

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This article provides an overview of the current situation regarding immigrant dispersal in Ontario and considers of some of the policies that have been proposed or adopted to encourage the movement of immigrants, particularly skilled immigrants, to locations outside of Toronto. The model of communities leading the way in developing plans for immigrant attraction and retention offers more potential for longer term sustainable immigrant settlement models. The example of Waterloo region highlights successful efforts to increase immigrant attraction and retention. In the longer term successful models will depend upon communities developing cultures that favor greater inclusion and representation of immigrants in community building and politics.

Immigration Regionalization in Ontario: Policies, Practices and Realities*

MARGARET WALTON-ROBERTS
Wilfrid Laurier University

Canadian immigration: Current issues and debates

The most pronounced spatial shift in immigrant landings in Canada over the last 20 years has occurred in the largest metropolitan cities, which increased their share of landings from 52.2% in the early 1980s, to 74.7% in the late 1990s. Settlement in Toronto accounts for a substantial part of this shift, with the city accounting for just over 28% of all immigration in the early- to mid-1980s to over 40% in the mid-1990s (CIC LIDS[1]). As this geographical concentration of immigrant settlement has intensified, political debate over the regionalization of immigration has emerged at both the federal and provincial levels of government. The promotion of regional immigration is influenced by the need to address population decline in remote and rural parts of the country, and to promote regional economic development. Immigrant regionalization as a policy debate has not been posited as a direct response to immigrant concentration in the largest cities, but such concerns have been raised as commentators suggest that immigration concentration in the largest cities may lead to negative social and economic problems (Collacot 2002, Stoffman 2003). City governments and immigrant-serving agencies have not voiced concern with actual numbers of immigrants per se (indeed Toronto's mayor has stated that the city needs *more* immigrants[2]), but with the lack of government resources offered to deal with their settlement needs and the labour market barriers that skilled immigrant face in trying to access the labour market (Sweetman 2004). This certainly differentiates Canada's situation from debates in the USA about balkanization and immigrant saturation in the largest urban regions (Light 2006, Frey 1996, Ellis and Wright 1998), but both countries are involved in discussions regarding

* This paper is based on research funded by the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS). Thanks to the research assistants who helped gather data and transcribe interviews linked to this project, Jenny Coles, Qaseem Ludin, Farzana Propa, Cheryl Robertson.

[1] Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Landed Immigrant Data System.

[2] This pronouncement was made during a plenary at the 10th International Metropolis Conference, Toronto, October 2005.

Rather than top-down initiatives, the PROMPT discussion paper argues that sustainable immigrant settlement in smaller communities will only succeed if it is community driven and entails a long-term and broad-based model of incorporating immigrants into communities as community builders and stakeholders.

the geography of immigrant settlement, although the discourses employed vary (Abu-Laban and Garber 2006). One aspect of migration that does have a rural impact is the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP), which brings over 18,000 mostly Mexican and Caribbean workers to Canada (more than 90% of whom work in Ontario). In the USA the Latinization of rural America (Taylor et al. 1997) demands increasing attention, but in Canada it tends not to be viewed as part of the larger regional immigration discussion.[3]

Settlement and regionalization policies: The federal level

At the federal level immigrant regionalization is not an explicit component of immigrant policy, but one that has been receiving a great deal of attention, certainly since 2002 when former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Denis Coderre expressed an interest in it. Various plans have included regionalization as part of a broader mandate. For example, one of the five objectives of the Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities is to foster the regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.[4] The most powerful policy tool relevant to immigrant regionalization at the current time is the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), which allows some provincial control over immigrant selection in order to address specific labour market needs. Perhaps the greatest successes for PNP agreements have been in the Prairie Provinces; in 2002, for example, more than 70% of all PNPs went to Manitoba. Indeed in 2004 the Prairies experienced the first relative increase in their share of immigrants since 1988, receiving 11% of the national immigration total (Vineberg 2005). The other recent policy change (May 2005) has been the extension of the post-graduation work visa for foreign students in Canadian universities from one to two years if they graduated from a school *and* secured suitable employment outside of Montréal (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal), Toronto (Greater Toronto Area) and Vancouver (Greater Vancouver Regional District).[5] The hope is that these highly qualified individuals, who have already lived in regions outside of the largest cities, will be ideal candidates to remain there, especially if they find suitable employment. Beyond these two *policy* changes there is little else the federal government has developed in order to promote regional immigration, other than to offer support to other initiatives emerging from junior levels of government, and to build models that provide a greater role for municipalities to discuss and influence immigration. Examples of the inclusion of municipalities in the federal process include the Winnipeg Private Refugee Sponsorship Assistance Program,[6] and the 2005 Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement which explicitly aims to build relationships with municipalities in areas of immigration that are related to their interests.[7] The inclusion of municipalities in immigration planning and discussion is the first step to addressing the disconnect between a nationally initiated, but locally managed process.

The Ontario case

When tracing the number of immigrants arriving in Ontario census metropolitan areas (CMAs) outside of Toronto, two fairly distinct groups emerge (see Figure 1). One group of CMAs has a

[3] While I do not discuss this aspect of migration to Canada's rural areas, it is important to highlight that these seasonal migrant movements do have an impact in rural and small town communities. The ethnical issues associated with this policy are also widely debated, and will become increasingly so as continental integration continues (see Basok 2002).

[4] www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/plan-minorities.html. Accessed March 13, 2007.

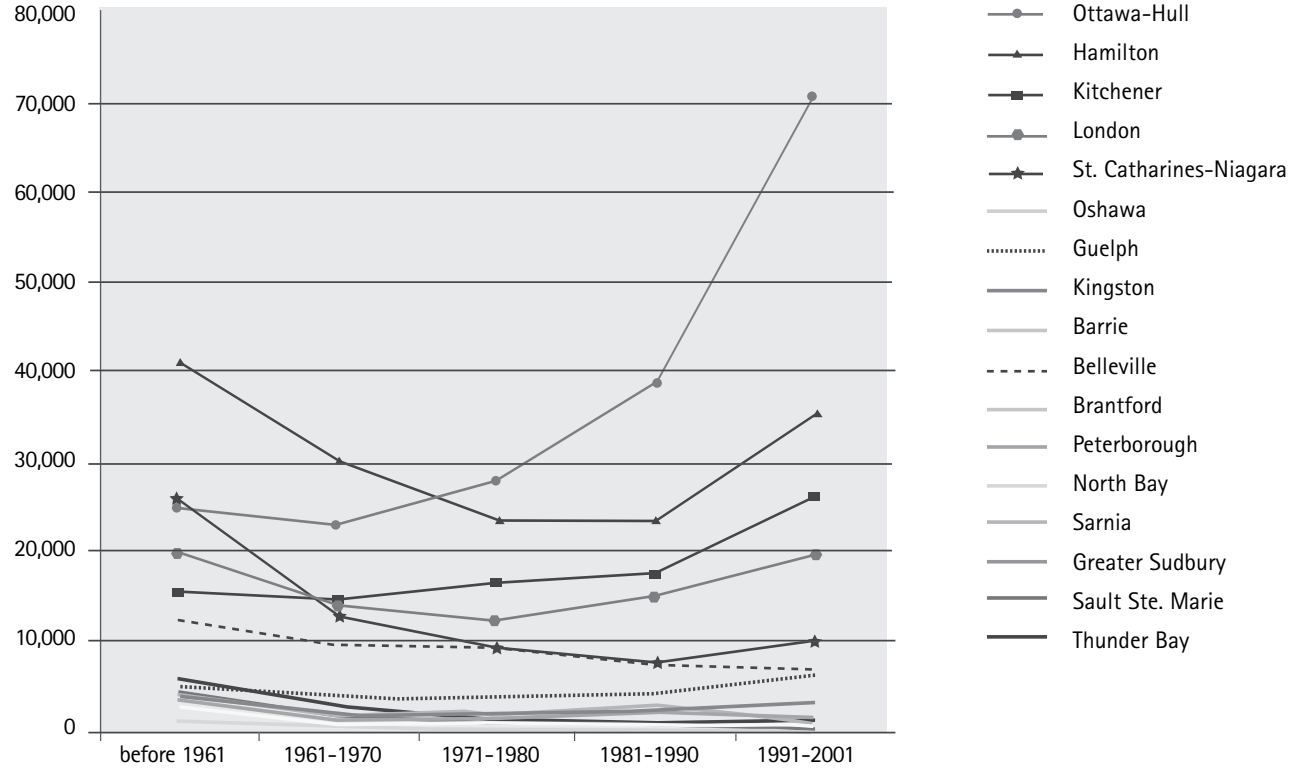
[5] www.cic.gc.ca/english/study/offcampus-work.html.

[6] The fund is for $250,000 and is intended to underwrite mostly family or community-linked refugees who may require financial support. CIC Canada News Release 2002-47.

[7] www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/coia-plan.html. Accessed March 12, 2007.

FIGURE 1

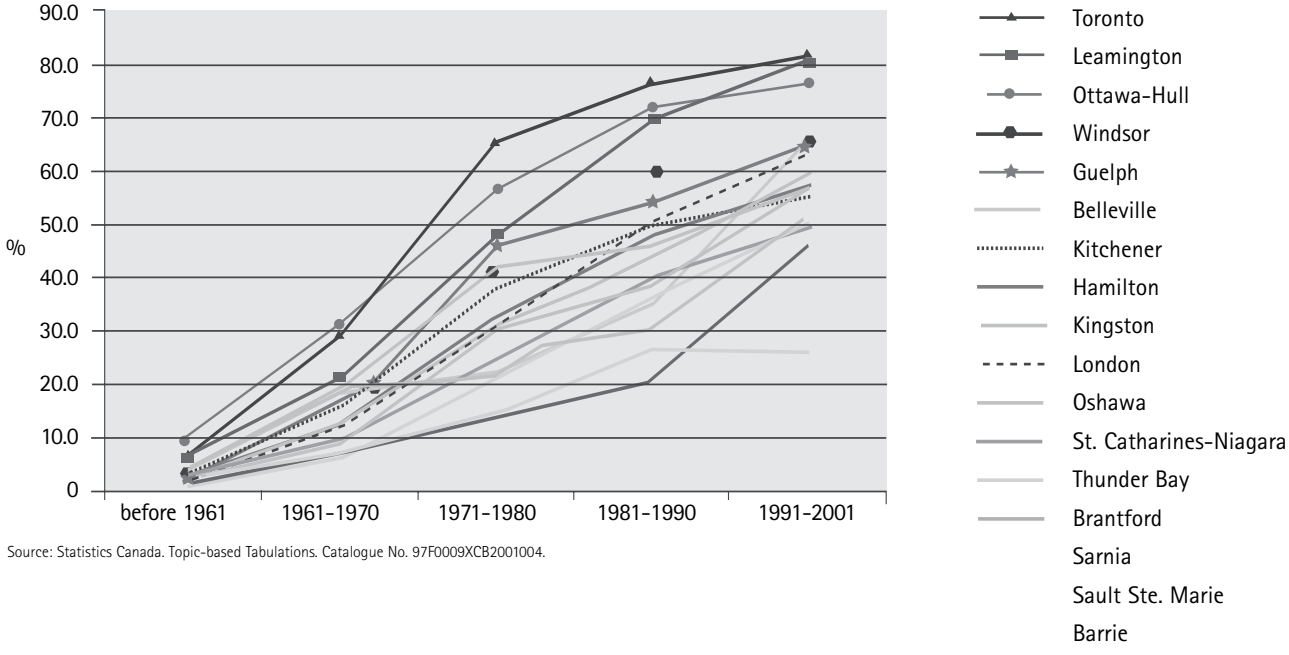
Immigration to Ontario CMAs, excluding Toronto, by period of arrival



Source: Statistics Canada. Topic-based Tabulations. Catalogue No. 97F0009XCB2001004.

FIGURE 2

Non-European/US immigrants as a percentage of total landing in Ontario CMAs, by period of arrival



Source: Statistics Canada. Topic-based Tabulations. Catalogue No. 97F0009XCB2001004.

stable or declining number of immigrants settling in the community since 1961 (in Northern Ontario such as Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay, North Bay; Southeastern Ontario communities such as Kingston, Peterborough, Belleville; and other communities in Southwestern Ontario, such as Barrie and Sarnia). Other CMAs have shown a fairly strong increase in immigrant numbers since 1980, most significantly Ottawa-Hull, Hamilton, Kitchener, Windsor and London. In terms of the composition of immigrants to Ontario communities (Figure 2) there has been, as with the national trend, a shift from European and US immigrants to a greater percentage of non-European. However, only three communities presented more than 70% of immigration from non-European source countries (Toronto, Leamington, Ottawa), and in some cases non-European and US immigrants accounted for less than 50% of immigrants (Barrie, St. Catharines, Sault Ste. Marie, Sarnia and Thunder Bay).

Since 1961 we can see there has been an overall increase in immigrant numbers to certain CMAs, but it is not driven by any provincial policy per se. Regionalization as a policy tool at the provincial level is only evident in the case of International Trained Medical Graduates, who in return for entry into the six-month International Medical Graduate program have to commit to a five-year Return of Service (ROS) term in an underserviced community (as determined by the Government of Ontario).[9] With the exception of this one "coercive model" of immigrant regionalization, the current trend in Ontario appears to be encouraging municipalities to develop immigrant attraction initiatives of their own, rather than propose top-down instruments to facilitate or enforce immigrant dispersal. Such encouragement is also expressed in one of the eight objectives stated in the Canada-Ontario Agreement:

> ...to foster partnerships with, and the participation of stakeholders including municipal governments, community-based organizations, minority official languages communities and the private sector in the recruitment of immigrants and temporary residents, and in the settlement and integration of immigrants.[10]

This objective supports the practices that have already been emerging across Ontario, where communities at the municipal level develop plans to promote immigrant attraction. For example ,Sudbury's "Diversity Thrives Here!" multicultural project was a municipal and business effort to attract immigrants with skilled trades to the area (Ross 2005). Many Northern mining communities like Sudbury will be affected by the projected 81,000 employee labour shortage the industry will face in the next decade, as noted in the 2005 Mining Industry Training and Adjustment Council Report (MITACR), which advocates various routes to addressing the skilled labour supply in mining, including increasing the number of immigrants. Such reports suggest increasing ethnic diversity in more remote and northerly Canadian communities is likely, and a proactive approach to preparing for effective immigrant settlement, retention and inclusion needs to be adopted.

The emphasis on community-based approaches to immigrant attraction is reflected in the fact that within Ontario, the Rural Development Policy Branch of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing has been actively exploring and researching this issue.[11] This community- rather than immigrant-based approach to regionalization promises to offer more grounded and regionally specific models of immigrant attraction and retention. The provincial government has demonstrated concrete action in this regard by commissioning research through the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs' (OMFRA) Rural Research and Services Committee (ORRSC).[12] In 2004, ORRSC identified immigration/ migration as its second priority area for rural research after environmental sustainability.[13] In addition to provincial interest in research on immigration to rural areas in Ontario, other important sources of information stem from community groups,

[9] The Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario (AIPSO) does not oppose ROS terms per se, but does object to the inequitable treatment foreign-trained graduates receive as opposed to Canadian-trained and repatriated graduates whose ROS terms are shorter by two to three years (www.aipso.ca).

[10] www.cic.gc.ca/english/policy/fed-prov/ont-2005-agree.html. Accessed March 13, 2007.

[11] Observations based upon personal correspondence with Stellina Volpe, Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, October 5, 2005.

[12] www.omafra.gov.on.ca/english/research/oascc/orrsc/orrsc.pdf. Accessed October 17, 2005.

[13] ORRSC has funded three research projects on immigration to rural areas through the University of Guelph/OMAFRA Research Directorate.

Certainly Kitchener-Waterloo currently offers a vibrant example of a community proactively addressing the immediate concerns of immigrants, especially with reference to language training, labour market access and encouraging employers to take immigrants seriously as skilled and qualified workers. But in the case of longer term community inclusion and fostering political leadership in the area of immigrant inclusion, there is still much that needs to happen.

social service and immigrant service providers and government commissioned reports (Wilkinson 1990, MNDM 1991, Cummings and Associates 2001). In 2001, a report commissioned by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Ontario Administration of Settlement and Immigration Services (OASIS) detailed the state of settlement services for newcomers in isolated rural areas and small towns in Northern Ontario. It identified the variable nature of service delivery across rural and small communities in Ontario, and examined various alternative models of service delivery for remote communities, including Internet and enhanced linkages between communities and service organizations.

Further guidance on the issue of regionalization emerged in March 2005 when the Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades (PROMPT) released a discussion paper on immigration dispersal models and sustainable immigrant community settlement. They reviewed examples of immigrant dispersal programs such as the IMG program and regionalized refugee resettlement programs. One of the main criticisms the report makes of the limited dispersal initiatives is that they only consider immigrants as a labour force inputs and not as active contributors and members of their communities. Additionally the authors criticize the "deficit model," where immigrants are paternalistically viewed as a bag of needs, instead of as valuable partners in community building. Rather than top-down initiatives, the PROMPT discussion paper argues that sustainable immigrant settlement in smaller communities will only succeed if it is community driven and entails a long-term and broad-based model of incorporating immigrants into communities as community builders and stakeholders. The authors argue that a *sustainable* model of community engagement moves beyond "welcome services" to "the full spectrum of enabling and empowering community connections and access to local social, political, and economic institutions" (2005: 22). This leads me to consider recent developments in Waterloo Region that might be considered a sustainable model of community engagement.

Waterloo region: An emerging model of sustainable immigrant settlement?

The Waterloo Regional District includes seven municipalities; the largest of these are Cambridge, Kitchener and Waterloo. The region had the fifth largest foreign-born population in Canada and the fifth highest employment rate across all Canadian CMAs in 2001 (Statistics Canada 2003). The visible minority population is 11.6% in Kitchener, 13.4% in Waterloo, and in both cities the largest visible minority community is of South Asian-origin (2.2% of the total population in Kitchener, 4.2% in Waterloo). The largest ethnic group after English is German, accounting for approximately 23% across the larger Waterloo Regional District (Statistics Canada 2001 census data). Based on the 2006 Census, Waterloo Region was the fourth fastest growing area in Ontario, with more than 37,000 new residents (nearly 9% growth).

A number of important community-based initiatives regarding immigrant settlement have recently raised the profile of Waterloo Region as a community that adapts to change by developing broad-based approaches and solutions, particularly to labour market issues (Voices for Change 2003, Canadian Organizational Study 2005). One of the most comprehensive and publicized events was the April 2005 Immigrant Skills Summit, organized by several local agencies in the Waterloo Region and led by the Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (CREHS).[14] The Summit was organized to bring together multiple stakeholders and concerned groups in order to develop a comprehensive set of action plans to attract and retain immigrants to Waterloo Region, leading to the formation of the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment

[14] www.crehs.on.ca/skills-summit.html.

Network (WRIEN) (see Hatzipantelis et al. 2005, Janzen et al. 2005, Hogarth et al. 2005 for working papers linked to the original meeting, and www.wrien.com).

WRIEN brings together immigrant service providers, public and private sector employers, community-based organizations, governments and educational institutions. The group is comprised of a steering committee and four workgroups focusing on employment initiatives, qualification recognition and enhancement, immigrant support and investments. The network has been lauded as an example of the region's collaborative and cooperative approach to local development, which is also noted through references to the region's "barn-building" approach to development, emerging from the rich history of Mennonite settlement to the region.[15] Ross McGregor, president and CEO of the Toronto Region Research Alliance, also cited Waterloo Region's culture of collective action and collaboration as a powerful factor in its ability to promote research and development and strengthen its position as a technology leader in Canada.[16] These collaborative traits are evident in the development of WRIEN and its mandate to build community prosperity by strategically planning for the future labour needs of the region.

While WRIEN is a sign of proactive community engagement, especially with regard to labour market issues, other factors regarding immigrant inclusion and retention are less apparent. The original Summit report stated the need to "create a profile of Waterloo Region as being a welcoming environment for immigrants," and to "promote immigrant leadership in the Waterloo Region" (Immigrant Skills Summit Proceedings 2005). In ongoing research on immigration to the Kitchen-Waterloo Region, interviews conducted with immigrant service providers have revealed the lack of involvement from the municipal governments of Kitchener, but especially Waterloo, in failing to offer work placement positions to immigrants when requested by immigrant agencies, and in failing to encourage diversity within various sub-committees and community panels formed to advise the government. These concerns seem to be borne out by a labour force survey WRIEN conducted where only 2% of public sector hires and 17% of private sector hires were immigrants (22% of Waterloo Region's labour force are immigrants). These concerns speak directly to a lack of community-building so central to the PROMPT discussion paper. Certainly Kitchener-Waterloo currently offers a vibrant example of a community proactively addressing the immediate concerns of immigrants, especially with reference to language training, labour market access and encouraging employers to take immigrants seriously as skilled and qualified workers. But in the case of longer-term community inclusion and fostering political leadership in the area of immigrant inclusion, there is still much that needs to happen.

Discussion and conclusions

The limited examples drawn upon in this paper indicate that a community-driven approach to immigrant attraction and retention is emerging in Ontario, and this offers a more sustainable model to promote immigrant dispersal. Labour market and settlement service issues are the most significant and immediate problems communities are addressing in order to ease the settlement process for immigrants, and aspects of this are being addressed both nationally, provincially and in the case of the Waterloo Region. This still leaves the longer term issue of immigrant inclusion and participation in community building, as advocated by the PROMPT discussion paper. The need to imagine and involve immigrants as central actors in wider community roles, be it as employees of local government, members on management boards of community groups, immigrant serving agencies, neighbourhood groups, and schools etc., is central to immigrant retention and building healthy, diverse communities.

About the author

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[15] The term was used by David Johnston, president of the University of Waterloo in "University of Waterloo; Celebrating 50 years" a special supplement in the KW Record January 2007.

[16] Canada's Technology Triangle Inc. 2006 Annual Meeting of Members, June 21st 2006.

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The Black population in Ontario, as elsewhere in Canada, is ethnoculturally heterogeneous: some Blacks are "indigenous" to the province, tracing their roots to the era of slavery, while others are "recent" immigrants from continental Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and other parts of the world. This article sheds some light on the diversity among the Black population in Ontario, highlights the racial problems faced by Blacks in our cities, and shows how these problems come back to hurt us all, like a boomerang.

The Heterogeneity of Blacks in Ontario and the Racial Discrimination Boomerang

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Even though the heterogeneity of Canada's visible minority population has long been recognized in the national Census and other academic publications, scholars have only recently begun to give some research attention to the ethnocultural diversity among Black Canadians (Mensah 2002 and 2005, Tettey and Publampu 2006). Still, to date, very little research (e.g., Mensah and Adjibolooso 1998) has been done on the diversity of Blacks within any particular province, despite the long-standing history of Black immigration in Canada. In what follows, we shed some preliminary light on the subject, using Blacks in Ontario as our case study. The choice of Ontario is hardly fortuitous, as the province is home to most Black Canadians in both absolute and relative terms.

Our main objective is threefold: first, to highlight the immense diversity among Ontario's Black population; second, to draw readers' attention to the difficulties faced by Blacks in their individual and collective efforts to settle and integrate into Ontarian society; and, third, to show how the race-based, settlement and integration problems faced by Blacks come back to hurt us all, like a boomerang. Obviously, these three parts are not mutually exclusive; they reinforce each other in a dialectical fashion. For instance, the enormous diversity among Blacks in Ontario feeds into their settlement and integration problems, just as the latter compel various Black groups to accentuate their ethnicity, pushing many to seek solace in the stealthily emerging ethnic enclaves in our major urban centers, such as Toronto. Similarly, it is not hard to envisage how ethnic enclaves among various Blacks groups, most of which are of limited financial wherewithal, could, in turn, produce an American-style Black underclass and all of its negative ramifications for society at large, and vice versa. The notion of boomerang, as used in this paper, was appropriated from Susan George's thought-provoking book, the *Debt Boomerang*, in which she shows how the external debts of "Third World" countries harm us all. Before moving on to the substantive parts of our piece, we must note that at the time of writing, only a limited amount of data had been released from the 2006 Census. Consequently, we support much of our analysis with data from the 2001 Census.

Diversity among Ontario's Black population

Blacks have been in Ontario since the early 1800s. With the passage of the *Abolition Act* of 1793 in Upper Canada, runaway slaves entering the country were considered free, and it did not take long for Southern Ontario to become a safe haven for many Blacks, by way of the now famous "underground railway." Following the passage of the *Fugitive Slave Act* of 1850, which made northern United States no longer safe for runaways, the flow of Blacks to Canada soared. Without sufficient funds, most of the Black fugitives could not venture deep into Canada and terminated their run in Southern Ontario communities near the United State border. Soon Black settlements in places such as the historic town of Amherstburg, Chatham, Buxton, St. Catharine's, Windsor, London and Toronto witnessed a remarkable growth in population. While no official data are available on the number of Black fugitives crossing into Canada during this period, it is estimated that about 10,000 fugitives were in Canada before 1850, with the bulk settling in Southern Ontario and Eastern Canada (Milan and Tran 2004, Mensah 2002).

Notwithstanding the long-standing history of Blacks in Ontario, it was not until the introduction of the point system of immigration in the 1960s that Black immigrants, mostly from continental Africa and the Caribbean, began to arrive in Ontario in significant numbers (Badget and Chiu 1994, Mensah 2002, Owusu 1999). Unlike the Black fugitives and slaves of the 18th and 19th centuries, who settled mainly in small farming communities in Southern Ontario, the contemporary Black population in Ontario – like other new immigrants from the global south – is predominantly urban, with the overwhelming majority settling in and around the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA). As of the 2001 Census, seven Ontario cities, including Toronto, Ottawa-Hull,[1] Oshawa, Hamilton, Kitchener, London and Windsor, had Black populations of 5,000 or more. Given their characteristic urban concentration, we focus on these seven centers in the analysis that follows.

Spatial Variations

The 2001 Census enumerated some 412,200 Blacks in Ontario. This represented 3% of province's total population at the time, making Blacks the third largest visible minority group, after Chinese and South Asians, in that order (Mensah 2002, Milan and Tran 2004, Statistics Canada 2001). Toronto possesses, by far, the largest concentration of Blacks in Ontario and, indeed, in Canada as a whole, in both relative and absolute terms. Blacks constitute 6.68% of the total population of the Toronto CMA. Other notable centres of Black concentration in Ontario are Ottawa-Hull, Hamilton and Windsor (Table 1). Quite expectedly, the vast majority of contemporary Black immigrants in Ontario (as in other parts of Canada) emanate from continental Africa and the Caribbean, with Somalia, Ethiopia, South Africa, Sudan, Ghana and Nigeria being the leading sources for the former, and Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Haiti, Barbados, Grenada and Guyana as the comparable ones for the Caribbean. Given the network, institutional, and cumulative causation variables implicated in the perpetuation of international migration (Massey et al. 1997), it is hardly surprising that different Black immigrant groups tend to have affinities to different cities

[1] Now Ottawa-Gatineau.

TABLE 1
The population of Blacks in major Ontario cities

Cities[a]	Total urban population	Black population	% of Canada's Blacks in the city	% of the city that is Black
Toronto	4,647,955	310,500	46.80	6.68
Ottawa-Hull	1,050,755	38,185	5.78	3.63
Hamilton	655,055	12,855	1.94	1.96
Windsor	304,955	8,125	1.22	2.66
London	427,215	7,610	1.15	1.78
Oshawa	293,550	7,180	1.10	2.44
Kitchener	409,765	7,345	1.11	1.79

[a] These are cities with 5,000 or more Blacks by the 2001 Census, ranked by the absolute size of their respective Black population.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Population.

More than a decade ago Robert Murdie (1994) asked whether Blacks in Toronto live in near-ghettoes or not. Regardless of how one answers this provocative question, there is no denying that many low-income Blacks now find themselves in racially segregated neighbourhoods in Toronto, in particular, where housing conditions are arguably fairly close to what exists in American ghettoes.

in Ontario. For instances, whereas Ghanaians rank second, after only Somalis, among the leading African groups in Toronto, they come in fifth in both Windsor and Ottawa-Gatineau. Similarly, Ethiopians, who rank second to Somalis in both Kitchener and Windsor, are not ranked among the top five African sources in any of the other five Ontario urban centres under study. Available data show that no other African immigrant group has a higher representation in Ontario cities than Somalis, who rank 1st among the top five in Hamilton, Kitchener, London, Ottawa-Gatineau, Toronto and Windsor; the only exception here is Oshawa, where Somalis do not rank among the first five (Mensah 2005: 76). Like the Somalis (in the context of African immigrants), Jamaicans are by far the leading Caribbean immigrant group in Ontario cities, ranking first among the top five groups in all the seven Ontario cities under consideration here. Other Caribbean groups that are well represented in major Ontario cities such as Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener, Windsor and London, are Guyanese[2] and Trinidadians. To the ethnocultural diversity engendered by Blacks from continental Africa and the Caribbean, are those attributable to the "indigenous" Black population in Ontario and to contemporary Black immigrants from the United States, Latin America and other parts of the world.

At the intra-urban level, one now finds Black neighbourhoods and enclaves in Ontario cities such as Toronto, Ottawa and Hamilton. The Jane-Finch and Jane-Wilson corridors in Toronto are among the best known in the province. It was more than a decade ago that Robert Murdie (1994), the renowned York University social geographer, asked whether Blacks in Toronto live in near-ghettoes or not. Regardless of how one answers this provocative question, there is no denying that many low-income Blacks now find themselves in racially segregated neighbourhoods in Toronto, in particular, where housing conditions are arguably *fairly close* to what exists in American ghettoes.

Language and Religion

Blacks in Ontario, as in elsewhere in Canada, exhibit a greater ethnocultural diversity perhaps nowhere more than in language and, to a limited extent, in religion. While most African countries have predominantly Black populations, there exists remarkable international and intranational diversity in terms of language and religion. This diversity owes a lot to the discrepancies between the continent's pre-colonial tribal territories and its modern geopolitical boundaries, most of which were drawn by the colonial powers during the "Scramble for Africa" which culminated in the infamous Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. With anywhere between 600 and 1,000 different languages spoken across Africa (de Blij 1993), it is simply unrealistic to expect any semblance of language uniformity among African immigrants in Ontario, or anywhere else in Canada for that matter. At the same time, we must note that some languages – notably, English, French, Hausa, Arabic and Swahili – serve as *lingua franca* among many African immigrants. Of the two official languages of Canada, English is by far the most prevalent among Ontario's Black immigrant population from both Africa and the Caribbean. Quite understandably, those with higher proficiency in French, relative to English, tend to prefer the neighbouring province of Quebec (more specifically, Montréal) to Ontario (specifically, Toronto) as a destination point.

Not surprisingly, Blacks in Ontario exhibit some diversity with regards to their religion – it is not as pronounced as linguistic diversity, however. While some of Ontario's Blacks, (especially many of those with some historic ties to India via the Caribbean and Eastern African countries such as Uganda and Tanzania), profess faith in such "eastern" religions as Hinduism and Buddhism, the overwhelming majority of them are Christians (i.e., Catholics and Protestants). The Islamic faith is also popular among many

[2] Even though Guyana is located in South America, its social and cultural characteristics are quite similar to those of the Caribbean nations; consequently, Guyanese are often taken as Caribbeans.

Blacks in such Ontario cities as Ottawa-Gatineau, Toronto, London and Hamilton, all of which have sizeable Somali populations. Yet, we must note that only Toronto and Ottawa-Gatineau had more than 5,000 Muslims at the time of the 2001 Census.

Access and equity issues

Arguably, Blacks in Ontario, like their counterparts in other provinces, experience a greater degree of socio-economic exclusion, skin-colour racism, and dehumanization than other minorities in Canada. Of course, there are some who will object to such an assertion, and others who (like Frantz Fanon, in his hard-hitting book, *The Wretched of the Earth*) will desist from making any such comparison in the first place, and insist that nothing is really gained by comparing the inhumanities suffered by different minority groups at the hands of the majority. Despite such problematics, it is not totally unreasonable to argue that the racial problems faced by Blacks in Ontario and, indeed, across Canada, are unique on two main grounds. First, Blacks tend to serve as the discursive polar opposite of the dominant group (i.e., Whites) and, consequently, bear the worst forms of skin-colour racism in our society. Secondly, Blacks are the only people whose ancestors were forcibly removed from their homelands and enslaved in this part of the world. Of course, this enslavement occurred centuries ago, but its damaging consequences – in terms of negative stereotype, mythologies and other cultural representations, and the lack of material wherewithal – are, perhaps, as potent now as they ever were.

That Blacks (and other visible minorities) face structural barriers, unequal treatment, and straitened access to social economic resources, or what Frances Henry calls "differential incorporation" into Canadian society, is well documented by several scholars, including Murdie and Teixeira (2003), Li (1998), Reitz and Sklar (1997), Opoku-Dappah (1995), Henry (1994), and Hulchanski (1993). Writing in the specific context of Toronto – where the bulk of Ontario's Black population lives – Frances Henry (1994) notes that the main challenges facing Blacks relate to discrimination in employment and housing, high school drop-out rates, cultural insensitivity on the part of government agencies, barriers impeding the establishment of Black community institutions, and confrontations with the police. Michael Ornstein, in a 2002 report commissioned by the City of Toronto, observed similar disadvantages among several visible minority groups in Toronto, among which Africans from Ethiopia, Somalia and Ghana stood out as the most severely impacted by poverty and other access and equity matters concerning education and employment, in particular.

Closely related to the skin-colour racism and equity issues faced by Blacks in the province's education and employment is the matter of racial profiling by the police. There is compelling evidence from the works of Wortley and Tanner (2003 and 2004), Tator and Henry (2006), and Tanovich (2006) to the effect that the police in some Ontario cities (notably, Toronto) subject a disproportionate number of Blacks to routine surveillance and vehicle stops and searches than they do members of other ethnic groups. It should, therefore, not surprise any objective observer that Blacks are "more likely to be caught when they break the law than White people who engage in the same forms of criminal activity" (Wortley and Tanner 2004: 197). It is imperative to stress that the phenomenon of racial profiling is *at odds with*, if not *utterly contrapuntal to*, genuine law enforcement. As Martinot (2003: 168) shrewdly puts it: "Profiling is the inverse of law enforcement. In law enforcement, a crime is discovered and the police then look for a suspect who might possibly have committed it. Profiling means that a suspect is discovered and the police then look for a crime for the person to have possibly committed." Does the racism meted out to Blacks affect us all? If yes, how? Put differently, what are the boomerang effects of our discriminatory practices against Blacks? We conclude this piece with some answers to this thought-provoking question.

Conclusion: The boomerang effect

The bulk of the Black population in Ontario lives in urban areas, with the overwhelming majority calling Toronto home. As we just saw, the Blacks in our midst face persistent, and arguably unique, skin-colour racism and discrimination. Much of the racism faced by Blacks is spatialized through residential segregation and other forms of space-cum-race-based resource allocation manipulations that undermine the efforts of Blacks to fully integrate into the Ontario society. As the concentration of Blacks in a specific city neighbourhood increases, the available resources dwindle, given the long-standing overlap between race and class in Ontario/Canada. This, in turn, feeds into the migration (or, more specifically, the suburbanization) of the *rest* to

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rich suburban and exurban communities, setting in motion yet another round of a vicious cycle entailing a decline in the Black neighbourhood's investment and tax base – and, by extension, resources for education, health care, and other social services – and a concomitant rise in unemployment, poverty, crime, and other social problems. Characteristically, most Black areas of our cities gain in vertical built-up (in the form of dizzying skyscrapers), what they lose in horizontal spread (in terms of well-manicured greenery or landscape and children's playgrounds).

Even though the urban underclass-like problems of Ontario cities tend to be spatially concentrated in Black neighbourhoods, they often have ramifications and spillover effects upon the society at large. These effects may include the proliferation of unemployment- and poverty-induced criminal activities; increases in the societal cost of law enforcement and of social welfare services; heightened disillusionment and disloyalty among Blacks and their attendant impediments to Canadian unity and sovereignty in this era of global terrorism; and the loss of diversity-induced prescience and nuanced scrutiny in our societal knowledge production, in particular, and in our socio-economic and cultural life, in general. With these boomerang effects in mind, it is incumbent upon social scientists and those in authority to help our citizens to understand the basic facts surrounding the Black presence in Ontario. It is only fair to acknowledge that the Black population in the province will continue to increase, as part of the ongoing globalization of migration and the shrinking and ageing of the populations of the global north, and the simultaneous booming of populations in the south. Blacks are here to stay, and it is about time we promoted their well-being through shrewd and fair policy frameworks to alleviate the boomerang effects of their race-related problems on us all.

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Here's a thought...

On Unity by Appreciation of Diversity

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This article addresses four questions. Is diversity a new phenomenon in human history? What has been the response to diversity throughout the history of humankind? What should be the proper response in the future? How can planning for the future of our cities meet the requirements of this response to diversity?

To state that "diversity" is not a new phenomenon in human societies seems to say the obvious, but needs emphasis. Throughout history, human societies have encountered groups of people who are different from them. Differences between groups of people are varied, and can range from apparent physical differences to deeper cultural differences in such matters as language, norms, values, religion, etc. Differences among people exist both within each society and between societies. Thus, diversity and multiculturalism are not recent phenomena. Humans have shown curiosity and interest towards differences and have always differentiated themselves from one another on the basis of physical and cultural attributes. In this regard, they have also practiced "ethnocentrism," which is defined as "judging another society by the values and standards of one's own society" (Scupin 2003: 52). Apparently, ethnocentrism is a universal phenomenon (Brown 2003). To cope with diversity, people of different times and places have reacted in a variety of ways, including through femicide, ageism, genocide, ethnocide, slavery, segregation, enforcing one's way of life onto another group in the name of assimilation, coexistence while emphasizing differentiation, and cultural interactions.

Within each society, human history is filled with the domination of one group and oppression or discrimination of others based on sex, age or creed. Such acts as femicide, defined as the "murder of a person based on the fact of being female" (Miller et al. 2001: 132), or any type of ageism, defined as devaluing young people (Fabrega and Miller 1995, Weatherford 1981) or old people (Sahlins 1957), are not rare within societies. Between societies, we encounter "genocide," which is "the destruction of a culture and its people through physical extermination" (Chalk and Johnson 1986: 180). We also encounter "ethnocide," or the "destruction of a culture without physically killing its people" (Miller et al. 2001: 132). For the sake of economic prosperity, "slavery" (forced and unpaid labour of an ethnically different group of people) or even slave trade as an economic end in itself (Wolf 1982) has created a different kind of response to diversity through economic exploitation of one group of people. In some cases, one group has forced another to observe "segregation," to live "on the other side of the track" or use segregated busses, restaurants, etc.

All of the aforementioned acts are condemned because of their unethical characteristics. In terms of less severe and more ethical responses to diversity such as assimilation or differentiation, we should not forget that power politics have played a significant role in converting the conquered to accept the manners of the conqueror, or as the saying goes: "when in Rome do as the Romans do." Similar patterns are seen even when there is no war and a group of people enters the land of another group as immigrants. Newcomers are supposed to behave in the same way as the people of the host country – they are supposed to "like it or leave it." We have witnessed this process particularly after the emergence of industrialism and the so-called "modern era" in countries of Europe and North America. The economic prosperity of these countries and/or liberal democratic values and ideologies have attracted migration and settlement of people from all over the world, especially to those societies that open their doors to immigrants and welcome them.

Two approaches to immigration are prevalent in most countries' policies: "assimilation and differentialism" (UNDP 2004: 12). Assimilation encourages acculturation without the choice of keeping the old identity. In this case, the encounter between newcomers and the population of the host country is solved by the process of acculturation, or "the tendencies of distinct cultural groups to borrow words, technology, clothing styles, foods, values, norms, and behavior from each other. [The process of] acculturation refers to the overall adjustment and adaptation of the group to the dominant ethnic group" (Scupin 2003: 44). In practice, this process is mainly unidirectional. In other words, the less dominant group, or the minority, borrows the culture from the more dominant group, or the majority. When Group A enters the land of Group B, it is supposed to learn from the already existing culture and behave accordingly. The ideal relationship between the host and the guest, in its most perfect version, is one in which differences will ultimately disappear and everybody will be assimilated into one "melting pot."

The second approach is the fashionable measure of encouraging differentiation or distinction, with "migrants keeping their identities but not integrating into the rest of society" (UNDP 2004: 12). This may be beneficial to the particular group that is given differentiated status, but in the long run it will not help inclusion, social cohesion or societal unity. In order to plan for our city in the future, 20 or even 100 years from now, neither assimilation nor differentiation are recommended.

Assimilation would not be a proper solution for coping with diversity. David Tilman and other researchers, including biologists, have demonstrated the importance of biodiversity for nature (cited by Bourdeau 2004). It must be noted that diversity is as essential and vital to human societies as biodiversity is to nature. Forcing various groups of people into a "melting pot" does not encourage the exchange of ideas to flourish. The concept of differentiation, or coexistence of various distinct identities, would not be a good solution either. Attaching certain static attributes to various groups of people as "mosaics" quickly becomes outdated simply because it does not show the interaction among these "mosaics."

In the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the development of globalization, post-modernism, and information technology has brought about enormous changes in the concepts of time and place, let alone the meanings of concepts such as diversity or multiculturalism. Nowadays, diversity and multiculturalism are not matters of conqueror/conquered or host/immigrant. Within one society, the demand of equality among all individuals, regardless of sex, age, level of education, social class or sexual orientation, requires a new way of dealing with diversity. Between societies, this demand rules for people of different physical and cultural attributes. Sources of global ethics governing our societies and regarding diversity would and should be: equity, human rights and responsibilities, democracy, protection of minorities, and peaceful conflict resolution and fair negotiations (UNDP 2004).

If, in the past, the most ethical manner of dealing with diversity was endurance or tolerance of those who did not look or act like "us," the future needs us to go beyond "enduring," or even "tolerating" one another. The future requires that we "celebrate" and appreciate diversity (Rajaee 2000: 90). We need to go beyond "shallow multiculturalism" of only food and festivals (Hiebert 2003) and try to achieve "rich multiculturalism" (Sandercock 2004). How can one "celebrate" diversity and achieve "rich multiculturalism"? Several suggestions have been put forth, including Sandercock's seven requirements: 1) increased spending over a wide range of locally based multicultural programs; 2) multi-tiered political and policy support systems, 3) anti-racism and diversity training; 4) reform and innovation in the realm of social policy; 5) better understanding of how policies can and should address cultural difference; 6) elaboration of new notions of citizenship – multicultural and urban; and 7) understanding of, and preparedness to work with, the emotions that drive the conflicts over integration (Sandercock 2004). While I accept these suggestions and find them extremely useful, particularly for changes in infrastructure, development and planning, I feel that overall, and among all segments of society, we need to create a change of attitude and worldview. This is why I suggest and predict that in the future, we will need to go beyond the metaphor of "mosaic." I prefer to use the metaphor of "salad." I think we should work towards creating a "salad" with each ingredient preserving its flavour and texture. What will blend us all together would be the "dressing" of our common needs, interests, rights,

responsibilities and, most importantly, our common experience of living together in one city.

In practice, we have to learn that diversity is beneficial to all of us, and that every single person in the community has much to offer. The more ingredients in our "salad," the more flavour and nutritional value. The idea that learning is a one-way experience, and that it is always one group that teaches another, is absurd because all groups can learn from one another. The only solution is that each individual must be given a chance. Within society, all individuals – regardless of sex, age, level of knowledge or social class – can interact in a way that is beneficial to all. For instance, programs that lead to interaction between children and senior citizens would help both groups. Instead of being raised through contact with their peers, our children would benefit greatly from the experiences of the elderly, and they would be able to convey their knowledge to the younger generation. Between societies, similar interaction can take place. We need to allow people to contribute to the society as a whole. Regarding newcomers, we should not attempt to get the "cream of the crop" from other societies and turn them to "rotten milk" here. The process of evaluating educational degrees obtained in other countries should not take three or four years. When a newcomer arrives in this society, he or she is filled with the desire to contribute. Putting off this engagement leads to a lack of interest and to disappointment. And the end result is harmful to all of us, not only to the newcomer.

When planning the future of our city, and in order for the National Capital of Canada to become a model for other cities, we should work to ensure that the joys and difficulties of every resident of this city belong to all of us. To facilitate the celebration of various festivities such as the birth of Guru Nanak Dev Ji, Makar Sankranti, Hanukkah, Epiphany, Christmas, Eid-al-Adha, or the Chinese, Vietnamese or Korean New Year, these should not be destined only to the Sikh, Hindu, Jews, Christians, Muslims or Buddhists. The entire society should act as a support for those citizens who believe in these occasions. The difficulties would belong to all of us, too. Problems and challenges of Afghan immigrants to Canada, for example, are not exclusive to Afghans and the Afghan Community Centre. Planning for the future of our city will be based on the idea that services and contributions are not unidirectional, from one group to others, or even bidirectional. They must be multidirectional. This way, each member of the society is given the chance to contribute to the well-being of the city. In return the city will also prosper.

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The size and diversity of Ottawa's immigrant population has grown rapidly over the last two decades, changing the social map of our nation's capital. On the one hand, these changes pose challenges to the city's institutions, private businesses and civil society, which are relevant to a growing number of citizens. On the other hand, they mean heightened risks of poverty and exclusion for immigrants, particularly for recent immigrants. This article aims to provide an understanding of the unique constellation of sociocultural characteristics of immigrants who chose Ottawa as their place of settlement and integration into Canadian society, and the implications of these characteristics.

Immigrants in Ottawa: Sociocultural Composition and Demographic Structure

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The *2001 Census* reported that 166,750 residents of Ottawa (more than one in five) are born outside of Canada, making Ottawa the Canadian city with the sixth largest number of foreign-born residents. In addition, 104,415 Ottawa residents are born to at least one foreign-born parent. This means that more than one in three Ottawa residents (35%) is either an immigrant or the child of one or two immigrant parents.

Given the growing importance of immigration as a source of population growth – and thus for the city's economy, culture and vitality – understanding the sociocultural characteristics of immigrants and the implications of these characteristics in the integration process becomes very important both for inclusive planning and for the establishment of points of comparison with experiences recorded in other Canadian cities. Using data from the 2001 Census and from current Canadian literature on the settlement and integration process of immigrants, this article will take an initial step towards such an understanding.

Relatively large proportion of refugees among newcomers intending to settle in Ottawa

Compared to other large immigrant-receiving cities in Canada, Ottawa, by far, has the largest share of refugees among its newcomers. The average annual share of refugees among those intending to settle in Ottawa has been 29% over the 1997-2002 period, compared to a share of 11% for Toronto, 10% for Vancouver, and 19% for Montréal.[1] It is also of particular note that in its immigration plans, the federal government plans to admit only 12% of all newcomers under the refugee class, including privately sponsored and in-land processed refugees.[2] Thus, compared to other cities and to Canada as a whole, Ottawa received a disproportionate share of refugees among its newcomers. The large proportion of refugees among Ottawa's recent newcomers has profound implications on the settlement and

[1] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures*, 2002 and 1999.

[2] See the glossary of terms for a definition of refugee sub-categories.

TABLE 1
Proportion of Canadian-born and foreign-born population in Canadian cities

City	Total population	Canadian-born population	Foreign-born population	Proportion of foreign-born in total population (%)
Toronto	2,456,805	1,198,815	1,214,625	49.4
Mississauga	610,815	319,865	285,650	46.8
Montréal	1,019,735	714,870	281,380	27.6
Vancouver	539,630	279,510	247,635	45.9
Calgary	871,140	673,705	190,145	21.8
Ottawa	763,790	589,010	166,750	21.8
Edmonton	657,355	508,825	143,335	21.8
Brampton	324,390	193,220	129,280	39.9
Hamilton	484,385	359,625	119,810	24.7
Surrey	345,780	228,040	114,725	33.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census* – Ethnocultural Portrait of Canada.

integration process of newcomers. Refugees encounter more hurdles in their settlement and integration process than other classes of newcomers. This is primarily due to the unplanned nature of their emigration from their home countries (Tonks and Paranjpe 1999). Moreover, once in Canada, refugee claimants have a different legal status than other classes of newcomers, a fact that may preclude them from accessing some of the existing social equity programs.

In addition to recent immigrants coming from abroad, Ottawa also attracts immigrants from other Canadian cities. Mobility data from 2001 reveal that 11% of recent immigrants residing in Ottawa (7,065) moved from other Canadian cities during the five years preceding the Census. Among these, 42% came from other Ontario cities, while the remainder came from other provinces. The economic boom that the city experienced during the latter part of the 1990s partly explains the attraction Ottawa held for recent immigrants residing in other Canadian cities. Research based on the first interviews of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), jointly conducted by Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), shows that after family and social networks, the perceived prospect of favourable employment motivates immigrants' choice of settlement location.

Countries of origin and periods of arrival

In general, the composition of source countries, as well as the number and proportion of immigrants admitted under the various immigration classes, vary according to Canada's immigration policy and international

FIGURE 1
Refugees as a percentage of immigrants by year of arrival and intended place of residence

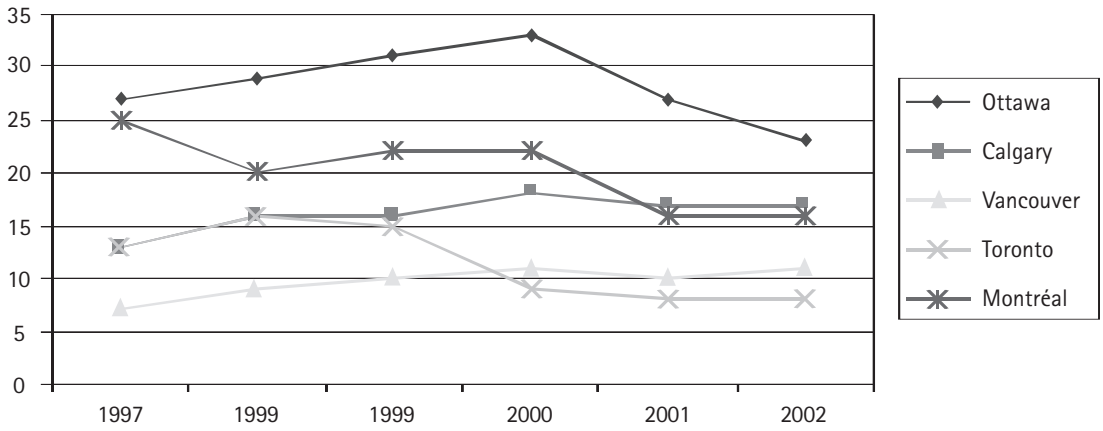


TABLE 2
Top five countries of origin of recent immigrants to Ottawa by period of immigration

1991–2001	1981–1990	1971–1980	1961–1970	Pre–1961
China	Lebanon	United Kingdom	United Kingdom	United Kingdom
Somalia	China	Caribbean and Bermuda	Italy	Italy
Lebanon	Vietnam	China	United States	Germany
Caribbean and Bermuda	Caribbean and Bermuda	Lebanon	Caribbean and Bermuda	Netherlands
Former Yugoslavia	United Kingdom	United States	China	Poland
32,355 individuals	13,600 individuals	11,890 individuals	12,150 individuals	15,650 individuals
51% of 1991-2001 immigrants	39% of 1981-1990 immigrants	47% of 1971-1980 immigrants	58% of 1961-1970 immigrants	67% of pre-1961 immigrants

Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census*. Data refers to the Ontario part of Ottawa-Gatineau.

geopolitical and economic-triggered events. The liberalization of Canada's immigration policy and widespread political and economic unrest in the southern and eastern hemispheres of the globe have led to an increase in the share of immigrants coming from Asia, Africa and South America.

The sociocultural composition of immigrants in Ottawa is a reflection of such national and global changes. Table 2 illustrates the variation, over the last few decades, in main countries of origin, as reported by immigrants settling in Ottawa. More than half of immigrants having arrived in Canada during the 1991-2001 period and now living in Ottawa came from China, Somalia, Lebanon, the Caribbean and Bermuda, and former Yugoslavia. Table 2 also shows that while China, Lebanon, the Caribbean and Bermuda have been constant sources of new immigrants to Ottawa over the last three to four decades, Somalia and former Yugoslavia are only reported as source countries during the 1991-2001 decade. Emigration from the latter two countries is the consequence of recent domestic civil and political unrest. Consequently, newcomers from these two countries came to Ottawa largely through Canada's refugee class, and thus account for the large proportion of refugees among Ottawa's recent immigrants.

Table 3 provides a more detailed look at data on the top 20 countries of origin of immigrants residing in Ottawa. The United Kingdom and China are the most frequently reported countries of origin in Ottawa. Data in Table 3 also show that the source countries of immigrants living in Ottawa are extremely diverse in terms of history, culture, ethnicity and language, and that immigrants are spread into many very small cultural groups. With the exception of immigrants coming from the United Kingdom and China, the share of immigrants coming from any individual source country reaches a maximum of 5.9% (Lebanon, 9,865 individuals).

The last column of Table 3 shows the proportion of immigrants from a given country that has arrived during the 1991-2001 decade. This statistic can be used as an indicator of the settlement history of immigrant communities in Canada, with high proportions indicative of a fairly recent arrival and "shallow roots in Canada" (Biles 1998). In other words, a high proportion of recent arrivals within a given immigrant community indicates an early stage in the same community's collective integration process. Table 3 also shows that the Somali community in Ottawa features the highest proportion (84%) of recent arrivals among its members, followed by Ottawa's former Yugoslavian community (74%), the Filipino community (63%), the Chinese community (61%), the Iranian community (60%), and the Haitian community (46%).

This indicator has profound implications for the successful integration of individual immigrants since they begin this process within their own local co-national, co-cultural, immigrant community. As Morton Weinfeld (1998) states, "integration is usually a nested process. Immigrants often integrate into a family, then neighbourhood, ethnic subcommunity, ethnic community, and then lastly – if at all – into an amorphous Canadian society."[4] Evidence from the first interviews of the LSIC confirmed Weinfeld's observation.

TABLE 3
Top 20 countries of birth of immigrants living in Ottawa, 2001

	Total immigrants		Recent immigrants	
	Number	Percentage of total immigrants	Number	Percentage of immigrants who are recent immigrants
Total: Place of birth of respondents	168,125	100.0	63,945	38.0
United Kingdom	20,245	12.0	1,550	7.7
China and Special Administrative Regions[3]	16,390	9.7	10,045	61.3
Lebanon	9,865	5.9	3,110	31.5
United States	9,445	5.6	3,150	33.4
India	7,275	4.3	1,850	25.4
Italy	6,840	4.1	2,720	39.8
Vietnam	6,695	4.0	145	2.2
Germany	5,520	3.3	1,480	26.8
Poland	4,945	2.8	510	10.3
Somalia	4,575	2.6	3,830	83.7
Former Yugoslavia	4,885	2.8	985	20.2
Philippines	4,180	2.4	3,095	74.0
Hong Kong	3,660	2.1	2,320	63.4
Jamaica	3,450	2.0	885	25.7
Iran	3,160	1.8	1,895	60.0
Haiti	3,175	1.8	2,400	75.6
Netherlands	3,180	1.8	620	19.5
Portugal	2,970	1.7	1,365	46.0
Sri Lanka	2,500	1.4	95	3.8
Pakistan	2,230	1.3	135	6.1
France	1,965	1.1	545	27.7

> What is clear from the LSIC survey results is that family and friends not only decidedly influence where immigrants settle, but are also critical sources of support in other areas of the integration process, such as finding a place to live, accessing health services, strengthening skills and finding a job (CIC 2004c).

In other words, the social and economic assets of local immigrant communities are an important leverage for new immigrants' efforts to integrate into the mainstream society. Thus, newcomers joining immigrant communities that are largely composed of recent immigrants can be expected to face more challenges in their integration process since both the Canadian experience and the socio-economic conditions of these communities are generally precarious (Beiser 1988).

From the standpoint of service planning and program design, the 2001 data and the Canadian literature indicate that an undistinguished regrouping of Ottawa's foreign-born population into one homogenous group would indeed fail to address the needs and concerns of individual immigrant communities. The current distribution of immigrants into a large number of smaller cultural groups, the different settlement history of each group, and the varying nature and depth of specific communities' social ties to the mainstream society preclude any usefulness of City-level "one-size-fits-all" measures.

However, since there is neighbourhood concentration of individual cultural groups, it is

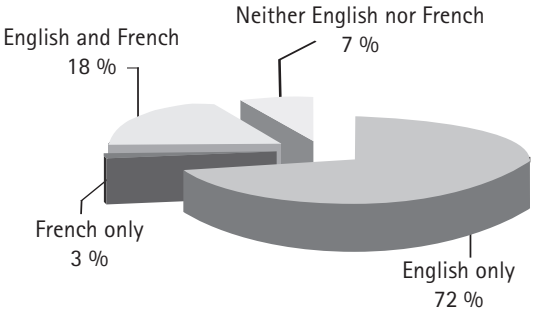
[3] China and Special Administrative Regions include People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Macau.

[4] Emphasis is original.

Culture-based communication problems affect immigrants' access to employment. In a recent study based on a Canadian Business and Labour Centre (CBLC) survey of public and private employers and labour leaders across Canada, Lockhead (2004) reported that two-thirds of respondents expecting to hire new employees would not hire foreign-trained individuals due largely to perceived language problems.

necessary to integrate concerns of specific groups into mainstream neighbourhood social service planning, notably in the area of parks and recreation, childcare, transportation, family health, employment support and youth services, among others. Such multicultural service planning needs to be based on a comprehensive neighbourhood-level research within the city, research that sheds light on the cultural composition of specific neighbourhood residents and on their diverse concerns and strengths. As well, since the geographic distribution of specific cultural groups may change over time, it is necessary to constantly scan the demographic and cultural composition of residents by neighbourhood in order to tailor service provision to residents' needs.

FIGURE 2
Recent immigrants by knowledge of official languages, 2001



Language – both a uniting and a distancing cultural identity

The challenges posed by the distribution of Ottawa's immigrant population into smaller cultural groups is somewhat mitigated by the fact that immigrants coming from different countries may share one or more cultural features. Certain cultural traits do not lend themselves to statistical measurement, but among those measurable attributes, data from the 2001 Census show that language and religion are two of the most shared cultural identities among recent immigrants and between these immigrants and local communities. This subsection will address the problematics regarding language in immigrants' integration process.

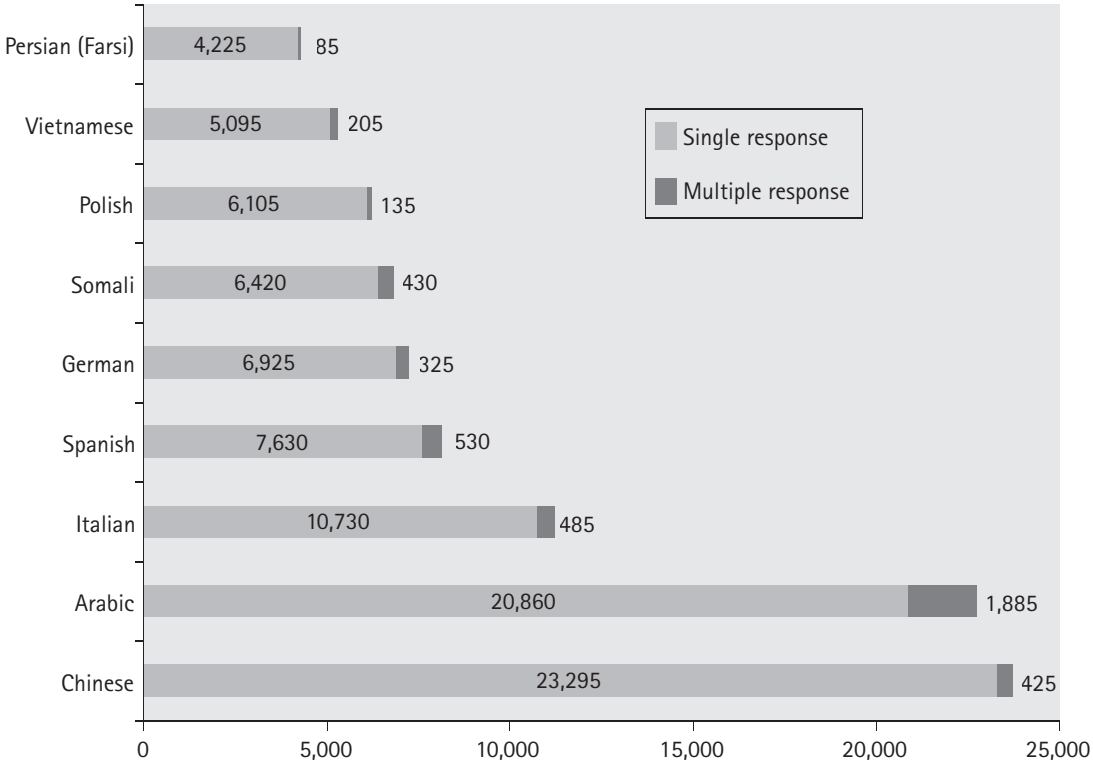
One of the main determinants of the success of immigrants' integration into the Canadian mainstream society is knowledge of one of Canada's official languages. It is this understanding that informs Canada's system of immigrant selection, where an important weight is attached to prospective immigrants' knowledge of English or French. The data on recent immigrants' knowledge of one of the official languages show that such focus has largely paid off: almost all recent immigrants (93%) reported proficiency in either or both official languages. Only 7% (4,459 individuals) said that they knew neither English nor French.[5]

Despite such widespread reported knowledge of Canada's official languages, language remains one of the main hurdles in immigrants' access to employment and services and thus affects their social and economic integration into the larger society (Kwan 1999, Schellenberg 2004, Lockhead 2003, Conference Board of Canada 2004, Besner 2003).

The problems posed by language in the integration process stems from the large cultural distance between most recent immigrants and local populations. As is well known, culture informs language in peculiar, and largely poorly understood ways. Therefore, as individuals foreign to Canada's dominant cultures go through the formal learning of local official languages either in Canada or abroad, they tend to do so through the understanding of reality provided by their respective cultures. Thus, despite a widespread knowledge of local

[5] It is necessary to point out that these data do not indicate how or where recent immigrants acquired their current knowledge of official languages. It is possible that the current widespread knowledge of official languages among recent immigrants is the result of their participation in language training programs in Ottawa or elsewhere in Canada since their arrival.

FIGURE 3
Top ten non-official mother tongues in Ottawa, 2001



official languages, it is only after a long stay in Canada that immigrants come to learn the culture-based nuances, categorizations, and understandings that are embedded in the English and French languages and that have been developed through centuries of local peoples' collective experiences. Given this cultural distance, problems of communication between most recent immigrants and local populations are to be expected and dealt with, without penalizing the former group. Similarly, any expectation that immigrants ought to "sound," "express themselves" and "behave" as the local population might is not only misplaced, but also violates the legally sanctioned right of foreign-born Canadian residents to cultural distinctiveness.

These culture-based communication problems affect immigrants' access to employment. In a recent study based on a Canadian Business and Labour Centre (CBLC) survey of public and private employers and labour leaders across Canada, Lockhead (2004) reported that two-thirds of respondents expecting to hire new employees would not hire foreign-trained individuals due largely to perceived language problems. Local research on immigrants' employment needs, recently conducted by the Ottawa Centre for Research and Innovation and the Talent Works Program (2004: 12), has somewhat confirmed CBLC's finding and conveyed the following view of local employers participating in the study:

> In many cases, the general communication skills of immigrants are inadequate. Lack of industry-specific terminology is also a concern....Employers are reluctant to hire immigrants or participate in work placements because of risks associated with health and safety standards for employees or interns whose lack of language skills could result in workplace injuries and subsequent claims for disability insurance or Workplace Safety and Insurance Board benefits. Employers are interested in getting financial compensation to hire immigrants to offset additional expenses that can be incurred as a result.

While paying employers to benefit from the work of qualified immigrants may seem largely unjustified, the point is very clear. Employers perceive that they risk financial loss if they hire

TABLE 4

Age-group distribution of recent immigrants with no knowledge of official languages, 2001

Age groups	All recent immigrants	Number with no knowledge of English or French	Percentage of recent immigrants with no knowledge of English or French
Less than 14 years	11,455	685	6
15-24	9,650	185	2
25-44	32,130	790	2
45-64	7,825	1,290	16
65 and older	2,895	1465	51
Total	63,955	4,415	7

Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census*. 97F0009XCB01040. Data refers to the Ontario part of Ottawa-Gatineau.

immigrants. Such a perception ought to be dealt with through an incentive system that induces employers to hire qualified immigrants, by linking business advantages (such as access to public contracts) to the number of qualified immigrants hired. In addition, public education campaigns and training in Ottawa's workplaces might raise awareness, among employers, about the complexities and advantages of a diverse workforce. These and other solutions are pressing since both the size of the immigrant population and the cultural diversity of the Ottawa population are expected to increase in coming years.

Among recent immigrants, approximately 16% (10,435 individuals) reported having either English or French as mother tongue. These groups of immigrants would generally not face the language issues described above and are thus more likely to experience fewer stresses in the integration process. Immigrants with French as a mother tongue, who have no knowledge of the English language, may however face restricted opportunities in Ottawa, given the prevalence of the English language in the City's labour market.[6]

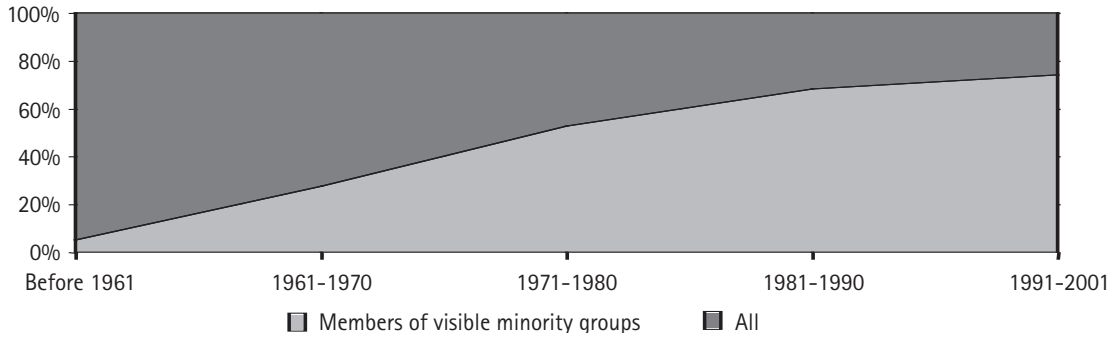
Finally, 10,635 individuals in Ottawa do not speak either English or French. Less than one-half of these (42%) are recent immigrants; 22% are Canadian-born, and 31 are immigrants who have arrived before 1991. The fact that almost a quarter of those without any knowledge of an official language are Canadian-born residents is indicative of a certain separation between Ottawa's linguistic communities.

Among recent immigrants, individuals aged 45 and older are least likely to have knowledge of Canada's official languages. More than half of recent immigrant seniors (1,465 individuals) speak neither English nor French, whereas only 2% of recent immigrants aged 15 to 44 have no knowledge of Canada's official languages.

From the viewpoint of service planning and program design, it is important to provide essential local services – such as family health and emergency services, including shelters and social housing – in Ottawa's main non-official languages. Meeting this need is facilitated by the fact that even though immigrants come from many different countries, they still may speak the same language. Figure 3 shows the various non-official mother tongues most frequently reported by immigrants living in Ottawa. Arabic and Spanish, and to a certain extent Chinese

FIGURE 4

Distribution of Ottawa's immigrants by visible minority status and period of arrival



For the approximately 80,000 foreign-born, visible minority residents of Ottawa, the current overlap signifies a double disadvantage stemming from the uniquely vulnerable position of being both non-native and of a visible minority.

languages, are shared by residents coming from different countries of the world. For example, Arabic is the mother tongue of 22,745 Ottawa residents who arrived from more than 15 different countries.[7]

For languages that are not shared by different immigrant groups, such as German, Somali, Polish, Vietnamese, Persian, Portuguese and others, resources can be saved by using cultural and language interpretation to serve communities where knowledge of official languages is not prevalent.

Growing number of visible minorities among Ottawa's immigrants

Although visible minority groups have a centuries-long history in Canada, over the last few decades their numbers have increased rapidly and steadily through immigration (Badhu 2001). Consequently, as is the case for many other groups, there is some overlap between Canada's immigrant and visible minority populations. The degree of this overlap varies largely through time and across Canadian cities, depending each city's history.

A little over one-half of all immigrants living in Ottawa (54%) are members of Ottawa's visible minority communities. But as shown in Figure 4, the share of visible minorities in successive immigration cohorts has been increasing progressively over the decades and was largest for the 1991-2001 arrival cohort (74%). The growing proportion of visible minorities in successive cohorts of immigrants has contributed to the increase of Ottawa's visible minority population. Since 1996, the size of Ottawa's visible minority population has grown at almost four times the pace of the city's overall population: 27.9% compared to 7.3%. Currently, visible minority residents account for 18% of Ottawa's population, up from 15% in 1996. In addition, more than half (57%) of Ottawa's population growth stems from an increase in the number of visible minority residents.

More than two-thirds of visible minority residents are immigrants and approximately one-third are born in Canada. The share of Canadian-born individuals in specific visible minority groups varies greatly across communities. Approximately 60% of the members of Ottawa's Japanese community are Canadian-born. The local Black community follows suit, with 38% of its members being born in Canada. Ottawa's West Asian community counts the lowest share of Canadian-born residents among its members (15%).

It must be noted that the current overlap between Ottawa's visible minority and immigrant population may change in the future depending on the racial composition of future immigrants, and the childbearing behaviour of visible minority immigrants. Thus, despite current significant overlap between Ottawa's visible minority and immigrant populations, it is inappropriate to consider the two groups as one. Such a perception would lead to an exclusionary social behaviour that relates Canadian identity to one's skin colour.

To the extent that immigrants' integration process is a function of time, it is largely expected that the socio-economic conditions of individual visible minority groups would vary with the generation and immigration status of its membership, and with the collective history of specific groups. Communities that are mainly composed of Canadian-born individuals would generally fare better than those mainly composed of recent immigrants.

For the approximately 80,000 foreign-born, visible minority residents of Ottawa, the current overlap signifies a double disadvantage stemming from the uniquely vulnerable position of being both of a visible minority and non-native.

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[6] For a detailed profile of Francophone immigrants within Ottawa's Francophone community, please refer to the Social Planning Council of Ottawa report *Les Francophones d'Ottawa: profil statistique de la communauté francophone basé sur le recensement 2001 de Statistique Canada et recensement des atouts de la communauté*. You may find this report on the SPC's Website at www.spcottawa.on.ca

[7] Source countries of recent immigrants speaking Arabic include Lebanon, Egypt, Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, Jordan, Libya, Palestine, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman.

Conclusion

We found that there is great diversity among Ottawa immigrants: diversity in terms of circumstances of arrival, time spent in Canada (both by the individual immigrant and by his or her co-national, co-culture community), visibility (race), culture, age, gender, and stage in life upon arrival. The current socio-economic conditions of individual immigrants and immigrant communities reflect such diversity.

Hence, social planners, social program designers, and funders in Ottawa would be more effective in their objectives of enabling immigrants to integrate successfully if they:

- Avoid proposing "one-size-fits-all" measures and take into consideration the cultural, demographic and socio-economic diversity of Ottawa immigrants;
- Base neighbourhood social service planning in the area of parks and recreation, childcare, transportation, family health, employment support, and youth services on a comprehensive knowledge of the cultural and demographic composition of residents and of the various needs, concerns and strengths of specific cultural groups;
- Adopt, to the largest extent possible, a race and gender lens when designing social programs for the benefit of immigrants' integration;
- Urge decision makers to provide essential social services – such as family health and emergency services, including shelters and social housing – in Ottawa's main non-official languages and in the languages of communities where knowledge of official languages is not prevalent, regardless of their size.

The findings of this article also urge some reflections on social policies that lay with senior levels of government. In particular, the large proportions of refugees among newcomers intending to settle in Ottawa and the inflow of immigrants from cities in other provinces create additional pressures for local agencies serving immigrants. These new pressures create a need to regularly re-assess the viability of local settlement agencies in relation to settlement funding regimes and in front of the particular needs of local immigrants. Fortunately, the recent Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (signed in 2005 - after the release of the report on which this article is based) allows for the involvement of Ontario municipalities in immigration planning.[8] With this new opportunity, the City of Ottawa will be required to, on the hand, keep a pulse on the composition and needs of Ottawa's immigrants, and on the other, to advocate for settlement and integration funding that is commensurate with local needs.

Finally, the increasing cultural and racial diversity of local immigrants coupled with the recentness of the arrival of most immigrants pose challenges for the City's collective adjustments to differences amid its population. It is necessary that these challenges be acknowledged and addressed.

[8] CItizenship and immigration Canada - "Highlights of Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement". www.cic.gc.ca/EnGLIsh/department/media/backgrounders/2005/2005-11-21.asp.

About the author

Since January 2007, HINDIA MOHAMOUD is Director of Impact and Investment for the United Way of Ottawa's Immigrants Impact Area. She is responsible for working with a community volunteer council to design and implement strategic community impact plans and to liaise with local communities to keep abreast of local social research and social development initatives. Prior to this assignment, Hindia was Research Director of the Social Planning Council of Ottawa. Her work involves a full range of responsibilities, from designing and implementing research projects to developing investment strategies and programs that facilitate breaking the barriers faced by marginalized groups in Ottawa. She has conducted numerous studies and facilitated public consultations/focus groups with local communities. Prior to her current portfolio, Hindia Mohamoud's professional background varied from elance writing, social research, and community development. She is now concluding a multi-year research and community development project, aiming to document the experiences of exclusion of Ottawa's visible minority citizens.

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This article presents an analysis of some of the challenges and constraints evident in developing social services that are accessible, equitable and responsive to the culturally, racially and linguistically diverse make-up of the Ottawa community. The discussion is situated in an historical context in order to demonstrate how changing contexts influence the ways in which issues are understood and models are adopted.

Access and Equity in Ottawa

A Snapshot of Social Service Issues, Institutional Responses and Remaining Challenges Regarding Culture, Race and Language

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Carleton University

It is now well recognized that Canada is a nation settled by immigrants and refugees on lands previously occupied by First Nations groups. Historically, while the make-up of the nation and its cities has always been culturally and somewhat racially diverse,[1] such diversity and its accompanying challenges have predominantly been associated with major urban centres such as Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. The nation's capital, Ottawa, has only recently become more diverse.

Ottawa's pivotal moment, its wake-up call to the recognition of its own changing demographics, can be traced to the late 1970s and the world crisis surrounding the Vietnam War and its aftermath. While Ottawa's population had been slowly changing in the early 1970s as a result of the entry of previously restricted groups, 1979 is marked by the establishment of Project 4000[2] in response to the growing human tragedy of displaced and devastated people from South-East Asia, known as the "boatpeople." The Project involved an express commitment to coordinate the private sponsorships and resettlement of 4,000 refugees, primarily from Vietnam but also including Cambodia and Laos, in the Ottawa community. This development, combined with increased government sponsorships, is noted as Ottawa's historic turning point, its forced awakening to its own multicultural, multilingual and multiracial diversity.

[1] Until the late 1960s and the introduction of the point system in 1967, Canada's racial diversity was severely controlled and limited by racist immigration policies that favoured settlers from Europe, particularly northern Europe, and the United States.

[2] Project 4000 was spearheaded at the time by Mayor Marion Dewar in collaboration with local church and community groups, including fledgling settlement agencies. Its lifespan was short, closing in 1981, and its goal of 4,000 privately sponsored refugees was not met. However, this project and similar initiatives across the nation inspired the Canadian government to commit to the sponsorship of 50,000 South-East Asian refugees.

Institutional limitations

While demonstrating the compassion and good will present in the community, the increased numerical presence of people who were culturally, racially and linguistically dissimilar from earlier European immigrants also exposed the institutional limitations and Eurocentric biases of existing social programs and services and their inability to address the needs of large numbers of these newcomers. This point is underscored by Arthur Stinson who writes: "Workers close to the Project [4000] became quite aware that mainstream service providers were completely inept in dealing with the refugees; they had no concept of multiculturalism. If anything they exhibited a defensive reaction to demands made upon them" (1992: 5).

In Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada, prior to the arrival of South-East Asian refugee groups, major debates involving social services[3] centred around issues of gender sensitivity and inclusion and French-language service provision. Following the arrival of the new groups, this pre-existing mix was further complicated with the addition of new debates and demands, often conflicting with earlier ones for profile and resources, culturally appropriate services, cross-cultural sensitivity, anti-discriminatory policies and practices, systemic racism, and so on. Those involved in advancing these debates were primarily community-based voices, including immigrant and ethnospecific service agencies and advocacy groups.[4]

Not surprisingly, the landscape surrounding alternative community-based agencies in the late 1970s was markedly different from what exists today. With the limitations expressed earlier about mainstream social services, the small, under-resourced and under-staffed community agencies struggled to meet the overwhelming and complex demands of the new immigrant and refugee communities.[5] However, in order to support their clients, they were the ones who stepped in to fill the gaps and carry out the roles and responsibilities that were the clear mandates of much larger and better resourced mainstream social services. While the primary work of the settlement agencies was directed toward the provision of counselling, translation, interpretation and social supports for their clients, they were also actively engaged in advocacy work related to client issues, policy changes and the removal of structural impediments. In addition, they were often called upon to help mainstream organizations become more culturally sensitive.

Change through research and documentation of needs

In this early period, research, conferences and workshops to document needs and propose solutions became critical to gaining public, governmental and institutional recognition and legitimation of specific issues, as well as to policy advocacy, program development and processes for institutional change. This research also challenged mainstream social service institutions to recognize the presence of significant structural barriers, including Eurocentric biases and racism embedded in organizational policies, systems and everyday practices. However, much of the research tended to focus on difficulties encountered by new immigrants and refugees in their settlement and integration processes.[6] As well, its proposed solutions decidedly favoured strategies directed at increasing individual client access to existing programs and the enhancement of these programs. Among these are the provision of more ESL programs (especially for women), increased funding for immigrant and refugee settlement programs generally, improved translation and dissemination of information to immigrants and refugees, more cross-cultural training for mainstream agency staff, better access to translation and interpretation services for mainstream agencies, improved coordination of programs among agencies and governments,

[3] Broadly defined to include social welfare, health care, mental health, housing, education, English as a Second Language (ESL) and employment training.

[4] Advocacy groups that evolved in this early period include the Advisory Community Committee on Ethnic Social Services (ACCESS) Committee and the National Capital Alliance on Race Relations (NCARR). The ACCESS Committee formed in 1983 and continued until early into the new millennium. The NCARR also formed in 1983 and disappeared early in the new millennium. Its primary focus was the removal of systemic barriers, particularly racism, from society and its institutions.

[5] Immigrant-serving agencies present or emerging at the time included the Catholic Immigration Services (now known as the Catholic Immigration Centre), the Ottawa-Carleton Immigrant Services Organization (now known as Ottawa Community Immigrant Services), the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre, and the Jewish Social Service Agency. See Stinson (1992) for additional information.

[6] Examples include Raynor-White (1982), Nguyen et al. (1983), Lilith Research Consultants (1985) and Hawkins and Stinson (1986).

Marked by the ascendance of the new right, neoliberal ideology and market-friendly policies, [the period from the mid-1990s] was a time where funding for civil society organizations other than for direct service delivery functions was considerably curtailed....issues of participation, equity and inclusion through the removal of systemic barriers were effectively sidelined and regarded as wasteful expenditures of scarce public resources.

and increased diversity within agencies (staff and boards).

An interesting observation is that a more structural understanding of systemic barriers such as racism and proposed solutions tend to be less prominent in these early reports. Instead, there seemed to be a decided preference for solutions directed at attitudinal-type changes, and processes designed to superficially strengthen and/or supplement existing services.

Change through removal of systemic barriers

In the late 1980s, however, a stronger structural awareness about systemic impediments began to evolve, as evidenced from available research reports, briefs and other documents. This echoed growing concerns that developed within the general public as overt acts and expressions of racism continued to escalate. Critiques of the "soft" nature of multiculturalism were also increasingly being voiced, especially with respect to its failure in delivering the integration and equality that it promised. As a result, important and valid questions were posed about the value of a symbolic multiculturalism that emphasizes "equal opportunities" and cultural celebrations, as expressed through saris, samosas and steel bands, while remaining largely inattentive to the realities and urgent demands for "equal results," such as fair employment and wages, and recognition of credentials, qualifications, skills and experiences (Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canada 1984, Abella Commission Report 1984).

By the end of 1980s, research reports also reflected the flavour of this period and contained more forceful assertions about the necessity to uproot the systemic discrimination and racism that underpin mainstream social service institutional policies, practices and organizational cultures, in order to achieve meaningful equality (Agard 1987, OCASI 1988). As well, critical examinations focusing specifically on systemic barriers in health and social service systems also increased, as did arguments in favour of broadening analyses and steering solutions away from those focusing on individual client access to services to ones favouring group access, participation and inclusion in all aspects of institutional life[7] (Bergin 1988, Bergin and Stinson 1989).

This emphasis on issues pertaining to groups, especially in relation to full participation and inclusion (including policy and program development, delivery, administration and evaluation) exemplify developments up to the mid-1990s; financial support from governments was directed at fixing systemic barriers through institutional or organizational change. The strategies associated with the directions of this period include systems and policy reviews accompanied by appropriate implementation plans and policy development, especially regarding the recruitment and retention of culturally, linguistically and racially diverse agency staff, volunteers and clients. It was hoped that such an approach, one that targets the entire organization and its operating culture, would produce lasting results that had thus far eluded earlier approaches directed at improving client access to mainstream social services.

Encouraged, albeit somewhat naively, by the potential for producing lasting results, many settlement agencies, ethnic organizations and advocacy bodies were inspired by models of institutional change and full participation. As a result, considerable time, energy and resources (governmental, community and institutional) were channelled to initiatives such as multicultural policy development for agencies, the establishment of multicultural committee

[7] The 1984 Report of the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canada, quoted in Bergin and Stinson (1989: 16), identified the importance both of integration and participation. Integration was defined as "a process of mutual adjustment and mutual resolutions of problems and issues....when the services of 'mainstream' agencies and institutions should be available without barriers to access." However, the definition of 'participation' is defined more as a goal or an end, as what "will be achieved when minorities are represented in the full spectrum of economic, political, social and cultural life of the society" (Ibid.).

structures, the designation and hiring of staff responsible for multiculturalism and anti-racism, urging agencies to adopt employment equity measures to hire more culturally and racially diverse staff and create institutional-community partnerships and collaborations, among other things.

Not surprisingly, some local mainstream social service agencies responded positively by undertaking more "community outreach," establishing advisory committees and "task forces," producing "community surveys and needs assessments," instituting "organizational reviews and policy development," organizing "training," and developing some new "targeted programs" to facilitate the integration of newcomers (Bergin and Stinson 1989, Chin et al. 1992, OCSSPP Visible Minority Advisory Working Group 1994). However, by the end of the early 1990s, real progress and lasting change were still the exception. This led Stinson (1992: 12) to the reluctant conclusion that "Neither client access nor organizational access had been addressed except in the most rudimentary and inadequate way by our mainstream agencies."

Change during the era of neoliberalism and economic globalization

Unlike the 1980s and early 1990s – which witnessed considerable growth in the size and scope of civil society,[8] including community-based advocacy, ethnospecific and immigrant serving agencies – in the mid-1990s saw significant shifts this terrain. Marked by the ascendance of the new right, neoliberal ideology and market-friendly policies, when this was a time where funding for civil society organizations other than for direct service delivery functions was considerably curtailed. This shift in direction, despite or perhaps because of the rapidly changing profile of urban centres, also corresponded to growing dissention over the use of public resources to fund state or "official" multiculturalism. Such sentiments were accompanied by strong opinions that only short-term, "settlement–related" functions should be funded (Luther and Osei-Kwadwo-Prempeh 2003). With this re-emphasis on "settlement" (the provision of immediate needs), issues of participation, equity and inclusion through the removal of systemic barriers were effectively sidelined and regarded as wasteful expenditures of scarce public resources.

Conclusion

Over the years, there has been a slow and steady erosion of earlier gains, particularly in regards to organizational change as a means for achieving meaningful inclusion and equity. Some of this erosion is due to the decline of strong advocacy voices, coordinating bodies, and ethnic/immigrant service sectors being saddled once again with settlement-related issues and direct service delivery. In this context, mainstream social service agencies feel less external pressure and urgency to pursue models of organizational change and full participation. Indeed, in a social climate that is less welcoming of cultural and racial difference, expectations are now almost greater that others learn to fit into what already exists, rather than view integration and participation as processes of ongoing mutual adaptation and change. Consequently, decades after the world crisis of South-East Asian refugees, followed by other similar crises in other parts of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Central and South America, social service delivery to cultural and racial minorities in Ottawa remains crisis-driven, more reactive than proactive, short-term in nature and scope, poorly financed and even more fragmented than before.

Therefore, while fully cognizant of the efforts and leadership of some in the Ottawa area regarding the need to address individual and organizational access, equity, inclusion and participation-related issues,[9] the responses of others can be viewed as rather superficial, tokenistic, temporary and opportune. For the most part there is profound disappointment that the desired goals, objectives and results, inspired by the flurry of interest, activity and government funding in the 1980s for organizational change, were not pursued or met in the ensuing decade and beyond. This failure has served to strengthen the original divide between "us" (mainstream services) and "them" (immigrant or ethnospecific

[8] Andrew Cardozo (1996: 310) writes that the period prior to this was one of relative economic stability where governments "were not financially constrained…so there was a greater willingness to be flexible in policy directions, and ideals of participatory democracy were high on the federal agenda."

[9] Examples of such leadership and awareness is evidenced from reports and tools such as: *Transforming Our Organizations: A Tool for Planning and Monitoring Change* (1999), and *Building the Ottawa Mosaic: Summary Report of the Conference on Issues Regarding Ethno-cultural Minorities in Ottawa* (April 25, 2002).

services). While both are publicly financed, the relative stability of their respective resource base, combined with differentials in power, status and legitimacy, remain unfortunate gaps that have yet to be bridged. Unfortunately, the persistent presence of these gaps reinforces public perceptions that the needs of culturally, linguistically and racially diverse communities, including immigrants and refugees, are marginal, peripheral and somehow less important than the needs of mainstream Canadians.

Following from the above discussion, we are left with a lingering puzzle and still seeking to understand why the numerous strategies and initiatives of the past have failed to significantly alter the institutional make-up of social service delivery in Ottawa, for either the "newcomer" immigrant and refugee populations, or those historically racialized by differences of race, religion or culture. Instead of moving forward and building on the initiatives of the past, particularly those directed at enabling mainstream social service agencies, there seems to have been a regression of sorts, with an acceptance of separate and unequal as the preferred norm: one set of services and programs for the newer immigrant and refugee groups, and another for all others, with the former positioned as a poor second cousin to the latter. For many, this development is simply unsatisfactory because it continues to erroneously reduce systemic issues, related to cultural and racial integration and participation, to ones of settlement and adaptation. Of concern is the fact that this connection effectively removes much of the onus from society and its institutions, including social service agencies in Ottawa, to adjust and alter their cultural norms and practices. Instead, it places the onus on individual immigrants to adapt, adjust and accept existing limitations. This regression does not fit well with the changing face of Ottawa, nor does it fit with the image that it projects as the nation's capital.

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Most research about ethnic groups and immigrants has suffered from an overwhelming focus on where people live. *As a consequence, we know a great deal about where people live and interact with other family members, but relatively little about the other spaces they inhabit during the day and the other people with whom they potentially interact.*

Geographies of Ethnocultural Diversity in a Second-tier City

Moving Beyond Where People Sleep

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Without doubt, Canadian cities are becoming more culturally diverse and socially complex locales, and immigration has enhanced the complexity of major urban places. This emphasizes the need for a better understanding of how growing ethnocultural diversity in Canadian metropolitan areas shapes life for millions of individuals. A great deal of research has examined geographies of diversity, but in most cases the focus has been on places of residence, thereby neglecting the importance of other locales in the interpretations of the characteristics of social integration. This article argues that research on diversity issues needs to go beyond analyses that solely examine residential locations. Given the significant opportunities for cross-cultural interaction in workplaces, consideration should also be given to places where people work.

Each year since the early 1990s, the number of immigrants arriving in Canada has averaged levels exceeding 200,000 – an annual flow of approximately 0.7% of the total population. Not only are immigration levels currently among the highest in decades, Canada is also attracting immigrants from an increasingly wider range of source countries. Newcomers today arrive mainly from Asian and Middle Eastern countries, whereas prior to the 1960s, the majority originated in Europe. Reflecting the ethnocultural diversity of immigration in recent decades, the 2001 Census reported more than 200 different ethnic origins. Immigration has also grown as an urban phenomenon – Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal are the top destinations for newcomers, together receiving three-quarters of Canada's immigrants in recent years. At the same time, more immigrants are also settling in what are termed "second- and third-tier" receiving cities, such as Ottawa, Calgary, Winnipeg and Hamilton.

In step with growing immigration flows to Canada, there has been strong public interest in the ways in which immigrants and ethnic communities influence the organization of social, economic and political life across the country. Many media stories express concern about perceptions of growing ethnic concentration in Canadian cities, and implicitly or explicitly suggest that spatial concentration leads to social fragmentation and limited opportunities for cross-cultural interaction. In contrast, other media stories celebrate the ethnocultural diversity of our cities and the opportunities that immigration provides for the population as a whole, whether cultural or economic. It is interesting that often these two types of portrayals

describe the same city. It is also apparent that the only geography that counts in terms of understanding ethnocultural diversity is a residential one. The complex characteristics of everyday interactions beyond the home have generally not permeated the debate.

Research about the distribution of groups across and within Canadian cities has tended to emphasize the experiences of ethnic rather than "racial" groups, in part because of the absence of an entrenched history of Black-White racial discrimination and enforced segregation found in urban America. The attention afforded to ethnic groups has also been a function of the availability of data regarding individual ethnic groups, as well as a strong public and academic interest in the ethnic, rather than racial, composition of the nation.

Most research about ethnic groups and immigrants has suffered from an overwhelming focus on where people *live*. As a consequence, we know a great deal about where people live and interact with other family members, but relatively little about the other spaces they inhabit during the day and the other people with whom they potentially interact. While it is difficult to examine all the contexts in which people from different ethnocultural backgrounds interact, the Canadian Census does provide an opportunity to examine the geographic locales where people work. Workplaces often draw people from different ethnicities, socio-economic groups, ages and genders together in one space, and as such provide another perspective on the dynamic qualities of where people potentially meet and interact.

> An exclusive focus on neighbourhood residential geographies features only residents who sleep in those places, consequently erasing the presence of others who may work there. It thus creates false impressions of 'urban areas' ethnic and racialized spaces as fixed and misleadingly characterizes residential neighborhoods as the exclusive domain of those who live, rather than work, in them (Ellis, Wright, Parks 2004: 620).

It is not the objective of this article to challenge the decades of research that has represented the ethnic and immigrant geography of cities in terms of where people live. Indeed, where people live has tremendous social and cultural meaning, as well as real implications for access to numerous kinds of services and opportunities. It is important to ask, however, how the degree of ethnocultural diversity changes when work and residence locations are compared. Likewise, it is important to compare the degree in which our understanding of the spatial distribution of diversity changes when we compare places of residence and work. A brief analysis based on cartographic representations of the geographic dispersion and concentration of immigrants living and working in a second-tier city – Ottawa-Gatineau – is presented here to illustrate these differences.[1] According to Statistics Canada, after Montréal, Ottawa-Gatineau is the urban area with the highest geographic concentration of recent immigrants,[2] with roughly 40% of recent immigrants residing in the top 10% of census tracts sorted on the basis of recent immigrant population size (Schellenberg 2004).

To measure and represent dispersion, concentration and diversity across metropolitan areas, the census tract is used here as the fundamental geographic unit for analysis. Census tracts are the most commonly used geographic unit for ethnic dispersion/concentration studies, although they are not without disadvantages. Census tracts – with an average residential population size of 4,000 to 5,000 people – tend to conceal considerable separation of groups at the sub-tract level in many areas of cities. For instance, in many Canadian cities it is not unusual to find a high-rise rental apartment tower surrounded by low-density single-detached homes in the same census tract as well as warehouse, factory, office or retail functions. However, it is not possible to use census data to examine the finer details of group separation or interaction within specific workplaces. It is also unclear whether a smaller geographic unit or an analysis of finer scale would substantially improve our understanding of interactions between ethnocultural groups. In the case of workplaces, the kinds of interactions that occur between people and across the space of an office, factory or hospital depends on many factors, including the type of job, the size of the employer, and characteristics of hierarchies within the workplace. Census tracts, however, do have the advantage of allowing

[1] The analysis is based on data extracted from the 2001 Census (20% sample).

[2] "Recent immigrants" refers to individuals born outside Canada and who immigrated here during the years 1991 to 2001.

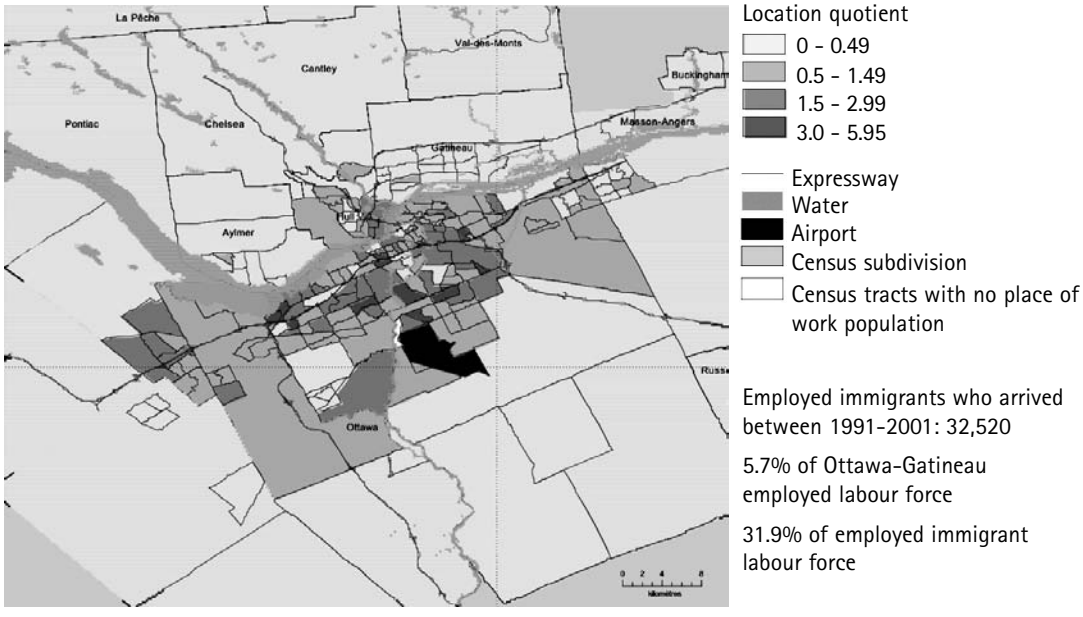
By describing two facets of the distribution of recent immigrants in the Ottawa-Gatineau metropolitan area, this article shows that the spatial qualities of ethnocultural diversity are dynamic and complex.

comparisons of group segregation at home and work without concern for scale differences in each location.

One way to explore geographies of immigrant or visible minority groups in the Ottawa-Gatineau area is to examine the distribution of areas of over- and under-concentration. "Location quotients" are used here to measure the degree of concentration of a foreign-born group within the metropolitan area. This index measure compares the relative concentration of a particular group in a small geographic area (i.e., the census tract) to the relative concentration of the same group across a much larger area (i.e., the census metropolitan area, or CMA). The values indicate the degree to which a tract departs from the overall proportion that a group represents within the metropolitan area. A location quotient value greater than 1 indicates that the ethnic or immigrant group being considered is over-represented in the census tract compared to its overall proportion in the entire metropolitan area – that is, there is a relative concentration of the group in the tract. By the same token, a location quotient of less than 1 indicates an under-representation or a lower concentration in the census tract relative to the metropolitan average.

Figure 1 shows areas in Ottawa-Gatineau where employed immigrants who landed between 1991 and 2001 *reside* in relatively large numbers. These newcomers can be found in most areas of the inner city and inner suburbs in Ottawa and are clearly under-represented in exurban areas, as well as in most part of the metropolitan area located in Quebec. One notable feature of the map is the moderate over-representation of employed recent immigrants in the Kanata area (the more distant district located in the western part of the metropolitan area) where many high-tech industry firms are located. Neighbourhoods with a higher concentration of recent immigrants are also found in several inner-city and inner-suburban areas, often where there is a significant stock of rental housing. In many cases, these are immigrant

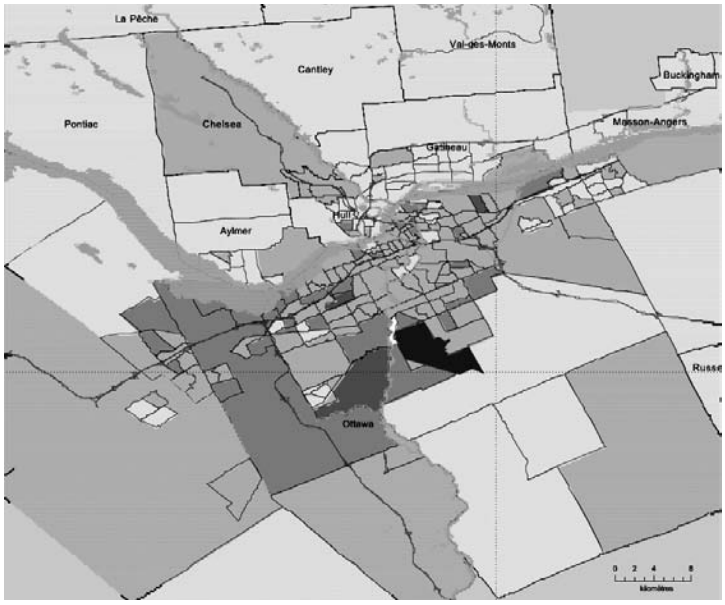
FIGURE 1
Distribution and relative concentration of employed immigrants arrived between 1991–2001, by place of residence Ottawa–Gatineau CMA, 2001



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, Citizenship and Immigration Canada custom tabulations, 2006.

FIGURE 2

Distribution and relative concentration of employed immigrants arrived between 1991-2001, by place of residence Ottawa-Gatineau CMA, 2001



Location quotient
0 - 0.49
0.5 - 1.49
1.5 - 2.99
3.0 - 4.74

Expressway
Water
Airport
Census subdivision
Census tracts with no place of work population

Employed immigrants who arrived between 1991-2001: 30,840

5.7% of Ottawa-Gatineau employed labour force

31.9% of employed immigrant labour force

Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census*, Citizenship and Immigration Canada custom tabulations, 2006.

reception neighbourhoods in that more than 25% of the population is foreign-born and among these individuals, more than 25% arrived between 1996 and 2001.

Figure 2 illustrates the areas in Ottawa-Gatineau where employed recent immigrants *work*. By comparing Figure 1 and Figure 2, we see that the number of neighbourhoods where employed recent immigrants are strongly under-represented (i.e., census tracts where the location quotient value is less than 0.5) or places where they tend to be highly concentrated (i.e., census tracts where the location quotient value is 3.0 or greater) decreases noticeably. The maximum location quotient value for census tracts where employed recent immigrants work is also lower (4.74) relative to where they live (5.95). In other words, it appears that recent immigrants are, at least in terms of their workplaces, more evenly distributed throughout the Ottawa-Gatineau metropolitan area. A somewhat similar distinction exists between work and residence for employed visible minorities as an aggregated group.

By describing two facets of the distribution of recent immigrants in the Ottawa-Gatineau metropolitan area, this article shows that the spatial qualities of ethnocultural diversity are dynamic and complex. People in today's cities have a high degree of personal mobility, and therefore, the geographies of residence and work can be quite different. Although these are only two of many locales in which people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds interact, it is a strong reminder that there are limits to interpreting urban social life solely in terms of residential space.

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Vacancy rates in Ottawa have climbed in the last few years and now sit at 3.9%, according to CMHC data (October 2004). However, rents have not fallen in response, although they are increasing at a slower pace. Affordability is still a very serious problem for low-income households, and Ottawa has the third highest rents in the country.

Social Housing in Ottawa*

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Overview of social housing in Canada and Ontario

Affordable housing for low- and modest-income households in Canada is provided mainly by the private sector. Social housing, where the rents are geared to tenants' incomes, accounts for approximately 15% of the total rental housing sector in Canada.

Social housing has been funded under a variety of programs from senior levels of government. Until the mid-1980s, the federal government, through Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), funded housing either through grants to provinces or to community-based non-profit corporations or co-operatives. The earliest federal program was public housing, directed at provincial governments, which owned and managed large developments of assisted housing. In the mid-1970s, the programs shifted to community-based housing. Generally, these developments were much smaller and had an income integration component whereby a percentage of units would be geared to income and the rest would be rented at levels comparable to the private market.

In the mid-1980s, the federal government agreed, as part of a larger constitutional agenda, that housing would become a provincial responsibility. Although many provincial governments did not have the resources or political will to continue building social housing, Ontario embarked on an aggressive expansion of its social housing stock. However, this program was abruptly cancelled in June 1995 when the political landscape shifted and the Conservative government of Mike Harris announced the cancellation of all new social housing, within weeks of its new mandate.

In addition, the Harris government decided to shift taxation points between the province and its municipalities. This resulted in the provincial costs of social housing being "downloaded" to municipalities in 1998. The federal government continued to pay its share of the older stock, but the costs of operating the provincially funded buildings were now paid entirely by municipalities. In Ottawa, the annual budget for social housing is in the range of $65 million.

New social housing: the current situation

Municipalities in Ontario do not have the resources to build any significant amount of new social housing. The City of Ottawa has made considerable efforts to partner with community agencies in the building of new affordable housing, but the lack of resources has meant that since 1995, only 555 units of permanent affordable housing have been created in Ottawa.

Having devolved its responsibility to the provinces, the federal government reacted in the mid-1990s to the increasing homelessness across the county by allocating resources to alleviate the problem. The Supporting Community Program Initiatives (SCPI) funded additional shelters or enhanced programs for vulnerable populations. But the SCPI directives are clear: the money is not to be used to build permanent housing.

Under pressure from advocates and municipalities, the federal government subsequently announced a new affordable housing initiative in 2001. This program was to be cost-shared with the provinces. Although this was successful in some provinces, Ontario

* Based on a presentation for panel discussion on Housing and Newcomers, Ottawa, May 11, 2005.

refused to match federal dollars until a recent announcement was made in April 2005. Given the time frame required to ramp up any government program, it was unlikely that the money would flow to communities until later in 2006. Since the construction of any new housing takes about two years from inception to "move-in," we can expect to see results of this announcement sometime in 2008, if the program survives any political shifts that may occur in the meantime. The program also has a component allowing for rehabilitation or conversion of existing stock as well as a modest "shelter allowance" for private market housing. This may result in quicker solutions for a few households in need, but the long-term solution, social housing owned and managed by the community, will take longer.

Ottawa: the housing picture

Vacancy rates in Ottawa have climbed in the last few years and now sit at 3.9%, according to CMHC data (October 2004). However, rents have not fallen in response, although they are increasing at a slower pace. Affordability is still a very serious problem for low-income households, and Ottawa has the third highest rents in the country. The average rents in Ottawa are:

- Bachelor apartment: $623;
- One bedroom apartment: $771;
- Two bedroom apartment: $940.

In contrast, the affordable rents for various low income households are:

- Single person on Ontario Works (welfare): $335;
- Single person on ODSP (Ontario Disability Support Program): $425;
- Full-time minimum wage earner: $387.

The discrepancy is obvious for people living on very marginal incomes. However, just as striking is the fact that even households with modest salaries have difficulty meeting their housing needs without spending more than 30% of their gross income on rent. For example, a daycare worker making $32,000 can afford to pay $800/month and the average rent for a two-bedroom apartment is $940. What if that teacher has three children and needs a larger apartment? Then her rent would be $l,l56 for a three-bedroom and she would be paying almost 45% of her gross income on rent. What happens when the kids all need new boots and she also gets a huge gas and hydro bill the same month?

Social housing, stock and allocation

There are approximately 22,000 units of social housing in Ottawa. The bulk of these (about 16,000) are owned and managed by Ottawa Community Housing Corporation, an amalgamated entity which brings together the former public housing organization and the former City of Ottawa's non-profit corporation. The remainder of the stock is managed by about 80 various non-profit corporations or co-operatives.

The waiting list for social housing is centralized through the Social Housing Registry; approximately 11,000 households are currently on this list. The main system of allocation is chronological, with an average wait time of five to eight years, depending on the size of housing required. Exceptions to the chronological system are made for victims of family violence, who are given overriding priority in all cases. This is a requirement of the Province of Ontario. In addition, the City of Ottawa has instituted two other priority groups: homeless and "urgent safety." Every housing provider must allocate one in ten vacant units to these two groups, in addition to the provincially mandated group of victims of family violence.

Impact on newcomers

The majority of newcomers are of low or modest incomes and affordable housing is a very real problem for them. In Ottawa, it is compounded by the reality of high rents, and a generally healthy rental market with very little low-end housing. Although Ottawa has pockets of less desirable rental stock, much of it was razed in the 1970s under various "urban renewal" schemes or lost to gentrification in older neighbourhoods.

The chronological system of allocation of social housing means that families and individuals need to find alternate accommodation while they wait for social housing. Most often, this translates into housing that is unaffordable or unsuitable, with overcrowding and poor conditions being the norm.

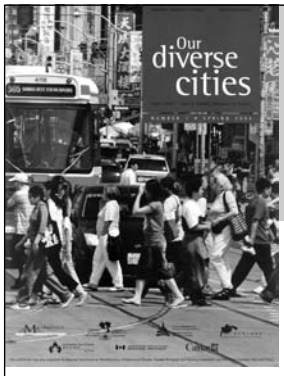
A fairly recent issue is the demand for very large units to house families, mainly refugees from North Africa. Because the stock, both private and non-profit, is generally made up of smaller one- and two-bedroom units, these families have great difficulty finding appropriate housing.

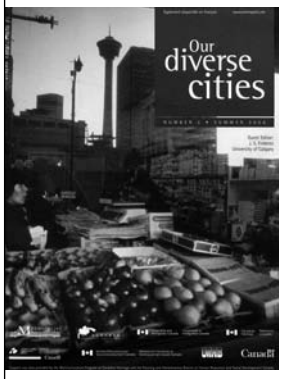
In many cases, this has resulted in large families ending up in the shelter system and thus having

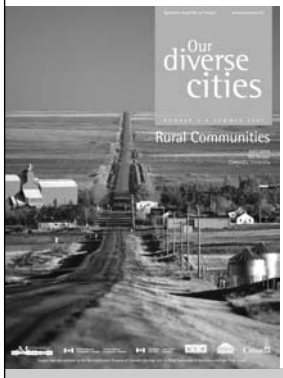
somewhat of an advantage over chronological applicants when appropriate units are available in social housing. However, given the lack of large family units, their wait is much longer than for smaller homeless families. Living in the shelters is a less than optimum situation for children. Having a home where you can invite friends, take juice from the fridge when you want to, walk to school and do your homework in a quiet environment are all things we take for granted. Children living in the shelters lack these basic options and the experience can be very destabilizing for the family.

Compounding this lack of stock for large families is the fact that the "new housing programs" do not distinguish by size of units with respect to funding. This means a proponent will receive the same funding to build a bachelor apartment, as they will for a four-bedroom house. As the cost of constructing a four-bedroom house can be almost three times that of building a bachelor apartment, there is no incentive for the production of this much needed stock.

Adding to the stresses faced by newcomers who must adapt to a new environment, find their way through the myriad of bureaucracies, learn a new language and try to find work, the challenge of finding suitable and affordable housing is a daunting one.







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The Panel Study on Homelessness in Ottawa is a longitudinal investigation of individuals' pathways into and out of homelessness over time. More than 400 individuals who were homeless in 2004 were interviewed and 62% were interviewed again two years later. This article reports on the similarities and differences between Canadian-born and foreign-born respondents to the Panel Study.

Comparing Foreign-born and Canadian-born Respondents

The Panel Study on Homelessness in Ottawa

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The Panel Study on Homelessness[1] was developed in response to the City of Ottawa's interest in facilitating collaboration among academic researchers, government officials and service organization managers. Its purpose was to examine pathways into and out of homelessness over time, by following the trajectories of persons who were homeless at the time of the first interview.

For a seven-month period beginning in October 2002, more than 400 individuals were interviewed as part of the Panel Study on Homelessness in Ottawa; among them, 99% were born elsewhere than in Canada. With the support of funds from the National Homelessness Initiative, researchers looked in detail at their experiences and how they differed from those born in Canada (Klodawsky et al. 2004).

Two years after the Phase 1 interviews, Panel Study investigators contacted and re-interviewed about 62% of the original sample. The characteristics of the Phase 2 respondents were very similar overall to those interviewed in 2002-2003, including the proportion of foreign-born to Canadian-born individuals.

One major goal of the Panel Study was to investigate as diverse a group as possible about their experiences of being homeless. As a result, the study results do not reflect the fact that there are more adult men who live in emergency shelters in Ottawa than there are women, children or youth. The sampling strategy was devised to capture the range of key characteristics within each of five sub-groups – adult men, adult women, adults with children, male youth and female youth – as well as the emergency shelters and services they utilized. Different sampling strategies were used for each of the sub-groups. In particular, staff from the women and family shelters emphasized that many residents were immigrants or refugees and the data that was made available confirmed this to be the case. Consequently, cultural interpretation services were offered and the adult women and adults with children sub-group samples were stratified with regard to citizenship as well as length of stay. This was not the case for the adult men or youth sub-groups. Thus, it is possible that the Panel Study may have greater numbers of foreign-born women than would be the case in a representative sample.

[1] For further information about the Panel Study on Homelessness, please see Aubry et al. (2003 and 2004).

Comparing the characteristics of foreign-born and Canadian-born respondents at Phase 1

Of the 99 individuals who were not born in Canada, just over half came to Canada as refugees and the rest came as immigrants. While the Canadian-born group had approximately equal numbers of men and women, among the foreign-born group, 79% were women. These foreign-born women included 84% of the refugees and 74% of the immigrants. Many of these women were living with children under 16. In fact, 53% of the sample of adults with children was composed of individuals who were not born in Canada. Foreign-born individuals came from approximately 40 different countries. While some were very recent arrivals, especially among the refugees, one-third of the immigrants had arrived before 1990. Among the refugees, many came from African countries such as Somalia, Djibouti and Rwanda.

Using matching samples in terms of age and sex, the researchers identified the following trends:

- Foreign-born respondents were more likely to be homeless because of financial reasons. The second most common reason was family conflict. It is possible that this may have something to do with the research finding that recent immigrants and refugees prefer living in extended family arrangements. A third reason given for becoming homeless, equally true for foreign-born and Canadian-born respondents, was flight from spousal or partner abuse and, specifically, wife battering.
- Foreign-born respondents on the whole had more education than did the Canadian-born sample. However, some refugees had very little schooling.
- The employment status of both foreign-born and Canadian-born individuals was similar. Most were not working for pay or were looking for work.
- Foreign-born respondents were less likely to use health and social services than were the Canadian-born respondents.
- In comparison to a general population sample, foreign-born respondents had a high level of mental and physical health. This was in sharp contrast to the Canadian-born individuals, whose physical and especially mental health status was lower.
- Overall, the foreign-born respondents had different characteristics than those born in Canada. Their reasons for being homeless were more clearly linked to a series of external barriers, such as not enough affordable housing, restrictions on the ability to compete for jobs, or inadequate childcare supports. The Canadian-born group on the whole was more vulnerable in terms of mental and physical health, education, or problems with alcohol or drugs.

Comparing foreign-born and Canadian-born respondents over time

Our preliminary results indicate that, compared to their Canadian-born counterparts, the foreign-born respondents experienced greater housing stability, as revealed by a smaller number of moves over the study period and increased probability of being housed. However, it is also the case that adult women and adults in families were more likely than other sub-groups to be stably housed and, as noted above, most foreign-born participants belonged to these sub-groups.

Foreign-born respondents were also more likely to reside in subsidized housing. The increased access to subsidized housing is likely an important contributor to housing stability, and may be a result of housing policies that favour families with children, as well as women escaping domestic violence.

Policy recommendations

- There is a pressing need for coordinated action among all levels of government to address the homelessness of foreign-born as well as Canadian-born individuals. The problems that result in individuals and families becoming homelessness are multi-faceted. Indeed, Panel Study respondents provided examples where it is possible that government programs and policies might inadvertently have contributed to their homelessness.
- As well as overall coordination among federal, provincial and municipal government agencies and departments, there is a need for policies and programs that are focused but that also recognize that specific problems overlap with one another, and through complex interactions, raise the risk of homelessness. For example, family conflict, partner abuse, poverty and the stress caused by inadequate housing have often been linked. While federal and provincial

governments have resources to deal with the housing aspect, the effects of these problems are often left to municipalities and community organizations to address.

- The central benefits that having enough safe, permanently affordable, stable housing through a revitalized social housing sector needs to be recognized. Right now, there is simply not enough social housing to help all those who equally deserve to be helped in this way.
- Finally, federal and provincial governments need to improve the range of health and social services that address the unique needs of newcomers. Unfortunately, mainstream services have been caught between budget cutbacks and the defense of existing programs and have not been able to address the different needs and approaches of newcomers.

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CARL NICHOLSON is Executive Director of the Catholic Immigration Centre in Ottawa and Executive Director of the Catholic Immigration Centre Foundation. Supporting both Boards of Directors, Carl oversees an annual operating budget of $2.8M, and a staff of 48 supported by 800 volunteers. Together they serve 5,000 clients each year who are newcomers to the Ottawa-Carleton region.

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This article reviews research from the Internationally Trained Workers Partnership on the barriers to employment for foreign-trained workers from both the immigrant and the employer perspectives. It presents the Hire Immigrants Ottawa project as a community-based strategy for employer engagement in Ottawa.

Engaging Employers: Strategies for the Integration of Internationally Trained Workers in Ottawa

GINNY ADEY
Hire Immigrants Ottawa

CAROLE GAGNON
Internationally Trained Workers Partnership and United Way Ottawa

Ottawa is the destination of choice for thousands of immigrants each year. Many of these immigrants are highly skilled. More than half of new immigrants in 2002 held a university degree, while many others held a diploma or trade certificate, and twice as many with a Ph.D. settled in Ottawa as opposed to elsewhere in Canada (Canadian Labour and Business Centre, World Skills and United Way/Centraide Ottawa 2003: 7).

The majority of these immigrants are internationally trained workers who, upon arrival in Canada, must seek employment within a unique labour market context. Ottawa faces strategic challenges not faced by other major metropolitan centres. The city's tradition as a government town has meant limited economic diversification, and despite some recent shifts, employment has been typically concentrated within the public and the information and communication technology sectors. The requirement for fluency in both official languages also poses a challenge in many employment sectors in Ottawa.

Despite a high level of knowledge and experience, more than a quarter of university-educated immigrants find themselves employed in an occupation that does not match their skill level, which is twice as likely as their Canadian-born counterparts (Ibid.: 10). Recent immigrants to Ottawa with a university degree are four times as likely to be unemployed as compared to their Canadian-born counterparts (Ibid.: 9).

The Internationally Trained Workers Partnership

In its 20/20 plan, the City of Ottawa (2003: 33) noted that Canada loses an estimated $5.9 billion annually by under-employing internationally trained workers; a significant portion of this loss affects the Ottawa area. The Internationally Trained Workers Partnership (ITWP) was formed in 2002 to respond to this challenge. Six community partners came together to develop a more coordinated approach to facilitate the integration of internationally trained workers into the Ottawa labour market. The ITWP partners are:

- United Way/Centraide Ottawa;
- the Ottawa Chamber of Commerce;
- the Regroupement des gens d'affaires de la Capitale nationale (RGA);

- LASI/World Skills (a coalition of eight Local Agencies Serving Immigrants);
- the City of Ottawa; and
- OCRI (Ottawa Centre for Research and Innovation).

One of ITWP's central premises is the reliance on local partnerships and organizations as a means to develop locally relevant approaches that tap into the community's talent and resources. This has also helped to ensure the project builds on and integrates other workforce development initiatives and community planning efforts.

Governed by a Steering Committee (which includes representatives from each partner plus community members), the ITWP believes in the power of collaboration and has aligned many of the organizations related to the employment of skilled immigrants in Ottawa. Members of its Advisory Committee represent the three levels of government, policy, labour, educational institutions, and immigrant service delivery organizations.

This article reviews the phased approach ITWP has taken in addressing this issue in Ottawa over the past five years, and introduces its first project, Hire Immigrants Ottawa.

Phase 1 (2002–2004): Research and stakeholder consultations

In 2002, ITWP received approval under the federal Voluntary Sector Initiative for its first research project, which was to develop a community-based strategy to support the integration of internationally trained workers by addressing the barriers faced by immigrants when entering the labour market.

The project focused on individual sectors, ensuring there would be a match between the supply of internationally trained workers, on the one hand, and a demand for workers in the occupations for which they were trained, on the other. Five sector-specific multi-stakeholder roundtables were held with teachers, engineers, doctors, nurses and masons. A forum was held in 2004 with more than 120 community representatives who refined and strengthened the findings from the roundtables.

The following common barriers and recommended solutions were identified in the roundtables. The full results can be found in the report "Moving Forward: A Strategy for the Integration of Internationally Trained Workers in Ottawa" prepared by ITWP in April 2004.[1]

Immigrant barriers to employment and recommended solutions

The findings from the roundtables suggested that there was not a single most important barrier that all internationally trained workers from these groups faced and thus, there was no single solution that could be designed to alleviate these barriers. A significant proportion of recommendations were relevant to only one or two of the five sectors. It was difficult to suggest a set of universal solutions that would address the needs of all groups while being specific enough to be useful.

Common barriers were identified:

- *Lack of Canadian work experience*, leading to a lack of employment opportunity. Also noted was the importance of understanding Canadian workplace culture;
- *Lack of information* about available programs and services;
- *Lack of employer contacts* and networking opportunities was identified as one of the most important barriers;
- Barriers related to *licensing and accreditation*, particularly in obtaining documentation from abroad and the heavy bureaucratic requirements;
- Difficult access to language and technical *skills upgrading* programs and the expense associated with bridging and training programs.

Solutions were identified by at least four of the five occupational groups:

- Better access to *language training* adapted to the workplace;
- Access to *mentoring* that would be supported by more established professionals; and
- Availability of *financial assistance* programs that are better suited to the particular needs of internationally trained workers.

Recognizing the complex and fragmented nature of the integration process, a comprehensive community-based strategy was seen as the most effective way to address barriers to employment.

[1] Accessible online at www.itwp.ca.

The findings from the roundtables suggested that there was not a single most important barrier that all internationally trained workers from these groups faced and thus, there was no single solution that could be designed to alleviate the barriers.

Partners and stakeholders agreed to explore the feasibility of an employer leadership council, similar to the one that had been established by the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC), as the cornerstone of a local strategy for integration. To effectively engage employers, ITWP first had to understand the barriers from the employers' perspective, and thus proceeded to the next research task.

Phase 2 (2004–2005): Understanding employer needs

ITWP secured funding from United Way/ Centraide Ottawa and from the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities to undertake the second phase. This expanded the plans for the employer leadership council by interviewing small- and medium-sized enterprises and large employers from Ottawa's business community.

ITWP worked with the TalentWorks program of the Ottawa Centre for Research and Innovation (OCRI) to conduct in-person interviews with 25 of the largest employers (1,000 + employees) in Ottawa. The approach was tailored for SMEs to assess their awareness of the labour market realities and explore their views on how immigrants could participate. Interviews with 12 local SMEs were completed with employers from sectors for which immigrants in Ottawa had the appropriate skills.

Employer barriers to hiring immigrants

When asked about hiring immigrants, some employers acknowledged that it makes good business sense and recognized the potential to grow their businesses. Some also spoke of their desire to be socially responsible. Several interviewees appreciated the fact that immigrant workers could help them understand their increasingly diverse client base and how to enter or increase new markets in the immigrants' countries of origin.

While most employers interviewed were aware that Ottawa's future workforce will depend, in part, on immigrants, many were not familiar with statistics related to workforce integration. Despite the fact that large companies and SMEs have different perceptions and needs, many of the barriers they identified were similar, and are summarized below:

- *Language*: Language fluency, workplace-specific language and preferences for fluency in both official languages were raised as critical factors. SME employers differentiated between proficiency in the language and "clarity;"
- *Networking*: Employers often do not know how to reach qualified immigrant candidates as they are not part of formal and informal networks;
- *Training*: Cross-cultural training is imperative in creating a welcoming environment on the employer side, and language and acculturation training is helpful for immigrants;
- *Social perception*: Employers identified societal perceptions that may be reflected among their employees and clients. The economic benefits of immigrants are often overlooked, and racism and discrimination can be found in the workplace;
- *Strict requirements*: The federal government has strict application criteria, with respect to language, Canadian citizenship and security clearance requirements (which may extend to those who contract with the government);
- *Human resource tools*: Many recruiting and hiring systems, especially those of SMEs, are based on North American culture, which hinders efforts to recruit from other backgrounds;
- *Pre-screening*: Employers want easy and direct access to job-ready candidates. Ideally candidates should be pre-screened for language, credential evaluation and job readiness. SMEs may not have the capacity for human resources functions or the ability to manage programs such as internships and sometimes feel they cannot risk hiring immigrants as they do not have the luxury of making a "mistake."

Supports and Solutions

Employers identified a range of remedies they believe would make a difference in hiring more skilled immigrants into their workforces:

- Promising practices such as *mentoring programs*, employment equity and diversity initiatives;
- In-house expertise in *workplace acculturation* could be shared outside the organization;
- Proactive support of immigrants to get involved in *networking opportunities*;
- Opportunities for *cross-cultural training* and awareness sessions for existing workforce/ employers;
- Additional supports that required involvement by other stakeholders, such as student visa processes, information portals for hiring immigrants and a pre-security clearance qualification program.

All employers agreed to consider participating in a future leadership council for internationally trained workers. This positive feedback, coupled with the challenges facing immigrants as identified in the "Moving Forward" report, prompted ITWP's next phase.

Phase 3 (2006–2009): Employer engagement

In 2006, ITWP applied for and received funding for three years from the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration for an employer engagement strategy called "Hire Immigrants Ottawa." This project recognizes the key role employers play in developing solutions, and fulfills the role of a structure for employer leadership, a need that was identified in the earlier research phases.

Hire Immigrants Ottawa's objectives will be achieved through a multi-pronged approach, and will include three key elements. The central feature is the Employer Council of Champions (ECC), featuring approximately 25 public and private sector employers that have committed to championing the integration of skilled immigrants into Ottawa's workplaces. In addition to acting as local spokespeople on the issue, the members of the ECC are creating an environment of cross-sector collaboration, stimulating strategic partnerships and acting as catalysts for ideas and innovation in their own organizations and throughout their networks.

The inaugural ECC membership was recruited in the winter and launched in April 2007. The co-chairs of the ECC are Hicham Adra, Senior Vice-President at CGI, and Rosemarie Leclair, President and CEO of Hydro Ottawa. The members represent a broad cross-section, including large employers such as Scotiabank and Calian, public sector employers such as the City of Ottawa and the Public Sector Human Resources Management Agency of Canada (PSHRMAC), and SMEs such as GEM Health Care Services Inc.

Hire Immigrants Ottawa recognized that in order to effect real, long-lasting change, it needed to engage not only the senior leaders of organizations, but also those involved in the day-to-day hiring practices. Therefore, the second project element is the establishment of working groups that will bring human resource managers from those organizations on the ECC, together with immigrant agencies, unions, government and educational institutions. These groups will identify common barriers and together will develop sector-specific (or workplace-specific) solutions. Facilitated by Hire Immigrants Ottawa, members have been meeting monthly since May 2007 to share information and work towards better linking qualified immigrants and local employers.

The results of these meetings, and those of the ECC, will be discussed and celebrated in the spring of 2008, as the Employer Council of Champions hosts a Summit. This networking and workshop-based event will highlight promising practices and generate increased momentum around the issue in Ottawa. It will be a forum for those who have been working with Hire Immigrants Ottawa, as well any who are working in skilled immigrant employment issues, to evaluate the work done thus far and develop a roadmap for the future.

Throughout the year, Hire Immigrants Ottawa will undertake local awareness-building activities to promote greater understanding of the social and economic value immigrants bring to Ottawa among employers and the general public. The project's Website, www.hireimmigrantsottawa.ca, provides local employment resources and links with a large database of free tools and resources for employers. This access was gained through a strategic partnership with the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) and its employer engagement initiative, www.hireimmigrants.ca. Through this beneficial partnership, the two organizations are able to share information and strategic advice.

Several interviewees appreciated the fact hat immigrant workers could help them understand their increasingly diverse client base and how to enter or increase new markets in the immigrants' countries of origin.

Relationship building has led to a few key breakthroughs in the project. In the spring of 2007, project staff brought the immigrant-serving employment agencies in Ottawa together to discuss strategies for improving the connections between employment-ready skilled immigrant candidates and Ottawa's employers. This group of agencies has since decided on an unprecedented alignment of services that ensures the recruitment process is as streamlined and effective as possible for employers.

By engaging the PSHRMAC in the public sector working group, Hire Immigrants Ottawa has established strong ties with the hiring arm of the federal public service. This agency will identify issues immigrants face in integrating specifically into the federal public sector and will play a key role in addressing these issues. The engagement of PSHRMAC, as an employer, is a critical step towards influencing hiring practices within the federal government. Hire Immigrants Ottawa will continue to seek opportunities to create successful strategic alignment such as this in the community.

The way forward

The urgency for solutions is increasing, as more and more immigrants arrive in Ottawa each year, and more and more employers are feeling the strain of labour shortages. The Internationally Trained Workers Partnership and Hire Immigrants Ottawa project have provided coordinating functions for skilled immigrant employment issues on a community level for the past five years. These issues are now being recognized as strategic economic priorities for Ottawa's development as a city. City Council passed a motion in April to move forward with a recommendation to collaborate with the Internationally Trained Workers Partnership to facilitate the development of a community-led, city-wide labour market integration strategy for immigrants. Included in this was the recognition of ITWP's governing bodies as advisors to a city-wide framework. This ensures future city strategies will build on and benefit from the extensive work undertaken by ITWP and its partners, and will continue the progress made thus far towards integrated, comprehensive solutions for internationally trained workers in this city.

Despite this significant progress, the transition from immigration to finding skills-appropriate employment is still a challenge for many newcomers to Ottawa. Clearly, there is still much more that can, and must, be done to facilitate the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Every skilled immigrant should have an equal opportunity to contribute to the future growth and vibrancy of Ottawa, and the work will continue until this goal is attained.

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Here's a thought...

Preparing for Diversity: Improving Preventive Health Care for Immigrants

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For the Canadian Initiative to Optimize Preventive Services for Immigrants (CIOPSI) Team

Immigration is dramatically increasing the diversity of Canadian urban populations, with immigrants from developing countries emerging as a growing and economically important segment of our population. Whereas immigrants benefit from positive health-related behaviours, genetic factors, and medical screening (known as the "healthy migrant effect"), considerable health disparities are emerging in sub-groups of immigrants with various social, cultural, ethnic, demographic or economic vulnerabilities. Recent evidence from a large national Canadian cohort linkage database study shows disparities in mortality patterns and burden of diseases among immigrant sub-groups and refugees.

In a review of the literature, Beiser (2005) suggests neither the "sick immigrant paradigm" nor the "healthy immigrant paradigm" offer an adequate framework to explain disease phenomena in immigrants. Instead, he suggests that an "interactive paradigm" is most appropriate. Diseases immigrants face are determined by a host of interacting health determinants including the exposure to diseases in their region of origin (both pre-migration and when returning to visit relatives), immune status from prior exposure or vaccination, pre-and post migration stressors, health- and resettlement-related behaviours, and utilization of preventive care services.

Preparing Canada for the growing global trends in migration and travel requires supportive links between immigrant communities, practitioners and policy makers and a clear understanding of the barriers and priorities for preventive care. This article describes preventable health conditions and access barriers that face modern immigrants and outlines the foundation for building our prevention guide. We hope the prevention guide will provide both a framework for health-related communication and a practical delivery tool to link primary and public health professionals and immigrant communities.

Preventable diseases in the immigrant context

Canada accepts roughly 220,000 immigrants (including 15,000 convention refugees) every year. In 2001, 5.6 million (~18.4%) of all Canadians were foreign-born, the largest percentage in 70 years. The majority of immigrants (> 70%) now come from developing countries. Of those who immigrated in the 1990s, 58% were born in Asia, including the Middle East; 20% in Europe; 11% in the Caribbean, and Central and South America; 8% in Africa; and 3% in the United States. Ensuring that immigrants and refugees have the health needed to succeed is important to Canada's future prosperity.

The burden of many infectious diseases in foreign-born populations is substantial and results in significant morbidity and higher mortality in immigrants and refugees than in the Canadian- and US-born populations. This is likely due to a higher prevalence of tuberculosis, Hepatitis B, HIV-AIDS, parasitic

diseases (strongyloides and other intestinal parasites, and malaria) and increased susceptibility to vaccine preventable diseases (rubella, varicella and tetanus) than in Canadian-born individuals. These conditions increase individual morbidity and mortality, are potentially transmissible to others, and may increase Canadian health care costs. Yet many of these diseases are often treatable or preventable.

Immigrants, traveling home to visit friends and relatives (VFRs), account for a significant percentage of north-south travel. VFRs face higher risks of injuries and travel-related diseases such as malaria, typhoid, hepatitis, and other vaccine-preventable diseases. These risks are linked to an increased likelihood of being exposed to local conditions and decreased likelihood of seeking preventive services prior to travel. Again, many of these illnesses and injuries could be prevented by appropriate medical prophylaxis, vaccination and health counselling.

The Public Health Agency of Canada's database linkage study (DesMeules et al. 2004) has found chronic disease health disparities among immigrant sub-groups; for example, incidence of mortality from cancers of the liver and nasopharynx were elevated, particularly among non-refugees from North-East Asia. The linkage study also found higher mortality rates among refugee males and South-East Asian refugee females and cervical cancer incidence was found to be greater among female refugees aged 45-64 years than among their Canadian-born counterparts.

Barriers to clinical preventive services

Accessing quality health care, however, is a challenge for new immigrants. Barriers to preventive services occur at the system level (i.e., current shortage of family physicians accepting new patients), provider level (i.e., lack of practical prevention guide), and patient level (i.e., language barriers and lack of appreciation of the benefit of prevention). Some of the emerging health disparities within immigrant sub-groups stem from these barriers to access and utilization of preventive health services.

Men and woman often have different preventive care needs and face different access to care barriers; for example, men are often resistant to seek professional health services and women, particularly women refugees, are at greater health risk because of issues around childbearing and sexual health. Furthermore, as immigration status, gender and socio-economic status intersect, women are also more vulnerable to poor health outcomes related to poverty. The Canadian Task Force recognizes gender-specific risks and has built their preventive guidelines accordingly and we will also consider specifically addressing gender- related health issues in our prevention guide.

Disparities in immigrant and refugee populations are compounded by the fact that immigrants, health care providers, and community leaders face knowledge and delivery obstacles: the immigrant patient trying to communicate his or her health needs, the multicultural health broker trying to find a supportive physician for their client, the health practitioner trying to communicate and deliver care across cultures in a system with limited access to cultural interpreters, the community pharmacist trying to both identify foreign drugs and negotiate the Interim Federal Health Program drug benefit plan. The result, for the immigrant and refugee, is often a number of obstacles and inconsistent answers that can leave them disengaged and wary of our "foreign" primary and preventive care services.

Each of these formal and informal providers plays a role in knowledge brokering for immigrants and refugees, an essential two-way exchange of knowledge that can clear a path to responsive and accessible care. Knowledge brokering has been used to describe effective research to policy processes but we see that across Canada physicians, nurse practitioners, multicultural health brokers, community pharmacists and researchers are all involved in the knowledge brokering process. We believe immigrant health knowledge brokering efforts need to be clearly identified, knowledge systems mapped to facilitate the exchange of information, and the various brokers linked to ensure that such information as clinical preventive services are responsive and appropriate, that innovative ideas and models of care are shared, and that relationships are fostered between key stakeholder groups.

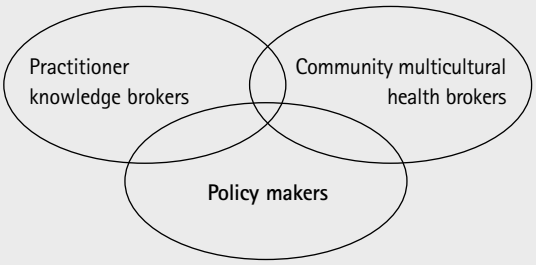
Knowledge brokering as a foundation for prevention guide

"Brokers are negotiators who facilitate communication, access to information, and exchange of knowledge among network members" (CHSRF 2003). Within Canada, immigrants reconstruct a web of knowledge brokers in order to gain access to health care

and health information. In this article, we use the term "knowledge broker" to describe an individual who engages in a two-way communication with other individuals – acknowledging the value of other beliefs and knowledge systems and the importance of facilitating a bridging of approaches and beliefs. The knowledge broker draws together different people and different cultures so that knowledge is able to circulate effectively between the different worlds. This goes beyond simple dissemination of knowledge, translation or passing of information – knowledge brokering is a dialogue that builds a relationship and trust.

Brokering is often unrecognized, unnamed, and at times unplanned. It is rare to acknowledge or notice a community leader studying for a master's degree who organizes community health promotion forums and maintains contact with university health professional colleagues; or an enterprising academic who organizes policy meetings and maintains a network of academics; or a primary care practitioner who provides care for refugee patients, organizes training, and maintains on-going work ties with international non-government organizations. We classify these people as knowledge brokers.

FIGURE 1
Interaction between policy makers, knowledge brokers and health brokers



Knowledge brokering in research and policy

Population health will only improve if the findings of health research are actively disseminated through implementation and knowledge transfer activities. Three models of knowledge transfer and uptake have been described: 1) producer push, in which the researchers take the responsibility for transferring and facilitating the uptake of research knowledge; 2) user pull, in which decision makers and policy makers are responsible for identifying and making use of research knowledge; and 3) linkage and exchange, in which researchers and decision makers are jointly responsible for the uptake of research knowledge. It is in this third model of knowledge translation that we see the role of knowledge brokering for the researcher, practitioner, immigrant leader and policy maker. In this model, the researcher and/or policy maker do not simply produce and use information but engage in relationship building, networking and two-way exchange. And we see knowledge brokering as an aspect of clinical practice that offers a unique opportunity to link with lay and multicultural health brokers.

Knowledge brokering through cross-cultural communication among health professionals

Clinicians, nurse practitioners and pharmacists who work with immigrants and refugees must become effective cross-cultural communicators. This is based on the premise that improving communication is crucial to addressing differences in quality of care associated with patient race, ethnicity, and culture. The art of cross-cultural communication is not simply providing information, but rather exchanging information. The practitioner and patient engage in building a trusting relationship, the practitioner learns the history, cultural context and expectations of the patient while the patient considers the information in the context of their own lived and cultural experience. Advocacy is also a key principle for family medicine, particularly when working with marginalized communities. We argue that the combination of health counselling in the context of continuous care along with advocacy for marginalized communities is evidence of knowledge brokering.

Multicultural health brokering

Multicultural health brokers (MCHB) or community lay health workers evolved from the concept of "cultural brokers" and cultural brokering found in anthropology literature. Jezewski (1990) defines cultural brokering as the "act of bridging, linking, mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds for the purpose of reducing conflict or producing change." Cultural brokers operate as equals with the organizational and community partners with whom they facilitate intercultural conversations and organizational change. Their work is a way of restructuring cultural relationships not so much to resolve cross-cultural conflicts, but to prevent them. MCHBs speak the first language and come from the same cultural

TABLE 1
Barriers to delivery of primary and preventive services to immigrants and refugees

System-level barriers	Provider- and practitioner-level barriers	Patient-level barriers
• Delay in medical insurance coverage for new arrivals • Lack of coverage for travel-related preventive services • Lack of language and cultural translators/interpreters • Timing of delivery of public health services • Lack of coordination among agencies in addressing the social determinants of immigrant health	• Lack of practical screening guide/protocol • Lack of travel health knowledge • Difficulty in perceiving risk disparities • Lack cultural competency training • Language challenges • Competing demands for time • Physician payment schedules	• Waiting lists or long line ups • Limited finances • Language and cultural barriers • Fear of stigmatization • Lack of perceived benefit of disease risk • Lack of understanding of system • Lack of access to physician or continuous care • No health care or insurance • Lack of experience or understanding for scheduling and appointments • Competing life demands (work, family communication, school, housing) • Gender barriers • Discrimination

background as the families and groups they serve. They are also familiar with the biomedical and Canadian culture that enable them to be trusted by service providers and the institutions they work with. To fulfill their role as cultural and linguistic mediators between families and the formal system, MCHBs offer informational, emotional and social supports in the home, communities and institutional setting. They work with individuals and families in addressing the linguistic and cultural barriers that hinder equitable access by immigrants and refugees to health resources and opportunities. They have the "insider advantage" that comes from the unique knowledge of the culture and strengths of their communities, which may be significant in reducing barriers to good health as well as facilitating positive health outcomes.

The elements of trust and acceptability are essential to the effectiveness of community health workers like the multicultural health brokers, and these may be facilitated by the worker's inherent sensitivity to their community's culture. Relevant to disease prevention and primary health, community lay health workers increased utilization of preventive services by "hard-to-reach" populations; facilitated early access to primary care services for diagnosed individuals; reduced complications and admissions to hospitals for hypertension, asthma, heart disease and diabetes; and ensured improvements in self-care behaviour.

Summing up

Dialogue concerning preventive care offers an opportunity to develop the social capital and linkages of our various knowledge brokers. Primary care and preventive care is often delivered over time in the context of a trusting relationship. There is less urgency than in emergency and urgent care and more opportunities for exchanges of beliefs and tailoring of practices. Knowledge brokering flourishes in a family and community-based environment where different forms of knowledge are recognized as equally important. Moreover, it is frequently preventive care that offers an opportunity for someone to take control of their own health and it is this sense of empowerment that knowledge brokering facilitates. We believe that linking primary health care practitioners, community pharmacists and the multicultural health brokering process will provide a solid foundation to build an appropriate and effective prevention guide for immigrants and refugees to Canada.

About the authors

KEVIN POTTIE is an Academic Family Physician and Principal Scientist at the Institute of Population Health, University of Ottawa. His research focuses on improving the delivery of primary and preventive care to immigrant and refugee populations. He is the founder and Co-director of the Immigrant Health Program at the University of Ottawa and its associated national network of urban-based health centres.

LUCENIA ORTIZ is Co-executive Director, Edmonton Multicultural Health Brokers Co-operative. She holds a Ph.D. in Human Ecology. Her work focuses on developing and nurturing the multicultural health brokering practice as a strategy for promoting social inclusion and reducing health inequities. She has an extensive background in public health, urban planning and international development.

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Ottawa: Our Diverse City

Interim Project Report — January 2007

Background

The Ottawa: Our Diverse City project was conceived further to the April 2002 Building the Ottawa Mosaic Conference, co-hosted by Local Agencies Serving Immigrants and the Social Planning Council of Ottawa.

The short-term goal of this project is ongoing dialogue and networking for a better understanding of the issues related to immigration and diversity. The longer term goal is a more coordinated and sustained approach to diversity through policies and programs, particularly at the municipal level. Project activities are public forums, public discussions, and researched articles.

Project organizers and supporting organizations at start-up were:

- Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre;
- Caroline Andrew, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa;
- John Biles, Metropolis Project, Citizenship and Immigration Canada;
- Andrew Cardozo, Canadian Opportunities Partnership.

Thirteen forums took place between November 2004 and January 2007, each focusing on a different topic. In 2006, Yew Lee and Carolyn McGill of Axiom Consultants joined the project to assist with planning and logistics for continuing forums.

In its current phase (fall 2006 to June 2007), the project has the support of the Department of Canadian Heritage to address the following outcomes:

- Dialogue, leading to increased and broader understanding of how community members experience city and municipal services;
- More comprehensive and inclusive approaches to services;
- Greater involvement in decision making related to services;
- Increased community engagement in affecting institutional change; and
- Enhanced research on topics of interest to minority communities, leading to interventions to inform policies and planning.

The last of the topic-focused forums took place in January 2007. At the conclusion of the series, Ottawa: Our Diverse City is taking stock of what has been learned and accomplished to date and is planning its next steps, so as to maximize change towards the outcomes listed above.

This report provides a digest overview of the 13 Ottawa: Our Diverse City forums, with material taken from notes, forum reports, and audiotapes. Please note that statistics and events were current as of the date of the forum under which they are noted.

Overview of Project Activities

Forums to Date

1. **Opening Session – Overview**, November 8, 2004
2. **City Planning**, December 8, 2004
3. **Social Services**, January 12, 2005
4. **Combating Urban Racism: A Canada-Europe Dialogue**, January 24, 2005
5. **Public Health**, February 23, 2005
6. **Civic and Political Participation**, March 29, 2005
7. **Education and Learning**, April 18, 2005
8. **Housing and Homelessness**, May 11, 2005
9. **Parks and Recreation: A Central Component of a Healthy Community**, June 15, 2005
10. **Labour Market Issues**, September 14, 2005
11. **Culture in a Diverse City**, October 25, 2006
12. **Public Transportation and Taxis**, November 8, 2006
13. **Policing and Justice**, January 24, 2007

Each forum featured a panel that typically included researchers, municipal officials and representatives of service providers and community organizations. The format was as follows: each panel member gave a five-minute presentation, after which the forum was opened to comments and questions from the audience, with responses from panel members.

Invitations to the forums went to a broad spectrum of community members and government and institutional representatives. Throughout the course of the project, the invitee list grew through word of mouth and referrals.

Planned Activities

- **Community Engagement Forum**, March 24, 2007;
- **Summit Forum**, date to be determined; and
- **This edition of *Our Diverse Cities* magazine**, featuring papers from panel members.

The following offers an overview of the forums held to date.

1. Opening Session – Overview, November 8, 2004

Co-chairs
Mayor **Bob Chiarelli**, City of Ottawa
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Rosaline Frith, Acting ADM, Citizenship and Immigration Canada
Hindia Mohamoud, Social Planning Council of Ottawa
Allan Moscovitch, Carleton University
Brian Ray, University of Ottawa

Presentations

Ottawa Mayor Bob Chiarelli expressed his support for the Ottawa: Our Diverse City project and said he would encourage city staff to participate in forums.

Rosaline Frith explained goals and considerations of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and emphasized the need for co-operation of all three levels of government. Hindia Mohamoud, Alan Moscovitch and Brian Ray spoke about demographic trends in the city: socio-cultural composition, housing conditions, economic conditions and labour force participation.

Issues

- Foreign-born residents represent 22% of Ottawa's population. The immigrant population grew at almost twice the rate as that of the Canadian-born population between 1996 and 2001. There are now more than 60 ethnic groups and 70 language groups in Ottawa;
- Additionnal tools for economic integration (language skills, recognition of credentials, additional information for employers) and improved access to housing and health care for newcomers are currently needed;
- Social inclusion does not just happen as a result of diversity. It depends on the quality of interactions that occur among individuals and social groups. Managing diversity relies on the "bedrock" social policies of public education, health care and income support.

Solutions, opportunities, next steps

- The Mayor will study the proposal of an employment equity survey among City staff;
- Statistics on immigrants' sociocultural composition and socio-economic situations can guide multicultural service planning and program design;
- City governments have a responsibility to lead in mitigating exclusion and segregation, for example through transportation, housing and policing;
- The federal government can complement the City's capacity.

2. Planning, December 8, 2004

Chair

Caroline Andrew, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa

Speakers

Jocelyne St-Jean, Planning Department, City of Ottawa
Fatemeh Givechian, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa
Khadija Haffajee, Ottawa Muslim Community
Paula Speevak-Sladowski, Canadian Federation of Volunteer Sector Networks
Dianne Urquhart, Executive Program Director, Social Planning Council

Commentator

Mohammed Adam, City Reporter, *The Ottawa Citizen*

Presentations

Panelists and audience members talked about the importance of city planning and the need for planning to involve the diversity of Ottawa in a comprehensive way. Individuals and community groups were encouraged to become involved in the planning process. Fatemeh Givechian spoke of her view that a salad metaphor is preferable to a mosaic or assimilation, while Khadija Haffajee spoke of how municipal planning decisions should include cultural beliefs. The City has a 20/20 plan which was discussed by Jocelyne St-Jean, who noted that the challenge is to implement this vision with limited dollars. Paula Speevak-Sladowski explained how new emerging needs are complex and intimidating and Dianne Urquhart spoke of the importance of the voluntary sector.

Issues

- Involvement in planning requires interest and awareness. It is unclear how aware the diverse communities are, or how well the City is doing at outreach;
- More focus and less "silo thinking" are required to meet needs.

Solutions, opportunities, next steps

- Services and activities for a diverse society should be multi-directional;
- The next step in the city planning process is the design planning stage. City residents can exert influence at this step;
- Expertise and long-term involvement are needed for effective city planning. A working group could be established to follow this issue over the next few years. Perhaps the Equity and Diversity Advisory Committee of the City of Ottawa would take on this responsibility;
- The Social Planning Council of Ottawa will continue to play an important role in speaking for the Ottawa community in city planning matters and can also play an important role by bringing forward diversity issues;
- Ottawa: Our Diverse City may conduct sessions specifically for municipal staff.

3. Social Services, January 12, 2005

Moderators
Caroline Andrew, University of Ottawa
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Rashmi Luther, School of Social Work Carleton University
Alex Cullen, Councillor, City of Ottawa
Michèle Kérisit, Director, School of Social Work, University of Ottawa
Barbara MacKinnon, Children's Aid Society
Mila Younes, Mouvement ontarien des femmes immigrantes francophones (MOFIF)

Presentations

Alex Cullen explained how the City administers and delivers services that provide the basic social safety net (housing, income assistance, etc.). The City also plays a role in health care and childcare, and funds service providers to deliver other services. Money for these programs comes from the province and from the City's own tax base. Rashmi Luther provided a history of social services for a diverse Ottawa, going back to the Boat People crisis of the 1970s. She cited various forums and projects undertaken over the years to show that the issues related to diversity are in fact well studied and understood. Michèle Kérisit cited some best practices for newcomer services, particularly at community health centres. She identified ways in which restructuring and cuts to services have been particularly hard on newcomers. Mila Younes presented results of action research on the accessibility of services in French for francophone immigrants who are victims of spousal violence or of sexual violence. Barbara Mackinnon spoke on the ongoing organizational development process at the Children's Aid Society. Their goal is to be culturally competent, but because of their legislated mandate to protect children, their standards and tools for decision making are not very flexible. They will focus on supporting the community to increase awareness of the role of the Children's Aid Society, and engaging the community to participate in its services.

Issues

- Most responses to issues of access, appropriateness and participation related to social services for ethnocultural communities in Ottawa have been short-term, and were often in reaction to a crisis;
- Provincial and federal governments can raise more revenue than the City; they distribute revenue to municipalities and set overall policy objectives for some programs. The City delivers the services and is accountable for them;
- Many newcomers and refugees need medium- to long-term holistic help to come to terms with their new life. Under-funded agencies are forced to operate in crisis mode and/or in silos;
- Gaps in service or racial prejudice by service providers can endanger victims of violence.

Solutions, opportunities, next steps

- Staff that is hired should represent the diversity of its clientele;
- Diversity training should be provided to all workers in the area. There should also be more formal education in this area. The University of Ottawa is going to start a B.A. program in Social Services with a diversity element;
- Budget cuts to service providers should be cancelled. Also, funding must be sustainable as well as sufficiently flexible to meet needs;
- It would be beneficial to increase organizational access for ethnocultural communities (participation in the decision-making structures and all facets of the life of the organization). For example, outreach strategies to try to attract volunteers and board members could be developed;
- Partnerships and collaborations have to be meaningful. Ethnic organizations and immigrant service agencies should be validated by mainstream agencies for their knowledge, skills and contributions;
- Community health centres are a best practice because they have varied, integrated services under one roof;
- An awareness campaign is needed in order to meet the needs of francophone immigrants;
- Advocacy needs to become stronger communities need to collaborate and become a strong voice once again;
- As a political process, it is important to inform both politicians and the community about what are good investments. Consensus requires discussion. Participate, make the system work, don't wait for the system to work for you.

4. Combating Urban Racism: A Canada–Europe Dialogue, January 24, 2005

Three European academics were in Ottawa for Metropolis meetings. This special session on combating urban racism was organized with the assistance of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO.

A Racism Roundtable with a smaller group was held earlier in the day. The following is a summary of the public forum held during the evening.

Chair
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Moderator
Andrew Cardozo

Municipal Representatives
Baldwin Wong, City of Vancouver
Cassandra Fernandez, City of Toronto
Andy Kusi-Appiah, City of Ottawa
Annie-Claude Sholtès, City of Gatineau

European Academics
Rinus Pennix, The Netherlands
Yngve Lithman, Norway
Bobby S. Sayyid, United Kingdom

Presentations

The three European academics and the representatives of the four Canadian cities discussed demographics in their cities and respective challenges and solutions currently underway. They discussed hate groups, education, media, the role of cities, housing and policing. Participants found it particularly useful to compare notes with other cities. This summary focuses on the Canadian and local issues.

Issues

- Key issues for Canadian cites include recognition of foreign credentials and employment, affordable human services, restrained municipal budgets, the need for newcomer integration, and the gap between plans and meaningful actions;
- Two key challenges in Ottawa are jobs and human services;
- In the Quebec context, how does a society that defines itself as a minority deal with other minorities?;
- Cities play an important role in supporting bottom-up initiatives to create bridging and connecting programs.

Solutions, opportunities, next steps

- There will be a follow-up to the afternoon Roundtable on fighting racism, led by the Canadian Commission for UNESCO and the Ontario Human Rights Commission;
- The role that cities play should be complemented by communities taking responsibility to drive agendas, by advocating and engaging with policy makers, police, regulatory bodies and governments;
- The NGO sector is a strong advocate for immigrant issues and is equipped to help with integration. They need more funding to increase their capacity;
- Effective methods: evidence-based data and research, bridging programs, mentoring programs, youth internships, tools to engage and welcome communities, low-income fee waivers, training in conflict resolution, police partnership programs.

5. Public Health, February 23, 2005

Speakers

Abebe Engdasaw, Equal Access-Multicultural Health Program, Ottawa Public Health
Eileen O'Connor, School of Human Kinetics, University of Ottawa
Melissa Rowe, Ethnocultural HIV/AIDs Project
Kevin Pottie, Department of Family Medicine, University of Ottawa
Sara Torres, Latin American Women's Support Organization (LAZO)

Closing commentary

Alex Munter, Former City Councillor, City of Ottawa
Dr. Robert Cushman, Chief Medical Officer, Ottawa Public Health

Presentations

Abebe Engdasaw spoke about a multicultural health service delivery model for public health programs, while Kevin Pottie identified challenges to providing health services to immigrants. Sara Torres discussed the characteristics and circumstances of the Ottawa Hispanic community, and the necessity for public health systems to find alternate approaches to serve this group, and Melissa Rowe spoke about a community development approach to preventing HIV transmission/AIDS.

Issues

- "Recent immigrants from non-European countries were twice as likely as the Canadian-born to report deterioration in their health over an eight-year period." (*Statistics Canada Daily*, February 23, 2005);
- There are language and culture barriers to providing health services to immigrants;
- There are diagnostic challenges to identifying diseases not usually seen in Canada;
- There are issues surrounding taboos, racism, stigma, mistrust and denial related to HIV/AIDS;
- We need to get beyond pilot projects, and build an alternate system;
- Whose problem is this? In what extent does the community as a whole care about it? Public responsibility is necessary for the common good and for inclusiveness;
- Foreign-trained doctors represent a valuable resource that isn't being used.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- Use formal and informal knowledge brokering, interpreters/translators;
- Focus on long-term and primary prevention;
- Community development approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention – outreach, building trust, partnerships;
- Ottawa Public Health Planning:
  - Communication (culturally and linguistically appropriate);
  - Integrated multicultural health component;
  - Cultural competency (training, reference and resource materials, new research);
  - Partnerships (working and support groups, outreach, joint community projects);
  - Advocacy (increased access; increased funding; hiring, training and recruitment; racism-free environment; collaboration with other agencies);
- Monitoring and evaluation;
- United Way partnership project for internationally trained doctors;
- Lay Health Promoters is a partnership model of outreach and support to Hispanic communities in Ottawa. The partners are the Latin American women's community group, a community health centre, a social research firm, and a university-based health research unit.

6. Civic and Political Participation, March 29, 2005

Chair
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Mohamed Ahmed
Diane Urquhart, Executive Program Director, Social Planning Council
Ike Awgu, former mayoral candidate
Nathalie des Rosiers, University of Ottawa
Diane Holmes, Councillor, City of Ottawa
Fantu Melesse, Women's Committee, Ethiopian Community Association
John Samuel, Former School Board Trustee
Erin Tolley, Metropolis Project

Presentations

Mohamed Ahmed and Diane Urquhart provided an overview of the Local Agencies Serving Immigrants and Social Planning Council report titled *An Exploratory Overview of Assets of Immigrant and Visible Minority Communities in Ottawa*. Ike Awgu spoke about the importance of visible minority participation in municipal politics, while Diane Holmes gave a city councillor's view of the participation of visible minorities and newcomers. Fantu Melesse talked about what she learned from a lobbying training course, and John Samuel spoke about his experiences as a candidate for school board trustee, and for the Liberal nomination in an Ottawa riding. Nathalie des Rosiers discussed the Law Commission of Canada's report on electoral reform, while Erin Tolley identified alternative ways for visible minorities to exert political influence and effect change.

Issues

- Young people and visible minorities, as groups, don't feel ownership of political issues, so they don't vote or run for office;
- The City of Ottawa isn't doing well at involving new Canadians;
- The political system rewards those who are "first past the post" – usually those who have lived here for a long time or cultural groups who live together. Women, visible minorities and youth all face the same challenges when it comes to being attracted, nominated and elected.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- Community organizing is critical, so is helping people understand their ownership of issues;
- Newcomers must articulate their needs to get money directed towards them. They must lobby as groups, find champions and exert pressure on elected members;
- The City for All Women initiative offered classes in lobbying, provided mentoring and gave hands-on training about city government. For example, women participated in the budget process. In this way, councillors also learned about visible minority needs;
- City Council needs help from the community to lobby other levels of government;
- Regarding electoral reform, use voter lists to ensure proportional representation;
- Political candidates should network timelessly, raise money, plan and be organized;
- Create a community talent bank; seek appointments to Boards;
- Encourage young people to be politically active.

7. Education and Learning, April 18, 2005

Chair

Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers

Margaret Lange, Trustee, Ottawa-Carleton District School Board (OCDSB)

Luz Maria Alvarez Wilson, Past Chair, Glebe Collegiate Parents Council (ESL advocate)

Maryse Bermingham, Programme français, Ottawa Community Immigrant Service Organization (OCISO)

Wali Farah, Multicultural Liaison Officer Program, Ottawa

June Girvan, Volunteer-in-Chief, J'Nikira Dinqinesh Centre

Qasem Mahmud, Arabic School, Ottawa

Presentations

Margaret Lange provided an overview of OCDSB programs designed to welcome and integrate newcomer and minority children and families. On the topic of ESL education, Luz Maria Alvarez Wilson provided statistics on immigrants to Ottawa. Maryse Bermingham presented the situation in schools for francophone immigrants to Ottawa, and Wali Farah gave a history and overview of the Multicultural Liaison Officer program (an OCDSB and OCISO partnership) and discussed some of its ongoing issues. June Girvan spoke about the vision of J'Nikira Dinqinesh Centre and its programs, while Qasem Mahmoud discussed issues for Muslim students and for private schools.

Issues

- New Canadians are unfamiliar with the school system here. They don't understand the opportunity and importance of participation, and they face language, cultural and economic barriers to participating in school governance and activities;
- Many more students need ESL than meet the provincial needs definition. ESL funding is insufficient and there aren't enough ESL teachers (the ratio in elementary schools is of 112:1). The drop-out rate for ESL students is 60-70%;
- Francophone schools in Ontario are poorly equipped to welcome, receive and retain francophone immigrant students, and they must work with very small budgets. There isn't an ESL equivalent, and few programs of any kind;
- The OCDSB has good diversity policies, but most individual schools don't have resources for dealing with diversity (e.g., awareness, representative staff, involved parents, ESL teachers, ESL training for staff, cross-cultural competencies, resource materials). Implementation of board policies and programs is, to a large degree, in the hands of principals. They need more encouragement and support;
- Many foreign-trained teachers cannot get accredited to teach in Ontario.
- Visible minorities (including Canadian-born and trained teachers) are not representative within teaching staff;
- There is a prevalent attitude that anti-racism, diversity, and equity curriculum and training are needed only within schools that have diverse student populations and are not valuable to all Canadians. Some OCDSB schools are segregated (not diverse) because of special programming;
- There are only 11 Multicultural Liaison Officers for 150 OCDSB schools.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- The J'Nikira Dinqinesh Education Centre provides programs that are based on reconciliation and building pride within Black children. Programs are carried out in collaboration with businesses and institutions;
- The Multicultural Liaison Officer program is a proven success;
- COMPAC (Ottawa police-community advisory committee) is a successful model for making institutional change;
- LASI World Skills, in partnership with Queen's University and the OCDSB, has a foreign-trained teacher bridging program. There are plans to expand the program;
- Multiculturalism in the community is an asset into which schools can tap;
- Organize to lobby for ESL issues.

8. Housing and Homelessness, May 11, 2005

Chair
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Tim Aubry, Research on Community Services, University of Ottawa
Anu Bose, Centre 507, Ottawa
Catherine Boucher, Centretown Citizens Corporation
Heng Chau, Welcome House, Catholic Immigration Centre
Fran Klodawsky, Geography and Environmental Studies, Carleton University
Ana Ticas, Ottawa Housing Help

Commentary
Russell Mawby, Housing Department, City of Ottawa

Presentations

Catherine Boucher provided an overview of social housing policy and funding in Ontario from the late 1980s to the present, and a snapshot of the current situation in Ottawa. Fran Klodawsky reported on a study of the experiences of 99 homeless individuals who were born outside of Canada (this was part of a larger study of homelessness in Ottawa), while Weng Chau described the transition from the Catholic Immigration Centre's Reception House to permanent housing for refugees to Canada. Ana Ticas discussed the "relative homelessness" – housing that is substandard in some way – and how this impacts on newcomers to Canada, Tim Aubry presented general findings of the report card on homelessness in Ottawa, and Anu Bose spoke about Centre 507, whose volunteers work with the homeless and people afflicted by health and addiction problems.

Issues

- Rental housing, including social housing, is not affordable for people on Ontario Works or working for minimum wage;
- Waits for social housing can be as long as five to eight years for those who don't match provincial or City priorities for housing;
- There is not enough affordable housing for large families;
- The study of the Ottawa homeless indicated that it is much more likely for foreign-born women (both refugees and immigrants) to be homeless than Canadian-born women;
- The most common reasons that foreign-born people become homeless are financial problems and family conflict. Overall, newcomers' reasons for being homeless are more linked to societal barriers, compared to Canadian-born homeless who are more likely to be ill, poorly educated, or have problems with substance abuse;
- Newcomers face numerous barriers to finding and maintaining housing: high rents in proportion to earnings, no credit, large families, waiting lists for subsidized housing, communications problems, discrimination, lack of understanding of landlord-tenant laws and their own rights;
- The housing market forces some newcomers into housing that does not meet their needs in some way (too expensive, too small, in poor repair). This can have an ongoing negative impact in many areas of their life: family, work, school, health, esteem, and social engagement;
- There are no funding incentives to build the types of housing most needed by newcomers (for example, affordable and/or suitable for large families).

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- Recent political announcements: federal government cost-sharing with the province to build new affordable housing; the announcement of $1.6 billion towards housing in the new federal budget; the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation announcement of a program to reduce mortgage insurance;
- Recommendations of the study on housing and homelessness in Ottawa:
  - All levels of government should address these problems;
  - Policies and programs that are focused on these problems and that acknowledge that certain problems overlap should be developed;
  - The benefits of a revitalized social housing sector should be recognized;
  - The range of health and social services that address the unique needs of newcomers should be improved;
- The new report card on homelessness provides a baseline. Future editions of the report card will track the issue;
- The City will soon evaluate the local priorities system for social housing and review the priority indicators, after three years of implementation. The community is invited to participate;
- Research shows that social housing is a good social and economic investment over a long period, although the initial investment is high;
- The Multi-Faith Housing Initiative has engaged the resources of faith communities and was able to buy a house entirely with loans and a mortgage from individuals;
- Social housing organizations and others are working with the City on the Official Plan (e.g., to change zoning by-laws in order to allow granny suites);
- The City has adopted housing as one of ten core agendas for the Corporation. This is partly in recognition of the fact that newcomers have a major impact on the city, and that housing has a major impact on the success rate for newcomers;
- The federal government has a budget of $1.2 billion to spend on housing.

Canada 2017 – Serving Canada's Multicultural Population for the Future

March 22 and 23, 2005

The Multiculturalism Program hosted the Canada 2017 Policy Forum: Serving Canada's Multicultural Population for the Future, on March 22 and 23, 2005. The aim of the Forum was to examine the future demographic landscape of Canada, and to allow the Government of Canada to explore the policy implications of our changing diverse population in order to make informed decisions on the policies and programs needed to meet its future needs. Some 150 participants attended the Forum.

The 2017 Policy Forum focused on five themes with a commissioned background paper in each area: Cities; Labour Markets; Health and Social Services; and Public Institutions. The majority of the authors for these papers were drawn from the Metropolis Network including Krishna Pendakur (Simon Fraser University), Jacqueline Oxman-Martinez and Jill Hanley (Université de Montréal), and Dan Hiebert (University of British Columbia).

These papers can be found online at www.multiculturalism.pch.gc.ca

9. Parks and Recreation: A Central Component of a Healthy Community, June 15, 2005

Chair
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Denis Bédard, Director General, Patro d'Ottawa
Camélia Djama, Association des Parents de la communauté Djibouto-somalienne d'expression française
Alexandra Samson, Artist
Adrienne Coddett, Teacher, Woodroffe High School
Jean Harvey, University of Ottawa
Christine Dallaire, University of Ottawa

Commentary
Aaron Burry, Director of Parks and Recreation, City of Ottawa

Presentations

Christine Dallaire gave examples of how sport and recreation can both integrate people into Canadian society, and help them maintain their cultural heritage. Adrienne Coddett spoke of how she started a basketball program to provide networking opportunities and skills development for high school basketball players and give them the opportunity of continuing on to college and university; this program is challenged by a lack of suitable, accessible resources and facilities. Jean Harvey identified three categories of barriers to inclusion in sports and recreation: infrastructure, structure (nature of activities, knowledge about programs, leadership, cultural exposure, prejudice and language), and procedure (social support, citizen rights, organizational structure, management style). Denis Bédard explained how the Lowertown community centre Patro d'Ottawa has adapted to social and cultural changes to serve the francophone community. He emphasized accessibility for all members of the community, and a holistic approach. Le Patro houses a number of programs and organizations, and offers satellite programs through partners in the community. Alexandra Samson, an artist who works at a centre for ethnocultural youth in Ottawa's south-end, where there are few recreational facilities for youth, discussed how during the summer, bassed in children to participate in this program offered at the Patro. Camélia Djama spoke of the program in that she is involved, that helps Djibouti-Somali parents communicate with the school system and get involved. Aaron Burry discussed the challenge of balancing very limited resources; he explained that the City focuses on things like accessible facilities, including parks and beaches, and not sports, where the City's role is to facilitate only.

Issues

- Sports and recreation activities have impact in many areas: cultural, social, physical and mental health;
- The City's Recreation budget is tight (8% of municipal taxes and no federal or provincial funding), facilities are ageing, and there are no new major investments in sight. Some neighourhoods don't have facilities appropriate to their needs;
- Access to leisure is not only a question of providing a wide variety of activities catering to cultural needs of diverse communities. It is also a question of making sure that these communities are represented at the planning stage and at all stages of decision making, if not during daily operation of the programs;
- User fees represent a barrier. The City has a fee assistance program, but logistics remain a challenge for many newcomers;
- Safety of facilities is an important issue;
- Traditionally, recreation issues are diverse, each affecting a relatively small group, and the community of interest is either apolitical or not organized to speak up (compared to other lobby groups);
- The City and the OCDSB continue to negotiate mutual use of facilities, but they are placed in opposition because of severe budget cuts.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- The Health Recreation and Social Services Standing Committee at City Hall is currently considering the following motion: "That Council petition the Federal Government asking that they ensure that the impact of immigration policies on municipal and community services be recognized and adequately addressed in policy and in the provision of funding and resources especially with regard to housing and settlement services;"
- The City is looking at capital partnerships (cost-sharing, service in kind, various grant programs) to develop new infrastructure;
- The City's Parks and Recreation Committee invites delegations on issues regarding policy, facility usage, and granting mechanisms. The Committee will hold public forums. Diversity will be one of the issues (along with the ageing population);
- City staff urge the community to document their issues, and put numbers to them, which will give them something to take forward;
- Community networks are important, because they create a louder voice to ask for political change. Community advocates can make their interest groups bigger by defining the problem cross-culturally – for example, access for low income groups;
- The City should have a basic diversity principle for all services. The Equity and Diversity Advisory Committee should reflect on what could be included in municipal policies, including those touching upon recreation;
- City policy should include diversity training for all staff.

Our Diverse Cities: Challenges and Opportunities

Special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*

A recent issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* (Vol. 15, No. 2, 2006) was guest edited by Tom Carter and Marc Vachon of the University of Winnipeg; John Biles and Erin Tolley of the Metropolis Project Team; and Jim Zamprelli of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It contains selected articles on politics, religion, housing, youth gang activity, sports and recreational services. These articles explore the challenges posed by the increasing concentration of religious, linguistic, ethnic and racial groups in Canadian cities, suggest ways to facilitate the integration process.

To obtain a free copy, please contact canada@metropolis.net

This session was co-sponsored by the Douglas-Coldwell Foundation.

Chair

Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers

Glen Bailey, Vice-President, HR Planning, Accountability and Diversity, Public Service Human Resources Management Agency of Canada

Ed Cashman, Public Service Alliance of Canada, National Capital Region

Philippe Couton, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Ottawa

Navin Parekh, President, Training and Development Associates

Kelly McGahey, Project Developer, LASI World Skills

Jeff Byrne, Manager, Staffing and Client Relations, City of Ottawa

Commentary

Khaddouj Souaid, Senior Consultant, Goss Gilroy Inc.

Presentations

Philippe Couton discussed how immigration brings in a large number of highly trained individuals, with a focus on the economic aspect of immigration, and that the social aspects of immigration are often overlooked. Navin Parekh spoke about a 1999 Canadian Labour Force Development Board report, *Reaching our full potential: Prior learning assessment and recognition for foreign-trained Canadians*, focusing on the first recommendation, which was to develop a coordinated national approach to the issue. Glen Bailey provided an overview of the Federal Public Service's approach to employment equity, while Ed Cashman identified specific barriers to federal government hiring of minorities and newcomers. Kelly KcGahey discussed how LASI World Skills assist immigrants in finding opportunities related to their professional qualifications, and explained the work done by World Skills' in engaging employers. Finally, Jeff Byrne spoke about the composition of the City of Ottawa's workforce and about recent hiring trends.

Issues

- Recognition of foreign credentials continues to be a major problem for immigrants to Canada;
- The federal government did not reach its Embracing Change targets for hiring visible minorities. Specific barriers include citizenship, security clearance and the bilingualism policy. Additional systemic barriers include biases inherent to the selection process, cultural insensitivity, stereotyping based on colour, culture, race and religion;
- The City of Ottawa has not been in a hiring mode since amalgamation.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- Recommendations of the Canadian Labour Force Development Board report:
  - Canada should develop a coordinated national approach, bringing together all the initiatives undertaken by governments and non-governmental organizations;
  - There should be a federally based national coordinating agency;
  - Pre-immigration assessment of credentials should be undertaken, coupled with more widely available post-immigration employment counselling and readily available bridging training;
  - Employers should have a more sophisticated form of prior learning assessment that would include both educational and work experience coupled with additional training and apprenticeship provided by employers;
- There is now a Deputy Ministers' Committee on employment equity;
- Federal departments and agencies should build diversity issues into their business plans;
- LASI World Skills works to raise awareness among educational institutions, regulatory bodies, federal, provincial and municipal governments, and would like to see a major campaign for both employees and the general public;
- The City of Ottawa's current hiring needs include nurses, public health workers, IT workers, planners, building inspectors, librarians and mechanics.

Recommendations of the Ottawa: Our Diverse City Forum

This forum developed specific recommendations in three areas.

City of Ottawa

- A workplace survey of visible minorities in the City of Ottawa should soon be conducted, followed by real targets and timetables for increasing the number of minorities throughout the corporation so that the City better reflects the citizens it serves and the taxpayers who foot the bills;
- The approach taken by the Ottawa Police Service should be mirrored in other parts of municipal government;
- The working relationship between World Skills and the City of Ottawa should be broadened to help newcomers obtain employment and assistance;
- The City of Ottawa, along with employers, other levels of governments, unions, concerned business and social agencies, should consider a model for Ottawa similar to the Toronto Regional Immigrant Employment Council, so that all the players in the region are able to work together in a more focused way to reduce unemployment and underemployment of immigrants and visible minorities.

Foreign credential recognition

- Take a national approach to dealing with foreign credential recognition that would include the federal government, provincial governments and the licensing bodies of each of the professions;
- Focus on partnership programs with organizations such as World Skills and the United Way, on foreign credential recognition and on bridging programs for new arrivals, so that newcomers can obtain suitable recognition and fill any skill gaps;
- Employers need to formalize their processes of prior learning assessment of newcomers, in order to take education and employment history into consideration;
- With the abolition of the Canadian Labour Force Development Board, there is a vacuum in terms of dealing with issues of foreign credentials recognition. There is a need for a national organization such as the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, the National Visible Minority Council on Labour Force Development, or the Canadian Association on Prior Learning Assessment to put this matter high on its agenda and undertake a vigorous campaign.

Federal employment equity

- Seriously ramp up the Employment Equity Program to focus on meeting the Embracing Change commitments in the very near future, both in terms of new recruits and in terms of appointments to executive and senior executive positions;
- The federal government should attend more closely to the concerns of minorities who are facing discrimination in the workplace;
- Conduct a review of the requirement that all applicants to the federal government be Canadian citizens;
- Raise the issue of employment equity with federal government officials as well as candidates in the next general election.

11. Culture in a Diverse City, October 25, 2006

Chair
Eileen Sarkar, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

Speakers
Monica Gattinger, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa
Sharon Fernandez, Consultant, Former Coordinator, Equity Office of the Canada Council for the Arts
Evalt Lemours, Groupe ADEP (Anti-délinquance en poésie)
Colleen Hendrick, Director, Cultural Services and Community Funding, City of Ottawa
C. Lloyd Stanford, President, Third World Players, Le Groupe Stanford Inc.
Barbara Clubb, Chief Librarian and CEO, Ottawa Public Library

Presentations

Barbara Clubb explained how the Ottawa Public Library encourages and supports newcomers to connect with Canadian society and pursue their citizenship, and Sharon Fernandez discussed how culture can play an active role in ensuring that people feel part of Canadian society. Monica Gattinger spoke about the ways in which participating in cultural activities can build social capital and cultural understanding, while maintaining cultural diversity, while Evalt Lemours explained why and how his group uses poetry as a tool to prevent youth delinquency. Colleen Hendrick provided an overview of the City's planning and explained that diversity was included within the City's six key priorities. She explained her department's role with respect to cultural services and community funding, and some of the initiatives they were exploring or on which they were working. C. Lloyd Stanford discussed the importance of the connection between culture and socio-economic policy in a multicultural society.

Issues

- Culture plays an active role in ensuring that people feel they are part of the Canadian identity;
- Ottawa has the lowest per capita cultural funding among major cities in Canada. The City receives up to five times more applications than it is able to respond;
- Ottawa faces the paradox of being the national capital. It benefits from having federal cultural institutions, but this leads the municipal government to accord a lower priority to cultural policy and spending;
- Recent population growth in Ottawa has been highly diverse. It is very challenging for the city to support the cultural endeavours of diverse groups;
- The school system has not adapted to the needs of the francophone minority, immigrant youth and their parents. There is a lack of programs for them. Newcomer parents don't understand the school system and become overwhelmed by it;
- Cultural funding sometimes ignores "small c" culture (e.g., folklore), as well as artists who are "amateurs" because they cannot support themselves through their art alone.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- The library understands it has to tailor services, especially for newcomers. The library is consulting to develop a long-range plan and invites public involvement;
- Data is available on visible minority artists in Canada. Visible minorities are also consumers of culture;
- Cultural activities can engage youth without threatening or judging them, and are tools with which to fight frustration and exclusion;
- The City is working on a number of initiatives and strategies with community partners, including an arts investment strategy, new funding (with a discussion on the gaps and priorities it should address), a Heritage Gateway (virtual at first, then physical);
- For those who want to work with the City: there is an Arts Heritage and Culture Advisory Committee; people can apply to participate on selection juries; the Arts Investment Plan will be on the City Website in February, and the City invites feedback;
- Culture is an investment in attracting tourists to Ottawa;
- The enrichment of culture in Ottawa would benefit the entire country, so the federal and provincial governments have a stake in it;
- An example of a pro-active strategy for funding diverse cultural activities is to build a database of artists;
- The City has begun a workforce census and plans to develop an employment equity strategy;
- Capacity building (partnerships, for example) is an alternative strategy to government funding;
- Data and resources concerning cultural funding as an investment are available to support lobbying efforts;
- Being organized, speaking up and forming coalitions are effective ways to make change.

12. Public Transportation and Taxis, November 8, 2006

Chair
Carl Nicholson, Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Brian Ray, Department of Geography, University of Ottawa
Andrew Heisz, Business and Labour Market Analysis, Statistics Canada
Suzanne Doerge, City for All Women Initiative (CAWI)
Valerie Collicott, Women's Initiatives for Safer Environments (WISE)
Brigitte Bitar, Customer Relations, Transit Services, City of Ottawa
Linda Anderson, By-law Services Branch, City of Ottawa
Hanif Patni, President and CEO, Coventry Connections Inc.

Presentations

Andrew Heisz presented his findings, which shows that immigrants who arrived in Canada during the last ten years are more likely to use public transit to commute to work than earlier immigrants or native-born Canadians. He discussed the implications of this trend for cities. Brian Ray identified some differences in the use of private and public transportation for newcomer men and women, and the importance of transportation to an individual's sense of being part of society, while Brigitte Bitar spoke about OC Transpo's communications and outreach in relation to a diverse city. Hanif Patni discussed that drivers in his industry are 99% first-generation Canadians representing many countries, ethnocultural origins and religions, and Linda Anderson explained that the City regards taxis as integral to public transportation and that since amalgamation, taxi by-laws have been harmonized, with a focus on customer services and safety. Valerie Collicott discussed the findings of WISE's safety audit of 30 OC Transpo stations to date (lighting, signage, emergency services, and entrapment sites), and identified particular issues for immigrant women. Suzanne Doerge explained to participants that the City for All Women Initiative (CAWI)'s gender equity tool was compiled with that of the City of Ottawa, and is being evaluated for possible use in the Corporate Plan. The guide can be used to assess inclusiveness at every stage of planning.

Issues

- Research shows that recent immigrants are, and will continue to be, an important client base for public transportation;
- OC Transpo information and signage isn't always effective (people get confused at stations, think call boxes are utility boxes, don't know about the taxi link program);
- Language is sometimes a barrier affecting safety. Cultural attitudes toward authority can also impact on how safe someone feels. When immigrant women don't feel safe or confident, they tend to stay home, and this affects their integration to Canadian society;
- Rising transit costs affect low-income families, which includes many immigrants, especially those with larger families;
- OC Transpo drivers aren't representative of the rider community.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- WISE welcomes more community participation in future safety audits;
- As the Ottawa population continues to grow, infrastructure in the core is limited, so the City will be motivated to develop seamless integration of public transit – busses, taxis, and light rail;
- OC Transpo is planning a family bus pass (for 2009), a pass entitling the owner to a certain number trips, and a rewards system. OC Transpo is moving towards providing multilingual information on its Website, and will give more ESL presentations;
- CAWI's tool can be used as an equity lens for many groups, including visible minorities and lower income families.

Chair
Carl Nicholson, Co-Chair of COMPAC and Executive Director, Catholic Immigration Centre

Speakers
Scot Wortley, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto
Vic Satzewich, Department of Sociology, McMaster University
Larry Hill, Deputy Chief, Ottawa Police Service (OPS)
Claude-Xavier Pierre, Vice Co-chair, Community Police Action Committee
Karl Nickner, Executive Director, Canadian Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR-CAN)
Katral-Nada Hassan, Muslim community member

Presentations

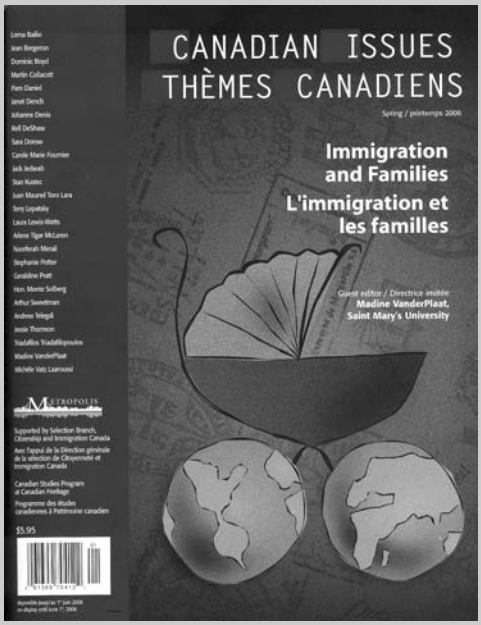
Scot Wortley provided an overview of research done on police profiling in Ontario over the past 15 years, and Vic Satzewich spoke of his research with Hamilton Police and discussed the Hamilton Police's perspectives on the racial profiling debate. Claude-Xavier Pierre explained that everyone in society must be held accountable and take action on the problem of racial profiling. Katral-Nada Hassan spoke about general approaches to the justice system to help it deal with and understand the Muslim and Arab community, while Karl Nickner cited some findings from a CAIR-CAN survey on the practices of security personnel when contacting the Muslim community. Larry Hill explained that police are infected with racial bias and that the Ottawa Police Service is committed to working towards being bias-free, with the help of the community.

Issues

- There is a persistent gap between police and community views on the existence of racial profiling. Community members identify racist attitudes and behaviour by the police. The police discount research evidence for various reasons, and say that they do criminal profiling – not racial profiling – as a necessary part of their jobs;
- Profiling impacts most on youth and, through them, on the Canada of the future;
- Muslim and Arab communities have felt stigmatized and alienated by security measures and certain tactics by security officials since September 11, 2001;
- Training is key, but there are limitations to what a workshop can do. Training needs to be reinforced by police accountability measures (evaluation of training, performance reviews tied to promotions, etc.);
- There exists a fair amount of qualitative data from interviews and focus groups on profiling and bias. Numerical data is either not collected by police or the justice system, or not released to researchers;
- Some minority/immigrant communities are underserved, because of fear or mistrust of the police (e.g., women who are victims of violence);
- The racialization of problems and viewing problems as being those of a certain group are forms of racism.

Solutions, opportunities and next steps

- For communications to be effective, we must learn about the persons to whom we are talking and understand that perspectives exist. This may require training or cultural brokering;
- COMPAC is a model for engaging institutions to make change;
- COMPAC and the OPS Board are committed to hearing issues from the community and to follow up;
- Community members who want change have to step forward to be leaders and assume their share of power;
- The OPS recently completed a workforce census – a first for a police service in Canada. The participation rate was high (74%). Results will be used in OPS planning. The census will be conducted periodically, so the results of strategic initiatives to increase diversity, such as outreach recruitment, can be tracked;
- COMPAC is encouraging the OPS to use alternative methods to deal with complaints. These methods are not adversarial and can build police-community relationships;
- The choice of a new police chief in Ottawa can be an opportunity to continue on the path to building relationships with minority communities.



Immigration and Families

Special issue of
Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens

Metropolis has continued its successful partnership with the Association for Canadian Studies to produce special issues of the magazine *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* on immigration and diversity topics. This issue (spring 2006) focuses on immigration and the family. It features an introduction by Madine VanderPlaat of Saint Mary's University, an interview with then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Monte Solberg, and 20 articles by knowledgeable policy makers, researchers and non-governmental organizations. Like earlier issues, it has been assigned as course readings in many disciplines at several universities.

To obtain copies please contact canada@metropolis.net

The University of Guelph's Department of Geography is home to a group of researchers interested in immigration issues outside of gateway cities. Under the leadership of Harald Bauder, graduate students have been organizing seminars that focus on these debates. This paper provides a brief overview of the third installment of the Immigration Series at the University of Guelph, held on September 8, 2006.

Immigration Series at the University of Guelph

The Role of Secondary Cities – A Brief Summary*

TOM LUSIS
University of Guelph

For the past three years the Department of Geography at the University of Guelph has organized a seminar that addresses immigration issues in non-gateway cities. This year, the seminar was sponsored by the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS) and was held on September 8, 2006. This report provides a brief description of the seminar presentations, and a summary of some of the themes examined during the roundtable discussion that followed.

The title of this year's workshop was Immigration Series at the University of Guelph: The Role of Secondary Cities. The main topics of discussion were the social and economic barriers facing immigrants in smaller communities, and the role of support institutions for immigrants in second-tier cities in overcoming these hurdles. The objectives of the seminar were twofold. First, the event was to provide a venue for individuals and organizations on the "front lines" of second-tier cities to give their opinions and feedback on current immigration issues; secondly, the seminar presented some of the current and ongoing academic research on immigration in smaller communities. In attendance were representatives of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, municipal governments, non-government organizations, multicultural centres, local colleges, as well as students from various universities.

Overview of the presentations

The format of the presentations at this year's event reflected the objectives of the seminar. Presenters included immigrants who live in second-tier cities, academics, and representatives from immigrant support organizations. After some introductory remarks from Dr. Harald Bauder, the seminar began with two presentations by individuals who shared some of their personal experiences living and working in a smaller urban centre. Victoria Szucs lives and works in Guelph and is part of the Foreign-Trained Doctors Study Group, a group of immigrant professionals who meet on a regular basis at the Guelph Multicultural Centre to prepare for the accreditation process. Mrs. Szucs, who was a medical doctor in Yugoslavia but is unable to practice in Ontario, outlined some of the hardships facing first-generation immigrants in Canada as well as the difficulties experienced by foreign-trained professionals trying to complete the accreditation process. For example,

* We thank the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS) for sponsoring this workshop. We are grateful, in particular, to all the participants of this year's seminar for making the event a success.

she recounted how immigrants seeking professional employment had to take Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) examinations every other year. This becomes a financial burden as under this system, immigrants repeatedly pay for the examination despite having already illustrated their language proficiency. The second speaker was Edward Akinwunmi, an entrepreneur who currently lives in St. Catharines and produces Niagara Region's first newspaper devoted to multiculturalism, the *Mosaic Edition*. He spoke about potential benefits that immigrant entrepreneurs might reap smaller communities. Rather than settling in Toronto, he decided to migrate to St. Catharines because he felt that his business opportunities were better in a second-tier city. Mr. Akinwunmi had been concerned that in Toronto, the *Mosaic Edition* might become one among numerous other ethnic enterprises and get "lost in the mainstream." In the Niagara Region, however, the *Mosaic Edition* is now circulating in stores and libraries.

The next two presentations were by the author. The first, titled "Immigration Studies in Second-tier Cities: A Research Agenda," highlighted some of the current research being spearheaded by the University of Guelph. The focus of the presentation was an overview of a CERIS-funded project titled Local, Regional, and Transnational Networks and the Integration and Settlement Dispersal of Filipino Immigrants. This project is a collaborative effort involving the University of Guelph, Margaret Walton-Roberts at Wilfrid Laurier University, the Guelph Multicultural Centre, the New Canadian Program, and the Welland Heritage and Multicultural Centre, and is based upon an empirical study of immigrant communities in three of Southern Ontario's second-tier cities. The project's research sites are Guelph, Kitchener-Waterloo and Welland, and its objectives include the documentation of the socio-economic experiences of Filipino immigrants in these communities, and an examination of how immigrant networks form linkages at the local, regional and international levels. The project will also focus on the types of relationships immigrant groups in second-tier cities entertain with ethnic communities in Toronto, the primary gateway city for immigrants in Canada.

The second paper in this section was presented on behalf of Éric Quimper and Michèle Vatz Laaroussi from the Immigration Observatory on Low Immigrant Density Areas, a group of researchers based at the Université de Sherbrooke. It provided an overview of one of their current research projects, titled Municipalities and their Ethnic, Religious and Cultural Diversity Management in Urban and Rural Regions: Analysis of Research in New Brunswick, Saskatchewan and Quebec. This collaborative project, which involves researchers from the Université de Sherbrooke, the Université de Moncton, the University of Saskatchewan and the Université Laval, aims to analyze the managerial policies of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in numerous urban and rural municipalities. The presentation used the City of Sherbrooke's 2004 immigrant welcome and integration policy as a case study and demonstrated how the policy faced social and political hurdles in meeting its goals of ensuring accessibility to all services and employment for newcomers. It concluded with some suggestions of ways that the municipal policy could be revised to better meet the stated objectives.

After a refreshment break, which was used by many participants for networking, the third series of presentations began. These papers were written by representatives of various immigrant support organizations in second-tier cities. The first presenter was Tanya Bouchard from the Canadian Access for International Professions and Skilled Trades. This employment agency, based at the Welland Heritage Council and Multicultural Centre,[1] provides newcomers with many services including settlement assistance, employment training and legal advice. The presentation focused to some of the funding problems facing support organizations in smaller communities. For example, one of the primary difficulties is that the needs of secondary cities are different from larger centres, but funding remains based on a comparative analysis. As a result, smaller organizations do not receive adequate funding to meet all the needs of newcomer communities. A second theme was that many of the employment barriers facing immigrants in second-tier cities are similar to those experienced in larger urban centres, and newcomers in the Niagara Region often expressed frustration at not being able to find employment in their fields due to issues such as their lack of "Canadian experience." The next presentation was by Djurdjica Halgasev, from the Guelph and District Multicultural Centre,[2] who further outlined some of the social and economic

[1] www.wellandheritagecouncil.com.

Many of the barriers experienced by immigrants in labour markets are not unique to second-tier cities, but are rather similar to those facing newcomers in large gateway cities....a complicated accreditation process and a lack of "Canadian experience" are common sources of frustration for professional immigrants in second-tier cities.

barriers facing immigrant professionals in smaller communities. Using immigrant physicians as an example, she demonstrated the prohibitive costs involved in the accreditation process and showed how the financial expense of these examinations acts as a barrier for many immigrant professionals. The final paper was presented by Brian Wiley of the Lutherwood Adult Employment Services,[3] an organization in Guelph that offers employment assistance for immigrants such as support services for individuals with no Canadian work experience or training, language training, and direct links to employers who are hiring. The presentation, titled "Barriers to Immigrant Job Searching in Secondary Cities" provided an overview of the labour market integration of immigrants in Guelph and focused on some of the barriers facing newcomers to the city. Of note was the importance of language proficiency, one of the most common reasons cited by employers in Guelph for not hiring immigrants.

Following the presentations, there was a roundtable discussion on some of the issues covered during this part of the seminar. At this point, the audience asked questions and offered feedback on some of the presentations, and shared their own experiences. What followed was an interesting debate, where new issues were raised and which provided many directions for further investigation or research.

Synthesis of debates

As regards the settlement and integration of immigrants in second-tier cities, the presentations and roundtable discussion raised three main issues:

- Many of the barriers experienced by immigrants in labour markets are not unique to second-tier cities, but are rather similar to those facing newcomers in large gateway cities. For example, the "usual suspects" of a complicated accreditation process and a lack of "Canadian experience" are common sources of frustration for professional immigrants in second-tier cities. The main difference, however, is that in many cases these barriers are compounded by the fact that many services related to the accreditation process are only offered in larger cities. Thus, as Tanya Bouchard pointed out in her presentation, larger urban centres typically provide more opportunities for training and professional development. Furthermore, many professional associations examinations are held in larger cities; therefore, immigrants must sometimes travel considerable distances to take qualifying exams. These types of geographic restrictions to the accreditation process can add further expenses to already strained resources. A similar barrier is the need for additional services, such as English language training. Brian Wiley showed that in some smaller cities the level of English as a Second Language (ESL) training is only available up to Level 7. While this provides enough training for most jobs, professional and management positions typically require sector-specific ESL requirements and a Level 10 grade of instruction. This level of training is not conveniently available in many smaller cities, and immigrants must travel to larger urban centres for instruction. Again, this adds considerable barriers in terms of time and expense for newcomers.
- Although immigrants in gateway and second-tier cities face similar barriers, their ability to navigate through these hurdles is influenced by the infrastructure available to them in terms of support institutions or programs. During the discussion, it was noted that many second-tier cities lack the infrastructure needed to facilitate successful immigrant settlement. For example, presenters from Guelph and the Niagara Region pointed out that there was a need for reliable public transportation in these areas. Many newcomers are unable to afford an automobile, and must rely upon public transportation as a means of mobility. When there is a lack of

[2] www.gdmc.org.

[3] http://aes.lutherwood.ca.

these types of services, immigrants find it difficult to get around the city. A lack of public transportation can therefore pose significant barriers to the successful labour market integration of immigrants in two ways. First, it limits employment opportunities due to prohibitive travel times and second, it may limit access to employment-based services (e.g. professional training). From this position, it would seem that if second-tier cities aim to become more immigrant-friendly, municipal governments must improve existing service provision to ensure newcomers are able to easily access the employment or organizations that will aid in their successful integration in the community.

- Some barriers are unique to second-tier cities and centre on the difficulties in connecting newcomers and a welcoming community. One participant in the discussion observed how immigrants are sometimes perceived as competitors in the local labour market and therefore as a threat in smaller communities. Such feelings are compounded in economically depressed areas that have experienced an out-migration of young people. In other words, residents have seen their sons and daughters leave to find opportunities elsewhere but are now expected to be welcoming towards newcomers. It should be noted that similar barriers exist among the immigrant community. For example, according to Chyang Wen from the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, one of the issues blocking the expansion of the business class program of investors into smaller cities is the perceived lack of a welcoming ethnic infrastructure. Even though investors may be interested in smaller urban centres, they have not been able to form a connection with an ethnic population in the second-tier city and feel more comfortable in a gateway city. There is therefore a need to form a bridge between newcomers and existing ethnic communities if second-tier cities are to attract and retain recent immigrants. These issues illustrate the complexity of barriers to the social and economic integration of newcomers in second-tier cities. They involve the "local" population as well as existing immigrant communities. A concentrated effort by all parties will be needed to ensure that smaller communities become attractive alternatives to gateway cities for newcomers.

Conclusion

Since this seminar series began three years ago, there has been increasing attention and participation on behalf of those interested in immigration issues outside of gateway cities. We hope this trend continues and intend to provide a forum for agencies and organizations that work with immigrants on a daily basis to voice their concerns about current immigration issues, while showcasing the most recent academic research on these debates. In addition, we hope that immigrants continue to participate in these seminars and share their stories so we can all learn from their experiences in second-tier cities.

About the author

TOM LUSIS is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of Guelph. His research interests centre on the transnational activities of the Filipino-Canadian community in Toronto and in Ontario's second-tier cities.

The Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University of Western Ontario will bring together graduate students and faculty to study questions of migration, ethnic relations, cultural diversity, conflict, acculturation and the integration of migrants, from the perspectives of various social science disciplines.

Graduate Training in Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University of Western Ontario

VICTORIA M. ESSES, RODERIC BEAUJOT and BELINDA DODSON
University of Western Ontario

As worldwide migration climbs to historically unprecedented levels and instances of ethnic conflict hit the headlines, the training of students in migration and ethnic relations is an increasingly important endeavor. Highly trained individuals are needed in a variety of capacities in order to ensure that the challenges of managing migration are successfully met, in ways that facilitate the achievement and well-being of immigrants and visible minorities, that elicit the support and cooperation of all members of society, and that ensure that a country benefits collectively. In Canada, many academic researchers, working in a variety of disciplines, have dedicated themselves to addressing issues regarding migration and ethnic relations, and to training students in this domain.

There is a growing awareness, however, that knowledge is not discipline-specific and that students require a breadth of training beyond the borders of their own discipline. Indeed, Canadian funders are increasingly directing funding to interdisciplinary research programs, the Metropolis Project a specific instance of the acknowledgement of the benefits of multidisciplinary approaches. Thus, our training must go beyond traditional approaches in order to provide students with the tools necessary to understand, investigate and address issues surrounding migration and ethnic relations in the Canadian context and internationally.

The Faculty of Social Science at the University of Western Ontario is fortunate to be the home of a number of researchers with expertise in migration and ethnic relations, though, to date, that expertise has not been fully harnessed. Recently, we have been discussing how best to bring this expertise together in order to train highly skilled personnel with both a well-grounded academic background and knowledge that can be used to address the challenges that confront Canada as a multicultural, immigrant-receiving nation, and that can be applied internationally. As a result of our deliberations, we have initiated a Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations, with the first students to be admitted to the program in the fall of 2007 (pending OCGS approval).[1]

Description of the new Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University of Western Ontario

The Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University

[1] For further information, please visit our Website: www.ssc.uwo.ca/gradstudents/programs/MigrationEthnicRelations.asp.

of Western Ontario will bring together graduate students and faculty to study questions of migration, ethnic relations, cultural diversity, conflict, acculturation and the integration of migrants, from the perspectives of various social science disciplines. Both macro or societal considerations, and micro or interpersonal considerations will be included. The collaborative experience for students will be an add-on to existing well-established graduate programs in Anthropology, History, Geography, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology. Students will register in and meet the requirements of one of the collaborating discipline-specific graduate programs, as well as the requirements of the program in Migration and Ethnic Relations. Upon graduation, they will receive a degree in their home discipline, as well as a specialization in Migration and Ethnic Relations.

Advantages of the program

By developing a collaborative graduate program, we are able to take advantage of the current strengths of departments within the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Western Ontario, while adding a unifying, interdisciplinary level of training. In this way, students have the best of both worlds, obtaining a graduate degree in a traditional discipline of social science and a specialization in migration and ethnic relations. We see several advantages of such a program. First, we anticipate that the program will attract students from across Canada and internationally because of its ability to provide basic disciplinary training as well as training in a field of direct relevance to addressing current social issues. This is becoming increasingly important as students seek training in programs that combine academic excellence and practical relevance.

Second, the combination of solid disciplinary training with advanced interdisciplinary training will provide students with the tools necessary to better understand and conduct research in the area of Migration and Ethnic Relations. To do so, the program will include a common colloquium series, course offerings that span departments, and the opportunity to work with faculty members in a variety of departments within the Faculty of Social Science.

Finally, interdisciplinary graduate training in Migration and Ethnic Relations will ready our students for a variety of positions inside and outside of the academic sector. In particular, in addition to their ability to obtain academic positions in their discipline, our graduates will be highly eligible for positions in government departments, public policy and research sectors, and NGOs, both in Canada and internationally.

Admission to the program

Students who wish to participate in the collaborative graduate program must first apply to a participating department. Students admitted to the graduate program of a participating department are then eligible for admission to the collaborative program. Application for admission to the program may be made at the time of entry to the graduate program of a participating department or within the first term of study. Students may enter the program at either the Master's or the Ph.D. level.

Faculty members currently able to supervise graduate students in the Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations, with their representative publications

Name/Department	Main areas of study	Representative publications
Abada, Teresa Ph.D. 2003, University of Alberta; Assistant Professor, Sociology	Demography of immigration, immigrant children and youth integration.	Balakrishnan, T. R., Z. Ravanera, and T. Abada. 2005. "Spatial Residential Patterns and Socio-economic Integration of Filipinos in Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada* XXXVII, 2.
Allahar, Anton Ph.D. 1981, University of Toronto; Full Professor, Sociology	Sociology of economic development, political sociology, ethnic and nationalism studies.	Allahar, A. L., ed. 2005. *Ethnicity, Class and Nationalism: Caribbean and Extra-Caribbean Dimensions.* New York: Lexington Books. Allahar, A. L. 2006. "The Social Construction of Primordial Identities." In *Identity and Belonging: Re-thinking Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Society.* Edited by Sean P. Hier and B. Singh Bolaria. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press.

Name/Department	Main areas of study	Representative publications
Baxter, Jamie Ph.D. 1997, McMaster University; Associate Professor, Geography	Risk perception, responses to hazards, geography of health, community, methodology, qualitative methods.	Baxter, J. 2006. "Place Impacts of Technological Hazards: A Case Study of Community Conflict as Outcome." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 49, 3. Baxter, J., and J. Eyles. 1999. "The Utility of In-Depth Interviews for Studying the Meaning of Environmental Risk." *Professional Geographer* 51, 2.
Beaujot, Roderic Ph.D. 1975, University of Alberta; Full Professor, Sociology	Population of Canada, demography of immigration, immigrant integration, population and development.	Beaujot, R, and D. Kerr. 2004. *Population Change in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford. Beaujot, R. 2003. "Effect of Immigration on Demographic Structure." In *Canadian Immigration Policy for the 21st Century*. Edited by C. Beach, A. Green and J. Reitz. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Bélanger, Danièle Ph.D. 1997, Université de Montréal; Associate Professor, Sociology; Canada Research Chair in Population, Gender and Development	Population studies and gender, gender and migration, labour migration, Asia, population and development.	Bélanger, D., Le Bach Duong, and Khuat Thu Hong. Forthcoming. "Cross Border Research Migration and Trafficking at the Vietnam-China Border." In *Female Deficit in Asia: Causes and Consequences*. Edited by Isabelle Attané. CEPED. Bélanger, D., and W. Hongzen. Forthcoming. "Materializing Differential Citizenship: 'Integration' Policies and Social Exclusion of Immigrant Spouses in Taiwan." *Citizenship Studies*.
Chen, Xinyin Ph.D. 1992, University of Waterloo; Full Professor, Psychology	Immigrant children's social and psychological adjustment, family influence, cross-cultural human development.	Chen, X., D. French, and B. Schneider, eds. 2006. "Peer Relationships in Cultural Context." *Cambridge Studies in Social and Emotional Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chen, X., G. Cen, D. Li, and Y. He. 2005. "Social Functioning and Adjustment in Chinese Children: The Imprint of Historical Time." *Child Development* 76, p. 182-195.
Clark, Kim Ph.D. 1993, New School for Social Research; Associate Professor, Anthroplogy	Ecuadorian Indian-state relations, historical construction of gender, class, race, ethnicity and nation in Ecuador.	Clark, A. K. 2005. "Ecuadorian Indians, the Nation, and Class in Historical Perspective: Rethinking a 'New Social Movement'." *Anthropologica* 47, 1, p. 53-66. Clark, A. K., and M. Becker, eds. In press 2007. *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
Colussi, Aldo Ph.D. 2004, University of Pennsylvania; Assistant Professor, Economics	International migration, immigrants' networks, migration and development.	Colussi, A. 2006, *Migrants' Networks: An Estimable Model of Illegal Mexican Migration*. Mimeography.
Darnell, Regna Ph.D. 1969, University of Pennsylvania; Full Professor, Anthropology	First Nations nomads in relation to self-government and the Canadian nation-state, Canadian identity and ethnic identity, Indigenous peoples.	Darnell, R. 2004. "Persistence of Nomadic Habits in Urban-Rural Migration: Towards a Qualitative Demography." *Proceedings of the 35th Algonquian Conference*, p. 75-89. Darnell, R. 1998. "Rethinking Band and Tribe, Community and Nation: An Accordion Model of Nomadic Native North American Social Organization." *Proceedings of the 29th Algonquian Conference*, p 90-105.
Dietz, Joerg Ph.D. 2000, Tulane University; Associate Professor, Psychology; Richard Ivey School of Business	Diversity management, prejudice and discrimination in the workplace, discounting of immigrant skills.	Esses, V. M., J. Dietz, and A. Bhardwaj. 2006. "The Role of Prejudice in the Discounting of Immigrant Skills." In *The Cultural Psychology of Immigrants*. Edited by R. Mahalingam. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. Petersen, L.-E., and J. Dietz. 2005. "Prejudice and Enforcement of Workforce Homogeneity as Explanations for Employment Discrimination." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 35, 1.

Name/Department	Main areas of study	Representative publications
Dodson, Belinda Ph.D. 1990, Cambridge University; Associate Professor, Geography	International development, gender and migration, transnationalism, Southern Africa.	Dodson, B., and J. Crush. 2004. "A Report on Gender Discrimination in South Africa's 2002 Immigration Act: Masculinizing the Migrant." *Feminist Review* 77, p. 97-119. Dodson, B., and C. Oelofse. 2000. "Shades of Xenophobia: In-migrants and Immigrants in Mizamoyethu, Cape Town." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34, 1, p. 124-148.
Dyczok, Marta Ph.D. 1995, University of Oxford; Associate Professor, Political Science and History	International politics and history, Eastern Europe, media, migration and post-communism.	Dyczok, M. 2000. *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees.* Basingstoke, Houndmills, Macmillan, New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford. Dyczok, M. 2000. *Ukraine: Change Without Movement, Movement, Without Change*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers
Esses, Victoria Ph.D. 1986, University of Toronto; Full Professor, Psychology	Attitudes toward immigrants, immigration and cultural diversity, immigrant skills discounting in employment, multiculturalism and relations among ethnic groups in Canada, prejudice and discrimination.	Esses, V. M., U. Wagner, C. Wolf, M. Preiser, and C. J. Wilbur. 2006. "Perceptions of National Identity and Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration in Canada and Germany." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 30, p. 653-669. Esses, V. M., and G. Hodson. 2006. "The Role of Lay Perceptions of Ethnic Prejudice in the Maintenance and Perpetuation of Ethnic Bias." *Journal of Social Issues*, 62, p. 453-468.
Farah, Randa Ph.D. 1999, University of Toronto; Associate Professor, Anthropology	Refugees, displacement, conflict, memory/history, identity, nations and nationalism, gender, children, humanitarian aid.	Farah, R. 2006. "Palestinian Refugees: Dethroning the Nation at the Crowning of the 'Statelet'?" *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 8, p. 229-252. Farah, R. 2005. "Palestine Refugee Children and Caregivers in Jordan." In *Children of Palestine: Experiencing Forced Migration in the Middle East.* Edited by D. Chatty and G. Hundt. Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 87-121.
Gawronski, Bertram Ph.D. 2001, Humboldt University; Assistant Professor, Psychology; Canada Research Chair in Social Psychology (Tier II)	Social-cognitive processes in prejudice and stereotyping, in particular the role of automatic and controlled processes.	Gawronski, B., K. Ehrenberg, R. Banse, J. Zukova, and K. C. Klauer. 2003. "It's in the Mind of the Beholder: The Impact of Stereotypic Associations on Category-based and Individuating Impression Formation." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 39, p. 16-30. Gawronski, B., D. Geschke, and R. Banse. 2003. "Implicit Bias in Impression Formation: Associations Influence the Construal of-Individuating Information." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 33, p. 573-589.
Gilliland, Jason Ph.D. 2002, McGill University; Assistant Professor, Geography.	Urban geography, historical geography, housing, ethnic residential segregation, residential mobility.	Gilliland, J. 1998. "Modeling Residential Mobility in Montreal, 1860-1900." *Historical Methods* 31, 1, p. 27-42. Gilliland, J., and S. Olson. 1998. "Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 26, 2, p. 3-16.
Halpern, Monda Ph.D. 1997, Queen's University; Assistant Professor, History	Social history of Jewish immigrants in the United States and Canada (1880-1950), issues of Jewish identity.	Halpern, M. Book in progress. *Jews, Gender, and the Edelson-Horwitz Murder Case* [working title]. Halpern, M. Forthcoming. "'This Ambitious Polish Jew': Rethinking the Conversion of Bishop Isaac Hellmuth." Ontario History.
Hele, Karl Ph.D. 2003, McGill University; Assistant Professor, Anthropology; History; Director of First Nations Studies	Anishinabeg, borderlands, frontier, memory, Aboriginal peoples in Canada and early Canada.	Hele, K. 2004. "James D. Cameron: Baptist and Mixed-blood Minister at Bawating: 1831-1859." In *Papers of the 35th Algonquian Conference*. Edited by H. C. Wolfart. Manitoba: University of Manitoba. Press, p. 137-161. Hele, K., ed. Forthcoming. "The Anishinabeg and Métis in the Sault Ste. Marie Borderlands Confronting a Line Drawn Upon the Water." In *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: The First Nations Experience in the Great Lakes' Borderlands*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Name/Department	Main areas of study	Representative publications
Hopkins, Jeff Ph.D. 1992, McGill University; Associate Professor, Geography	Cultural conflicts of ethnic identities in space and place, representation and practices of ethnic identities in landscapes.	Hopkins, J., and G. Leckie. 2002. "The Public Place of Central Libraries: Findings from Toronto and Vancouver." *Library Quarterly* 72, 3, p. 326–374. Hopkins, J. 2000. "Signs of Masculinism in an 'Uneasy' Place: Advertising for 'Big Brothers'." *Gender, Place and Culture* 7, 1, p. 31–55.
Jorgensen, Dan Ph.D. 1981, University of British Columbia; Associate Professor, Anthropology	Provincial boundaries, the demarcation of mining impact zones and ethnic identities in Papua New Guinea, the position of local identities in an imagined global geography.	Jorgensen, D. 2005. "Third Wave Evangelism and the Politics of the Global in Papua New Guinea: Spiritual Warfare and the Recreation of Place in Telefolmin." *Oceania* 75, 4, p. 444–461. Jorgensen, D. 2004. "Who and What is a Landowner? Mythology and Marking the Ground in a Papua New Guinea Mining Project." In *Mining and Indigenous Lifeworlds in Australia and Papua New Guinea*. Edited by A. Rumsey and J. Weiner. Wantage: Sean Kingston Publishing, p. 68–100.
Luginaah, Isaac Ph.D. 2001, McMaster University; Assistant Professor, Geography	Population health, environment, migration and health.	Luginaah, I., D. Elkins, E. Maticka Tyndale, T. Landry, and M. Muthui. 2005. "Challenges of a Pandemic: HIV/AIDS Related Problems Affecting Kenyan Widows." *Social Science and Medicine* 60, p. 1219–1228. Luginaah, I., E. Yiridoe, and M. Taabazuing. 2005. "From Mandatory Testing to Voluntary Testing: Balancing Human Rights, Religious and Cultural Values, and HIV/AIDS Prevention in Ghana." *Social Science and Medicine* 61, p. 1689–1700.
Nathans, Eli Ph.D. 2001, Johns Hopkins University; Assistant Professor, History	Citizenship and naturalization policies.	Nathans, E. 2004. *The Politics of Citizenship in Germany: Ethnicity, Utility and Nationalism*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
Olson, James Ph.D. 1980, University of Waterloo; Full Professor, Psychology	Social psychology of justice, attitudes and persuasion, social cognition.	Olson, J. M., and J. Stone. 2005. "The Influence of Behavior on Attitudes." In *Handbook of Attitudes and Attitude Change*. Edited by D. Albarracin, B. T. Johnson, and M. P. Zanna. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, p. 223–271. Hafer, C. L., and J. M. Olson. 2003. "An Analysis of Empirical Work on the Scope of Justice." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 7, p. 311–323.
Quinn, Joanna Ph.D. 2003, McMaster University; Assistant Professor, Political Science	Human rights, transitional justice, post-conflict reconstruction.	Quinn, J. R. 2006. "Social Reconstruction in Uganda: The Role of Informal Mechanisms in Transitional Justice." *Human Rights Review* 8, 4. Quinn, J. R. 2004. "Constraints: The Un-Doing of the Ugandan Truth Commission." *Human Rights Quarterly* 26, 2, p. 401–427.
St. Christian, Douglass Ph.D. 1995, McMaster University; Associate Professor, Anthropology	Urban and rural migration, migrant settlement policy and practice, cities collaborative and contested ethnic enclaves.	
White, Jerry Ph.D. 1988, McMaster University; Professor, Sociology	Aboriginal migration, ethnic diversity and conflict.	White, J. P., P. Maxim, and N. Spence. 2004. *Permission to Develop: Aboriginal Treaties, Case Law and Regulations*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Press. White, J. P., D. Beavon, and P. Maxim. 2003. *Aboriginal Conditions: The Research Foundations for Public Policy*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Applying to the City of London and its affiliated organizations such as boards and commissions, the City of London's Race Relations Policy was one of the earliest undertakings of the London Diversity and Race Relations Advisory Committee. It sets out the Corporation's direction and role in helping individuals and the community achieve an environment free of discrimination and harassment based on race.

Creating an Inclusive Community in a Larger Mid-sized City

A Municipal Advisory Committee's Approach for London, Ontario

London Diversity and Race Relations Advisory Committee

Relationship building – specifically, a strategic and committed interface with administration, politicians and community organizations – underlies the successes of the London Diversity and Race Relations Advisory Committee (LDRRAC).

Illustrative of the collaborative and cooperative approach that is evolving in London is its recent Celebrating London's Cultural Diversity Conference. Aimed at encouraging stakeholder dialogue on attracting and retaining new Canadians to the city, this November 2006 event received sponsor and planning support that brought together representatives of the United Way of London and Middlesex County, the City of London, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the London Economic Development Corporation, the Community Services Coordination Network, the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre, the London InterCommunity Health Centre, the South London Neighbourhood Resource Centre as well as the LDRRAC.

The organization of the conference and the fact that it drew more than 400 registered participants highlight the growing recognition, among the community, of the diverse needs and issues the LDRRAC has been attempting to address. Since its establishment in 1988, originally as the London Race Relations Advisory Committee, it has become clear to the members that the mandate of the Committee should be broader in scope. For example, prior to the *Ontarians with Disabilities Act* (ODA) legislation, the local ODA chapter was invited to appoint a member to sit on the Committee and be the voice of Londoners with disabilities. Members of the Race Relations Advisory Committee also played a proactive role in helping to review the Facility Accessibility Design Standards that the City of London introduced in September 2001.

To reflect what was happening, and the Committee members' sense of advocacy support that it should, and could, provide, a recommendation was brought to City Council in 2002, supporting the inclusion of the word "diversity" in the title of its Advisory Committee. The Committee operates under the following definition of "diversity":

> Diversity refers to the unique characteristics that all of us possess that distinguish us as individuals and identify us as belonging to a group or groups. Diversity includes concepts of race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and disability. Diversity offers strength and richness to the whole.

Being formally identified with a "diversity component" has enhanced the Committee's ability to speak and act upon inclusive measures and, most importantly, work collaboratively within the municipal and community environment.

Diversity and inclusion: A London perspective

Located at the Forks of the Thames, London is the Southwestern Ontario centre for business,

education and health care and a major transportation hub. Census data for 2006 shows our population to be at 352,395 – a 4.7% increase since 2001. Although the most recent Census information on the foreign-born resident component will not be available until later this year, it is expected that the figures will essentially reflect the 1981 to 2001 pattern, during which one-fifth of the population was identified as foreign-born.

The total number of immigrants living in London increased by 31% from 1981 to 2001 with most of the growth occurring between 1986 and 1996. This parallels London's total population growth during this period. One-quarter of our population growth between 1991 and 2001 can be attributed to growth in the immigrant population.

Within the last Census period, trends have been somewhat mixed. In 2005 we had a 38% increase in the number of landed immigrants coming to London compared to 2004, but in 2006 growth dropped by 8%, moving the city down from fourth to sixth in ranking of Ontario communities attracting immigrants. While overall immigrants coming to the Forest City represent approximately 1.2% of Canada's total immigrant population, we continue to lag as a point of destination compared to municipalities of similar size such as Kitchener, Hamilton or Ottawa.

These statistics underscore the diversity and inclusive challenges that London faces. The wake-up call was evident at the Celebrating London's Cultural Diversity Conference. In her presentation titled "The Importance of Immigration to Canada: A Focus on London," Deb Matthews, MPP for London North Centre, noted that if Canada's demographic patterns remain unchanged, there will be a natural decline in population and after 2025, immigration will be the country's only source of growth. For London, this natural decline will occur sooner unless the city succeeds in attracting a large share of recent immigrants.

Steps to engage community diversity

The LDRRAC and its predecessor, the London Race Relations Advisory Committee, have been leaders and participants in various initiatives that engage community diversity. Like most Canadian municipalities, London's steps toward inclusiveness are a combination of community-based solutions, some of which are aligned to federal and provincial legislation.

Creating the framework with municipal policies and plans

Applying to the City of London and its affiliated organizations, such as boards and commissions, the City of London's Race Relations Policy was one of the earliest undertakings of the LDRRAC. It sets out the Corporation's role in helping individuals and the community to achieve an environment free of discrimination and harassment based on race. Reflecting discrimination as defined by the *Ontario Human Rights Code*, this policy has extended further into the community. For example, it was incorporated in the London Sports Council training workshop for team coaches.

Another partnering with City administration was the development of the Equity and Diversity Policy. This is the most recent addition to the human rights related policies that form part of the mandated orientation program for new employees.

There is already reference to the LDRRAC participating in the review process for the City of London's Facility Accessibility Design standards. Introduced in September 2001, and with a third update stated for year, these standards incorporate "universal design" principles that benefit people of all ages and abilities.

The Community Plan, as noted in the next section, is another milestone of Committee involvement in helping London articulate a way to address hate incidents and issues within the community.

Establish monitoring and response mechanisms for systemic issues

The LDRRAC members played an instrumental role in the creation of the Association for the Elimination of Hate, London (AEH), as well as assisting with the selection of the first Executive Director and Board of Directors along with other ground work details for the Association's launch in 2000. The instigator of this initiative was the community's response to reported incidents of hate as well as local and national media coverage suggesting a high concentration of white supremacy groups in the London area. The LDRRAC joined forces with the Community Safety and Crime Prevention Advisory Committee to form a sub-committee focused on hate crime and bias activity. Among its undertakings was work with an external consultant to carry out focus groups. The findings of this community research led to the development of an action plan that included the establishment of the AEH.

Ribbon strands in ten different colours tied to car antennas and rear-view mirrors were a statement of unity and support in one of the Committee's public awareness campaigns. More than 20,000 "Together we're better" ribbon cards were distributed thanks to generous community support.

As of April 1, 2007 LUSO Community Services assumed responsibility for maintaining the original programming of the AEH, developing, maintaining and facilitating programs that deal with hate crime and bias activities, liaising with service providers to offer support to victims, providing education and training opportunities, informing the community of services available and acting as a resource within committees. LUSO is also in charge of receiving and recording complaints of acts of prejudice, racism, hate and discrimination, and assisting with appropriate supports and referrals. This will be done through the re-establishment of a 24-hour helpline for victims of hate.

Responding to ethnocultural needs

All aspects of municipal service – from urban planning processes to recreational programs – require consideration of ethnocultural needs and their accommodation. Research and community consultation are key and, in London's case, have assisted in the delivery of more inclusive services, ranging from a swim program for Muslim women introduced in 2000 to the design of features of a long-term care facility, Dearness Home, whose new building opened in 2005.

The Creative City Neighbourhood Initiative was implemented with a broader goal – but with an inclusive aspect as well. This initiative arose from a plan developed by the Creative City Task Force, mandated to identify ways of improving London's growth and economic prosperity. The initiative to enhance creativity in our local neighbourhoods, recommended by this Task Force and approved by City Council, allowed local neighbourhood groups to apply for one-time "seed" funding to support projects that:

- welcome and celebrate diversity;
- demonstrate creativity in arts;
- create entrepreneurial opportunities for youth employment;
- share heritage/culture; and/or,
- benefit the environment.

Participants submitted a variety of projects – presented at the November 2006 Showcasing London's Creative City Neighbourhood Initiatives – which included art displays, food preparation and tastings, and entertainment from groups and organizations representing the countries of origin of many of London's foreign-born, including Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq and others, as well as from members of the First Nations.

Public awareness and involving residents

Promoting cultural diversity, awareness, and sensitivity throughout the community is very much an educational process. Below are highlights of some approaches taken in London.

Each March, in celebration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the City of London presents Race Relations Recognition Awards in five categories. The LDRRAC played an instrumental role in the development of this award program, which serves a three-fold purpose by:

- acknowledging and recognizing businesses, organizations, private and public institutions or their representatives who initiate and take actions to further race relations in London and to eliminate racial discrimination in our community;
- heightening public awareness of positive race relations as well as within the business community and our own corporation; and,
- encouraging ongoing city-wide activities that promote/advance London as a welcoming city.

The LDRRAC also nominates individuals for the Mayor's New Year's Honour List in two categories – "Diversity and Race Relations" and "Humanitarianism."

Ribbon strands in ten different colours tied to car antennas and rear-view mirrors were a statement of unity and support in one of the Committee's public awareness campaigns. More than 20,000 "Together we're better" ribbon cards were distributed thanks to generous community support that ranged from the funding of the campaign material by a local business organization to media reporting and public service messages on how Londoners could convey their stand against racism, bias and discrimination.

In 2005, the LDRRAC organized an open house to raise awareness of its role in fostering

communication between the community and London's elected officials and municipal administrative staff. This event was also instituted as an opportunity to create a forum wherein diversity and race relations issues could become a focal point of discussion with a broader base of community representation than would normally be possible, with inclusion topics that are part of a Council or Committee meeting agenda. Now planned as an annual event, the 2006 open house featured a presentation by Barbara Hall, Chief Commissioner, Human Rights Commission. This edition boasted a significant increase in participation, in terms of the number of attendees as well as the number of community agencies providing display or information booths. This year's open house takes place in October.

The Internet is also used as a communication vehicle. The Committee's Website[1] provides access to information on events and activities that relate to inclusion matters – like extending its own invitation to the public to attend their open house – as well as highlighting special celebrations in which the LDRRAC is involved such as Black History Month, Asian Heritage Month, Pride Week and Aboriginal Day.

LDRRAC membership and support structure

The nine voting members-at-large of the LDRRAC plus one representative of French Committee Services (ACFO de London-Sarnia) are citizen appointments made by City Council. A key component of the LDRRAC is its non-voting resource group with one representative from 20 organizations ranging from the police and educational boards and institutions to bodies such as the Council for London Seniors, the Ethnocultural Council of London and faith-based communities such as the Bahá'í Faith. Nominated by their respective organizations, these representatives are also appointed by Council.

Among the variety of responsibilities defined for the members and resource group of the LDRRAC are advising Council and making recommendations on matters of discrimination – as defined by the *Ontario Human Rights Code* and City of London policies – through to participating in the development of new policy and programs to eliminate discrimination in the community.

The LDRRAC reports to City Council through the Community and Protective Services Committee. One of three Standing Committees, the community and protective services umbrella encompasses many wider municipal considerations that are pertinent to aspects of inclusiveness being brought forward by the LDRRAC.

Learning and future directions

The Committe has certainly had to face challenges, and moving the diversity agenda forward has been difficult at times. We're excited that the LDRRAC membership is poised for the cooperative realization of the City's vision, "To inspire pride and confidence in every Londoner."

Throughout the years there have been pitfalls and hurdles we've had to overcome and, most unfortunately, it has involved the loss of members who felt that our Committee was not heard and lacked a say in what seemed like the more significant situations that arose. Perseverance, open communication and changes in the City of London leadership have led us to an exciting crest of dialogue and interaction. LDRRAC members are now more positively positioned as a consultative and liaison resource in helping the City achieve its vision.

Our Committee takeaway – and one for all municipalities concerned with inclusiveness – is how we can define and approach diversity issues. For example, if there is a prevailing consensus that we want to "manage" diversity, then certain actions will be taken and promoted. If, on the other hand, we are interested in "celebrating" and "welcoming diversity," then this interpretation demands a different sort of engagement with elected officials, administration and community organizations.

Differing interpretations of what diversity means can lead to significant challenges and miscommunication. Clarifying the definition of diversity – and coming to some sort of agreement as to how it will be approached – can be a huge factor in building strength, in moving forward collaboratively and in establishing effective systems of communication between all stakeholders that make inclusiveness a reality for our communities.

[1] www.london.ca/ldrrac.

In the upcoming summer months, rural Ontario will again host thousands of seasonal workers from the Caribbean and Mexico. Formal citizenship is the distinguishing factor that renders foreign workers more vulnerable and exploitable than Canadian workers. The media debate surrounding the "farmfare" program, proposed by the Ontario provincial government in 1999, illustrates the double standard that is applied to workers based on their formal Canadian or foreign citizenships.

What a Difference Citizenship Makes! Migrant Workers in Rural Ontario*

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Many rural regions of Ontario have become "structurally dependent" on foreign migrant labour (Basok 2002). The Commonwealth Caribbean and Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program, or "offshore program," provides an annual supply of workers from Mexico and the Caribbean islands, which enables Ontario's horticulture industry to be profitable. In the past, the offshore program has been accompanied by racial undertones. In the 1960s, Canadian immigration officers who interviewed applicants for temporary work visas to Canada still described "'Negro' males from the Caribbean as childlike, indolent, lazy and stupid" (Satzewich 1991: 136), while Caribbean women were depicted as immoral and sexually promiscuous. In addition, Caribbean workers were seen as biologically unsuited for Canada's cold climate and as contributing to racial tensions in Canada's rural communities. For these reasons, they were invited only as temporary workers, under strict mobility constraints, rather than as permanent immigrants and future Canadians. While racial rhetoric is rare today, the offshore program still exists and enlists workers from the same countries as 30 years ago, in even greater numbers. What has changed, however, is the narrative that justifies the program. Citizenship rather than race now legitimizes the program.

The offshore program

Since its inception in 1967, the offshore program has enjoyed growing popularity with Canada's agriculture industry. In 1966, 263 workers from Jamaica were recruited to work in Canada; by 1999, the figures climbed to 7,476 from the Caribbean and 6,078 seasonal agricultural workers from Mexico; and in 2005 a total of 17,594 seasonal agricultural workers were employed in Ontario alone (FARMS 2006). At the same time, the total number of Canadian workers in similar functions declined.

The majority of participants in the offshore program are men. Many of the workers are employed in Ontario's tobacco, vegetable, fruit and apple growing operations, as well as in greenhouses, nurseries and canning factories. Although participants make more money than they would in Mexico or the Caribbean, salaries are typically only minimum wage or slightly higher. Workers are expected to work long hours and weekends if needed, and they are only authorized to work for one employer, which means that their ability to remain in the program depends on this employer's satisfaction with their performance (Basok 2002). Few Canadian workers are willing to subject themselves to such working conditions for these wages – which is why the program exists.

* This essay is based on the author's book, *Labor Movement: How Migration Regulates Labor Markets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

The Canadian public is well aware of the economic significance of migrant labour. The media frequently proclaim that access to offshore workers is a matter of economic survival for growing operations, as illustrates this quote from a farmer in the Owen Sound *Sun Times*: "Our industry wouldn't survive without them" (Avery 1999). The Brantford *Expositor* (1999) suggests that offshore labour serves only as an economic safety valve: "Gary Cooper, a Simcoe area orchard operator who has been president of FARMS (the non-profit organization managing the offshore program) for five years, said the program is only a supplement to the labour needs of farmers. 'It acts as a safety valve when there's not enough reliable Canadians to work,' he said." Migrant labour is perceived to be particularly suited for manual work in the orchards. The media often depict the foreign workers as gifted fruit pickers with "soft hands," referring to the skill of picking large amounts of apples in a short period of time without bruising them.

Farmfare and the value of citizenship

In the summer of 1999, a revealing public debate occurred. Ontario's provincial government proposed to make Canadian welfare recipients work as seasonal labour in the horticulture sector. This proposal, which came to be known as "farmfare,"[1] was not an entirely new idea. In 1971, the Parliament of Canada debated this topic under the rubric "Manpower: Use of unemployed and students instead of West Indians to pick fruit." Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau defended the offshore program as necessary to fill jobs "which the unemployed and the students refuse to do" (Sharma 2001: 432). In August 1999, the idea was floated again by a conservative Member of Provincial Parliament. Ontario Premier Mike Harris added momentum to the farmfare debate by raising the issue with reporters. In September of 1999, Ontario's Social Service Department confirmed that farmfare could be justified under Ontario's workfare requirement that "able-bodied" welfare recipients should either train or work, or lose their benefits.

Social advocacy groups, such as the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, labour unions and churches, including the United Church of Canada, mobilized against farmfare. The United Farm Workers initiated a petition against the implementation of farmfare, which opposition politicians presented at several occasions to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. An interesting twist to the media debate surrounding farmfare is that opposition came not only from labour unions and civil rights advocates, as expected, but also from Ontario's growers, who were the intended beneficiaries of cheap and flexible workfare labour. Growers were concerned that their foreign workers would be replaced by Canadian welfare recipients, who would be neither as flexible nor as disciplined as offshore labour. Their disapproval was likely a major factor in the failure of the Ontario government to replace offshore workers with farmfare participants. By 2000, the strange coalition of labour and welfare advocates and employers had won a public relations battle against farmfare. Although the program was never implemented, the farmfare debate illustrates the role of citizenship in valuating workers and defining the conditions under which they work. Different standards apply to Canadian citizens than to foreign workers.

The media were generally critical of the farmfare proposal. Some commentators questioned whether farm labour would equip workfare participants with any valuable skills that could be used once the harvesting season is over. Others compared the plan to "the heyday of Stalinism when people were also made to work on farms" (Wilhelm 1999). The argument most often raised against farmfare, however, was that Canadian welfare recipients are not fit for employment in the seasonal horticulture industry. Due to a presumed lack of skills and work ethic on the part of Canadian workers, "farmers are often forced to hire migrant workers, many from Mexico and the Caribbean, to help with the annual harvest" (*The Record* 1999).

A recurring argument in the farmfare debate was that welfare recipients and offshore migrants are not readily interchangeable workforces. In fact, from the growers' perspective, offshore workers are superior to Canadian workfare participants. "With the perishable nature of our industry, certain harvests require delicate hands....I'm not saying I couldn't do it or you couldn't do it, it's more a work ethic and you have to want to do it....Sure [the migrant workers] are the most expensive, but you can't get much more reliable than having your workers right

[1] The term "farmfare" expresses a similarity with workfare, referring to programs that move people from welfare into the labour market. Such programs became a major topic in Ontario after the election of a conservative provincial government in 1995 (Lightman 1997, Torjman 1996).

While most commentators in the media rejected farmfare because it imposes unacceptable working conditions on Canadian citizens, these same working conditions were apparently considered acceptable for foreign workers – although foreign workers confront equal, in many cases worse, circumstances of hardship than do welfare recipients.

there," said Michael Mazur, Executive Secretary of the Ontario Fruit and Vegetable Growers' Association, a reporter of the *Ottawa Sun* (Gray 1999). The author of a letter to the editor of *The Kingston Whig Standard* makes a similar point, that offshore workers are more professional and experienced than local workers: "Why import workers from Mexico and the Caribbean when there are workers in one's own backyard?...These people are professional, seasoned workers who are used to moving from area to area, crop to crop. They work fast and hard, and then they go back home....Farmers do not need a bunch of unwilling amateurs to harvest their crop" (Wilhelm 1999). In another example, a grower writes in a letter to the editor of the *Toronto Star*: "I am not promoting workfare in the agricultural industry....Our employees must want to work, not be forced to work" (Drummond 1999). An editorial in *The Hamilton Spectator* (1999) expresses the same view: "[E]ven with training for [farmfare] participants, we doubt farmers can be assured of their productivity....Migrant workers, on the other hand, want the jobs and know that productivity is the only way to be rehired next year." In this debate, offshore workers are represented as extremely skilled and motivated, while welfare recipients are depicted as ill-suited for farm work.

The image of the self-motivated offshore worker who is not only skilled and professional, but who also loves the work is, of course, a distortion of the actual circumstances under which foreign workers participate in the offshore program. They are only eager to participate in the program because wages and labour standards are even lower in their countries of origin. The offshore program exploits these international differences.

Once the foreign workers arrive in Canada, they do not participate in the labour market on a level playing field with Canadians. Offshore workers can be dismissed (or threatened with dismissal) from employment, subsequently expelled from the program and then deported from Canada. Canadian welfare recipients, on the other hand, possess a range of civil and citizenship rights that protect them from expulsion, abuse and exploitation. Because of these circumstances, the offshore program supplies more hard-working, reliable and motivated workers than could farmfare. From this perspective, a farmer who replaced offshore labour with workers who are protected by Canadian citizenship rights and privileges would be making a bad business decision.

The farmfare debate illustrated how Canadian welfare participants and foreign seasonal workers are held to different labour standards. The media applied a double standard by promoting different minimum working conditions for potential farmfare participants than foreign offshore workers. An article in *The Hamilton Spectator* (1999) rejects farmfare because "Farms are still among the most dangerous workplaces in this country." Another article suggests that Canadian citizens should not be expected to perform farm work: "Agricultural work is hard labour. [A welfare recipient who was interviewed] laughs...at the idea that people might have to take an agricultural job or forfeit their welfare. 'They can't make people do that kind of work'" (Hepfner 1999). The same article quotes the spokeswoman for Hamilton-based Women Against Poverty, who implies that farm labour is too strenuous for Canadian welfare recipients: "[Farmfare] sounds a lot like slavery to me. Some of these people barely have enough to eat and picking food is hard work. You need to be healthy....It's difficult for the minimum-wage workers to get out to the rural areas and get enough food in their stomachs to sustain them throughout the long days."

While most commentators in the media rejected farmfare because it imposes unacceptable working conditions on Canadian citizens, these same working conditions were apparently considered acceptable for foreign workers – although foreign workers confront equal, in many cases worse, circumstances of hardship than do welfare recipients. Most offshore workers come

from poor and large families. In fact, economic hardship and a large number of dependents are worker selection criteria for participation in the offshore program. Few workers have access to health care in their countries of origin and many suffer from food shortages. While they work in Canada, access to health care remains constrained, workers use minimum-standard bunk accommodations, they are separated from their families, and live in unfamiliar social and cultural surroundings. If consistent standards were applied, then public outcry should have been louder against the social conditions and labour standards endured by the offshore workers than against proposed farmfare. Yet, the opposite was the case.

Conclusion

The offshore program provides Ontario farmers with a flexible and disciplined labour force. Global inequalities and the lack of Canadian citizenship put offshore workers under much greater pressure to comply with the employment conditions of harvesting work than they do Canadian workers. Even relatively vulnerable welfare claimants have more leverage to resists these pressures because their Canadian citizenship endows them with social and economic rights unavailable to foreign migrant workers. The public farmfare debate illustrates how citizenship serves to justify the differential treatment of agricultural workers. Distinctions based on citizenship have rendered the racialization of foreign workers of the 1960s redundant.

Citizenship is the new criterion that differentiates workers. Advocates, churches and organized labour speak out against the infringement of civil and labour rights of Canadian welfare recipients, but they are less vocal regarding the rights of foreign workers. This differentiation between foreign and Canadian workers reflects a wider international double standard that is generally applied to workers in "first-" and "third-world" countries. In the farmfare debate, however, this double standard is not applied to workers who live and work in different countries, but to workers of different citizenship within Canada.

This differential treatment of offshore and Canadian workers can be described as citizenship exploitation. This type of systematic exploitation can undermine the welfare and labour standards of all workers, if it pits migrant and non-migrant workers against each other. A strategy of inclusion, offering immigrant workers the prospect of citizenship, would be a sensible approach towards maintaining Canada's high-wage economy.

About the author

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In terms of immigration, alterations in the character of cultural diversity, and the growth of the visible minority population, Thunder Bay has missed out on many of the changes of the last 15 to 20 years that have literally transformed the face of Canada and Ontario. In this, it is not unique. It is well known that the flow of immigrants, especially from non-European source countries, has settled in a few metropolitan centres.

Thunder Bay: Between a Rock and a Hard Place in Northwestern Ontario

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In the first years of the 20th century, the twin cities of Fort William and Port Arthur (amalgamated in 1970 to form Thunder Bay) were among the most diverse communities in the country. Although both were small places, even by the standards of the time, they were growing rapidly. The increase in population was fuelled, as it was throughout the nation, by massive flows of European immigrants, many of whom were of British-origin, but with many others arriving from non-Anglophone European countries.

Thunder Bay's post-fur trade growth began in 1875 when the construction of the western portion of the Canadian Pacific railroad began in the Town Plot, now known as Westfort in Thunder Bay South. This was the beginning of a development process of railroad and grain elevator facilities for the trans-shipment of Prairie wheat and boom and bust cycles in precious mineral mining, lumbering, and pulp and paper manufacturing. These activities required large inputs of relatively unskilled labour, a demand that was filled by a heterogeneous and often transient labour force comprised, to a large extent, of immigrants from Northern, Eastern and Southern Europe. By the outbreak of World War I, approximately one-third of the total population of some 45,000 was composed of Finns, Slovaks, Italians, Ukrainians, Poles and Scandinavians (Rasporich and Tronrud 1995: 215).

A century ago, the great diversity and attractiveness of these two cities to immigrants could not be in greater contrast with the current situation. A place that once offered opportunity to large numbers of new arrivals to Canada now hosts relatively few new immigrants. According to the 2001 Census, only 1,325 residents of the Thunder Bay census metropolitan area (CMA) had immigrated between 1991 and 2001 (see Table 1). This represents slightly more than 1% of the 2001 population of 120,370, which is well below the overall provincial figures of about 9% of the population having immigrated during the decade. It also contrasts markedly with the situation in Toronto, where 17% of the population had immigrated to Canada during the same period. Although the 2006 Census figures for immigration to the city are not yet available, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) reports that a mere 489 more immigrants settled in the city between 2002 and 2005 (CIC 2006: 2).[1]

While the foreign-born population was growing nationally and provincially in the 1990s, Thunder Bay was one of a number of second- and third-tier cities where the proportion of foreign-born residents was declining. By 2001, they represented only slightly more than 11% of the population, versus a provincial average of 26.8%, down from 13.1% a decade earlier (see Table 2). This

[1] Specifically, 113 in 2002, 125 in 2003, 141 in 2004 and 110 in 2005. These figures do not indicate how many of these immigrants stayed in Thunder Bay.

TABLE 1
Place of birth and immigration date, Thunder Bay CMA and Ontario

	Thunder Bay CMA		Ontario	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
All persons	120,370		11,285,545	
Canadian-born	106,930	88.83	8,164,860	72.35
Foreign-born	13,315	11.06	3,030,075	26.84
Immigrated prior to 1991	11,995	9.97	2,007,705	17.79
Immigrated 1991-2001	1,325	1.10	1,022,370	9.06

Source: Statistics Canada, 2002b.

was an absolute and relative reduction since the overall population of the city declined by 4% between 1991 and 2001.[2]

According to the 2001 Census, 90% of Thunder Bay's foreign-born population had immigrated prior to 1991, compared to a provincial figure of 66%. Whereas only 44% of the immigrant population in Ontario was of European origin, 81% of immigrants in Thunder Bay was from Europe. Indeed, the visible minority population consisted of only 2,690 people, or just over 2% of the city's inhabitants, well below 19% for the province. The dearth of foreign newcomers can be seen in terms of cultural institutions as well. Almost 80% of residents listed as being their religious affiliation Catholic or Protestant, while another 17% listed no religious affiliation. People claiming affiliation to Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh and other eastern religions represent less than 1% of Thunder Bay's population, opposed to almost 6% in the province as a whole (Statistics Canada 2002b).

TABLE 2
Proportion of foreign-born population, Thunder Bay CMA (1991 to 2001 Censuses)

	1991	1996	2001
Thunder Bay CMA	13.1	12.2	11.1
Ontario	23.7	25.6	26.8
Canada	16.1	17.4	18.4

Source: Statistics Canada. *Proportion of foreign-born population, by census metropolitan area (1991 to 2001 Censuses)* and *Proportion of foreign-born population, by province and territories (1991 to 2001 Censuses).*

[2] The figures just released from the 2006 Census indicate that the Thunder Bay CMA grew by 0.8% between 2001 and 2006. Thus, the decline has halted. Given that the provincial population grew by 6.6% during the same period, Thunder Bay is still lagging behind the rest of the province. Moreover, the population of the District of Thunder Bay continued to decline.

Thus, in terms of immigration, alterations in the character of cultural diversity, and the growth of the visible minority population, Thunder Bay has missed out on many of the changes of the last 15 to 20 years that have literally transformed the face of Canada and Ontario. In this, it is not unique. It is well known that the flow of immigrants, especially from non-European source countries, has settled in a few metropolitan centres, especially Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal. Thunder Bay is far from being homogeneous in terms of its ethnocultural composition. It is more diverse than Sudbury, the other city in the provincial north that also has a history of dependence on a natural resource-based economy. Of the 29 CMAs existing at the time of the 2001 Census, Thunder Bay ranked 17th in terms of its proportion of foreign-born population. In that sense, it is more heterogeneous than Regina, Saskatoon, St. John's, Halifax, Québec and Trois-Rivières, among others. Nonetheless, the fact that the proportion of the population that is Canadian-born increased to almost 89% during the last decade of the 20th century, at a time when the province as a whole was becoming much more complex in cultural terms, is disturbing for many reasons, one of which I will discuss further detail below.

Another factor makes Thunder Bay's experience of ethnic diversity somewhat unique. While overall the population declined by some 4% during the 1990s, the Aboriginal population living in the city grew. Statistics Canada reports an Aboriginal population of 8,200, close to 7%, for the Thunder Bay CMA in 2001. This segment of the city's population is young. The median age is 25.6 years versus a CMA median age of 39.1 years. Thirty-three percent of the Aboriginal population was 14 years or younger in 2001 compared to 18% for the city as whole (Statistics Canada 2002a, 2002b).

If Richard Florida and his followers are correct, in order for the city to make the transition from the "old economy" to the "new economy," it is going to have to work very hard at developing its attractiveness to new immigrants whose very presence in part helps to stimulate the kind of atmosphere that make cities desirable places for the "creative" class to live.

Official numbers very likely under-represent the Aboriginal presence in Thunder Bay. This is partly due to the problems involved in capturing a somewhat transient population at census time. Thunder Bay is a regional centre for health, social and educational services. At any given moment, a more or less temporary Aboriginal population in the city attends secondary or post-secondary educational institutions, utilizes the hospital, or attends a growing number of Aboriginal cultural and political activities in the city. The administrative offices of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, with 49 affiliated First Nations spread across Northern Ontario, are located on the Fort William First Nation, which borders Thunder Bay on the south.

Ethnic diversity and socio-economic status in Thunder Bay

The history of Thunder Bay is marked by socio-economic differences that overlapped with ethnic divisions. In the first two decades of the 20th century, the Anglo-Saxon elite and the "respectable" British-origin working class frequently looked down upon immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. The latter engaged in sometime violent struggles with employers and public authorities over access to work and workplace conditions and wages. Indeed, in a way that presages modern debates over the social construction and meaning of concepts such as "White," "whiteness," or "visible minority," editorials in the local newspaper debated whether or not Southern Italians were White or Black. Northern Europeans were more readily accepted partly on the racial grounds that they shared a Nordic heritage that was closer to the Anglo-Saxon majority.[3]

Today an ethnic division of labour is no longer blatantly obvious. The idea that the Scots and English predominated in the railroads and grain elevators, the Finns were mostly loggers, and Italians and Eastern Europeans were engaged in heavy construction, is a part of the local cultural heritage that elderly people recount. Given the economic changes of the last 30 years, with a huge decline in employment in grain shipping, railways, forestry and pulp and paper, and the growth of educational, social and health services, this idealized image of the ethnic structure of the local labour market no longer holds true.[4]

Unlike some larger centres, where a highly visible, ethnic and/or racialized division of labour has come into existence, Thunder Bay's small visible minority population is not part of an obvious social and economic underclass. The issue has not been studied in a systematic and quantitative manner but anecdotal evidence and qualitative research (Dhiman 1997) suggest that many visible minority immigrants to the city come for economic rather than social or political reasons. Members of the visible minority population in Thunder Bay are prominent in postsecondary education, medical and business services. It is reasonable to assume that the trend noted by Frideres (2006: 6) – that outside the three largest cities in Canada, "immigrant incomes exceed those of the Canadian-born" – is true in Thunder Bay as well. Many in Thunder Bay take up professional positions. Thus, they fill a crucial niche in the local economy, bringing the educational capital and skills necessary to provide knowledge-intensive services to local and regional populations. Of course, this is not to claim that new immigrants to the city do not face economic problems. There are Latino refugees working as house cleaners as well as Chinese math professors. To date at least, and

[3] There is a vibrant literature on the labour history of Thunder Bay, much of which focuses on the relationship between class and ethnicity in the labour struggles at the Lakehead. See Morrison (1995) for an overview and detailed references.

[4] The decline in employment in these industries has been going on for decades. The recent slump in the pulp and paper industry has strongly shaken both the city of Thunder Bay and the region. The city has lost close to 1,500 jobs due to mill closures and/or layoffs in the last two years alone. These are well paid positions and represent a significant loss of income to the community. See the North of Superior Training Board (2006). More closures and layoffs have been announced since that report was released.

TABLE 3
Median income and earnings and unemployment rate, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, Thunder Bay 2001 Census

	Aboriginal	Thunder Bay CMA
Median earnings	22,537	31,498
Median income	14,187	23,607
Unemployment Rate	22.9%	8.8%

Source: Statistics Canada 2002a, 2002b.

perhaps because there has been relatively little visible-minority settlement in the city, there is no readily apparent division of labour based on ethnoracial lines.

The socio-economic situation of the Aboriginal population is not as buoyant, although a growing number of Aboriginal professionals working in education and social services and others, in more typical working-class jobs, are putting the lie to longstanding stereotypes that link urban Aboriginals with unemployment and welfare. This does not, however, mean that significant progress does not need to be made before Aboriginal people achieve economic parity with the non-Aboriginal population. On average, as shown in Table 3, Aboriginal people earn less, have less total income, and suffer much higher rates of unemployment than their non-Aboriginal fellow citizens.

Thus Thunder Bay exhibits a pattern of ethnocultural diversity largely rooted in the older non-Anglophone European cultures from waves of immigration prior to World War I (although those who remain of this generation are rapidly passing) and continued through the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The significance of these European ethnic identities is now primarily symbolic (Stymeist 1975). Ethnic affiliation is no longer the principal determinant of residential, marriage, or employment patterns. Where diversity is growing, it is in regard to the enhanced presence and visibility of Aboriginal people and culture in the city. This is not without its tensions. A study conducted in 2001 by Diversity Thunder Bay found that 56% of Aboriginal respondents had experienced discrimination during the year (Diversity Thunder Bay 2002: 2). Indeed, one can argue that the division between "Whites" and "Natives" is one of the underlying issues in the community and in the region (Dunk 2003). Frequently voiced concerns over vandalism, loitering and panhandling, which are prominent in the endless debates about how to reverse the decline of the downtown cores of the former cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, are coded expressions of an ageing white population's discomfort with the presence of a growing, young Aboriginal population in these parts of the city. Visible minority respondents were less likely to perceive racism as a problem in the community, but still experienced it (Diversity Thunder Bay 2002). Dhiman's (1997) qualitative analysis of South Asian women living in Thunder Bay, many of whom were spouses or daughters of professionals, also highlights their sense of exclusion from the community.

Consequences for urban and regional development

The City of Thunder Bay, and indeed the region of which it is part is no stranger to economic ups and downs. The last 20 years have seen many more negatives than positives and this is reflected in the overall population figures. While the population of the nation and province has grown quite significantly, Thunder Bay has stagnated. Issues such as youth out-migration, the loss of major industrial employers, and the stagnation of the real-estate market are serious concerns for local residents and political representatives. Unfortunately, if the currently popular urban development theories are correct, the City of Thunder Bay is in a very real conundrum. If Thunder Bay is going to make the transition from a working-class community based on transportation and pulp and paper production to the knowledge economy, it needs to attract people with the appropriate skills. One of the most important factors in this is the encouragement of the kinds of diversity environments that attract those who possess the education and cultural capital that fuels the knowledge economy (Gertler et al. 2002). During the 1990s, information and communication technologies boomed while the number of people working in that sector grew by 73% nationally; in Thunder Bay this part of the labour market shrank from 600 to 500 jobs. The number of paid workers in the science-based sector remained unchanged during the decade. In the year 2000, Thunder Bay was last in both of these categories among the nation's CMAs (Beckstead et al. 2003: 26, Tables 5a and 5b). It is far too early to judge the success of very recent collaborative efforts made by the City of Thunder Bay, Lakehead University and private

investors to turn Thunder Bay into a bio-technology research centre. It is noteworthy that visible-minority immigrants are among some of the key players in this initiative. If Richard Florida and his followers are correct, in order for the city to make the transition from the "old economy" to the "new economy," it is going to have to work very hard at developing its attractiveness to new immigrants whose very presence in part helps to stimulate the kind of atmosphere that make cities desirable places for the "creative" class to live.

This is very difficult when local political energies are often exhausted on concerns dear to the hearts and minds of an ageing population overwhelmingly born in Canada or Europe. Not surprisingly, the primary issues for them are taxation, fees for city-owned golf courses, skating rinks and swimming pools, access to hospitals, and the maintenance of quality long-term care facilities for seniors. The report by Diversity Thunder Bay shows that diversity is valued by a significant number of Thunder Bay residents. So far, however, attracting new immigrants, many of who will be visible minorities, and the promotion of diversity have taken back seats to the concerns mentioned above. In the 1990s, Thunder Bay was among a handful of Ontario cities where the city council of the day declared it an English-only community in symbolic opposition to official bilingualism.[5] The City is stuck on the horns of a dilemma: it is not diverse enough for such things as being a welcoming community to immigrants and the growing Aboriginal population to be considered a high priority issue among local community leaders and residents, and yet if the community does not engage with these concerns its own future is imperiled.

About the author

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[5] While some 15% of the population declared some French ethnic origin, only 2,775 people (2.5%) claimed French only as their language, and only 340 claimed English and French as their language (Statistics Canada, Population by Selected Ethnic Origins, Thunder Bay CMA, 2001 Census and Statistics Canada 2002b).

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In 2001 the unemployment rate for recent immigrants in Waterloo Region was 14%, compared to 5% for Canadian-born individuals. Underemployment is also a major problem, with many of the skills needed in the community not being accessed. As a result, many immigrants have come to work in survival jobs, some contemplating returning to their homeland or relocating to other jurisdictions.

The Importance of Immigrants to Waterloo Region's Prosperity

A Dynamic Collaborative Community Response

PETER McFADDEN
Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network

RICH JANZEN
Centre for Research and Education in Human Services

The need

Waterloo Region's economy is one of the strongest and fastest growing in Canada. Its unemployment rate hovers around 5%. It has an insatiable need for a talented workforce to sustain and grow its technology-driven economy. Yet, as with many communities across Canada, Waterloo Region has failed to adequately facilitate the participation of immigrants into the local labour market (Janzen et al. 2003).

To remedy this situation, various segments within the Waterloo Region community recently committed to working together. What follows is their story of collaboration. It is a story of intentionality, of collectively acknowledging the importance of immigrant employment to our community. And it is also a story of strategy, of collectively determining how best to move forward together in order to meet the challenges and realize the opportunities of an increasingly diverse workforce.

Defining the problem

Waterloo Region is no stranger to immigrant workers and entrepreneurs. Its commerce and culture have historically been influenced by the German-speaking immigrant work ethic and entrepreneurialism. Today the region is highly multicultural, with the fifth highest immigrant per capita population among urban centres across Canada, according to Statistic Canada's 2001 Census.

Yet evidence shows that immigrants in Waterloo Region perform below the labour force with respect to employment rates and income levels – despite having education levels than the employed labour force overall. According to Statistics Canada, in 2001 the unemployment rate for recent immigrants in Waterloo Region was 14%, compared to 5% for Canadian-born individuals. Underemployment is also a major problem, with many of the skills needed in the community not being accessed.

As a result, many immigrants have come to work in survival jobs, some contemplating a return to their homeland or relocating to other jurisdictions. This situation impacts negatively on immigrants and their families, on the local economy and on the health of the community at large. Clearly the underutilization of immigrant skills needed to be addressed.

Identifying community assets

Waterloo Region has a strong business sector. Four business associations lead the way: Communitech, the area's technology business organization; Canada's Technology Triangle Inc., the region's economic development marketing

organization; and two local Chambers of Commerce (Greater Kitchener-Waterloo and Cambridge). In recent years, these associations have taken a leadership role in embracing the need for a collaborative partnership to ensure that businesses will have access to the right talent in response to local labour force needs.

Waterloo Region also boasts a strong network of support for immigrants, with a long history of welcoming immigrants dating back to its Mennonite and Lutheran roots. Today it counts some 30 organizations, initiatives and local government departments providing services to newcomers, including a number of immigrant employment-specific services. These dedicated and committed community organizations have led local efforts to help newcomers find employment. They have also been the lead voices calling on other sectors to do their part.

Other Waterloo Region stakeholders are primed to respond to the issue of immigrant employment. Some of the country's leading post-secondary institutions – Wilfrid Laurier University, University of Waterloo and Conestoga College – are located here. Local municipal governments and non-governmental funders have identified the need to build more inclusive communities. Furthermore, Waterloo Region has an emerging immigrant leadership articulating the mutual benefits realized by the full participation of immigrants in community life.

Despite these assets, only two years have passed since these various sectors noted above have begun collaborating on a cross-sectoral and region-wide response to immigrant employment. Notably lacking in the past was the engagement from the region's employers. Yet the realization has recently dawned that just as the benefits of immigrant employment are shared, so too must be the responsibility.

Situation analysis: given pending and existing skill labour shortages, the business community (private, public and non-profit sector employers) needs access to a skilled workforce, while a significant pool of skilled immigrant workers exists within the region. A key challenge to overcome was this disconnect.

A collaborative response

Waterloo Region is known for innovation, entrepreneurialism and a collaborative will to get the job done. It was the will of stakeholders to convert this immigrant employment challenge into a community prosperity opportunity and to do so by bringing all needed stakeholders to the table.

Presently, Waterloo Region's vehicle to facilitate such engagement is in the form of the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN, pronounced "Ryan"). How it was conceived and launched is a study in leadership and collaboration that may be of interest to other communities. The following is a brief overview of WRIEN's evolution.[1]

A cross-sectoral, collaborative region-wide response to three fundamental needs defined the focus for moving forward:

- Promoting the well-being of immigrants and their families *(strong lives);*
- Contributing to a prosperous economy *(strong economy);*
- Building healthy, vibrant and inclusive communities *(strong communities).*

The path to creating effective collaboration and engagement embraced three distinct phases or chapters:

- Organization and hosting of an Immigrant Skills Summit;
- Preparation to build an immigrant employment network;
- Launching of the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN).

This was not a perfectly tidy process that mechanically followed textbook steps. Rather, it was an organic and dynamic process, with leadership creating "new rules of the collaborative game," and learning how to implement these rules. Perhaps the main lesson learned was that the solution to immigrant employment was really not an event, a structure, an organization or any other tangible entity that can be created. The solution rather hinged on an open, relational process of engaging people to solve problems and act together in ways that they had not done before.

The process began with the organization of the Immigrant Skills Summit Waterloo Region, held on April 28, 2005 and led by the Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (CREHS).[2] The Summit's mandate was to

[1] More details are available on WRIEN'S Website at www.wrien.com.

[2] See www.crehs.on.ca/skills-summit.html.

The Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN) was created as a system-level response to immigrant employment. The intent was not to help individual immigrants find work – other local organizations effectively play this role –, but to engage cross-sectoral stakeholders to create the necessary conditions, such as a favourable community environment, in which immigrants and employers are more readily and more effectively matched, to their mutual benefit.

develop plans to better attract and integrate immigrant skills.

To ensure the Summit agenda and outcomes would be as productive as possible, five pre-Summit task groups were formed: Employer Initiatives, Qualification Recognition and Enhancement, Immigrant Support, Immigrant Attraction, and Foundations for a Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Council. Some 16 community institutional sponsors covered the costs of the Summit, which was attended by a cross-section of more than 175 community members, from six stakeholder segments (immigrant leaders, business, community-based organizations, government, education and non government funders).

The Summit generated significant input and feedback to a comprehensive set of action plans. In summary it mobilized action, invoked discussion, set priorities and inspired attendees to act. It led to the second step, the Preparatory Phase for future collaboration.

The one-year Preparatory Phase developed answers to five go-forward questions that were not answered or resolved during the Summit. These answers were critical to moving towards more formal collaboration. Questions that needed to be addressed were the following: Who would host the immigrant employment network? Who would provide funding for the network and its activities? Who would staff the network? What are the terms of reference for the work groups and Steering Committee? What are the activities of the network and how would these relate with the existing work of immigrant employment agencies in the region?

The success of the Preparatory Phase relied on three elements: leadership, funding and community participation. During this phase, CREHS shared its lead facilitator role, recognizing the need to effectively engage the business/employer community. After an open community process, the co-leader of choice was the Greater Kitchener Waterloo Chamber of Commerce. The business sector had not only become engaged, but started playing a leadership role.

The second barrier to moving forward was funding. Both the Greater Kitchener Waterloo Chamber of Commerce and CREHS committed to preparatory funding. They utilized their networks to bring the Kitchener Waterloo Community Foundation, McDonald Green of Cambridge, the Cambridge Chamber of Commerce, Communitech, and Canada's Technology Triangle Inc. on board as additional funding partners for this Preparatory Phase.

The third ingredient for success was community participation. The Preparatory Phase advisory team involved 20 stakeholders from a variety of sectors (immigrant leaders, business, community-based organizations, government, education and non-government funders). A growing network of 350 individuals remained connected through an email loop. Many of these members continued to be actively involved in the initiative's five work groups.

In the end, the Preparatory Phase advisory team was successful in crafting the terms of reference for the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network and in securing $900,000 in core funding for its three-year mandate. Funders (significantly all local) included the United Way of Kitchener Waterloo and Area, the Ontario Trillium Foundation, the Lyle S. Hallman Foundation, the Kitchener Waterloo Community Foundation, the Regional Municipality of Waterloo, the Bridgeway Foundation and the United Way of Cambridge and North Dumfries. With core funding in place, the stage was set to launch the Action Phase.

In May 2006, WRIEN was officially launched as a community prosperity initiative, hosted by the Greater Kitchener Waterloo Chamber of Commerce. The Action Phase was kick-started following the commitment of core funding and the hiring of an executive director and manager of administration in July 2006.

In mid-July, staff and the Steering Committee came together for a strategic planning session to

re-confirm WRIEN's terms of reference and add clarity to the action plan development process. After a year of meeting, discussing and planning to improve the immigrant employment situation in Waterloo Region, the Steering Committee and all five work groups were anxious to see some real actions and results. The Steering Committee invested three months in the development of WRIEN's Action Plan to ensure that all stakeholders would have an opportunity to input and to ownership of their respective sections. The full Action Plan and the Executive Summary are available on the WRIEN Website.

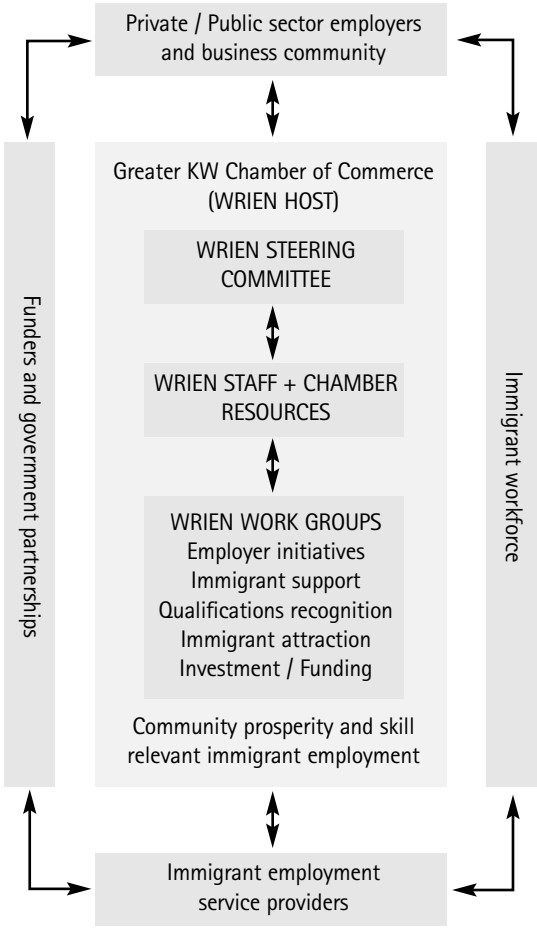
To ensure that WRIEN'S core focus was not diluted in the 25-page Action Plan, the Steering Committee defined its top five "success defining" outcomes, as follows:

1. Provide immigrants with quality, non-interview format opportunities to network with employers and to gain "Canadian" experience;
2. Promote a fair, consistent, transparent and accessible credential and experience assessment process that is more user-friendly for immigrants and employers;
3. Attract the skilled workforce that responds to local labour market needs;
4. Promote enhanced regional service delivery synergies and effectiveness from the immigrant and employer perspectives;
5. Be the information "clearing house" for information and data collection, interpretation and dissemination pertaining to immigrant employment in Waterloo Region.

It is important to note that WRIEN was created as a system-level response to immigrant employment. The intent was not to help individual immigrants find work – other local organizations effectively play this role –, but to engage cross-sectoral stakeholders to create the necessary conditions, such as a favourable community environment, in which immigrants and employers are more readily and more effectively matched, to their mutual benefit.

A number of factors contribute to the success of WRIEN. One is the emerging business sector leadership; a host organization such as the Greater Kitchener Waterloo Chamber of Commerce lends it credibility within the business community, paving the way for increased employer involvement. The active leadership among other sectors has proved equally engaging. Putting core funding in place prior to launch brought a strong base for pursuing additional project funding. Finally, incorporating a comprehensive and ongoing evaluation strategy (conducted by CREHS) helped ensure transparency and the careful assessment of WRIEN's process and impact.[3]

FIGURE 1
Wrien community prosperity model, September 2006



The three-year WRIEN mandate will be completed in 2009, but its legacy will continue. While it remains unclear what the next chapter holds, it will no doubt be co-written by those engaged through the WRIEN process. The seeds of collaboration have been sown.

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[3] See www.wrien.com/en/evaluation.shtml.

What public services do immigrants need and what provisions exist for their supply? This study probes the question from the angle of ethnic enclaves, where there is a concentration of one particular ethnic group that is largely comprised of immigrants, and provides a generic account of immigrants' needs, particularly for human services.

Immigrants' Needs and Public Service Provisions in Peel Region*

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Immigrants' needs for community services could pose new challenges for local governments. In jurisdictions where population growth is largely driven by immigration, the demand for community services could be high as well as of a different qualitative order. Another wrinkle in this phenomenon is the formation of ethnic enclaves, namely neighbourhoods where a particular ethnic group dominates, which presumably precipitates needs for culturally specific services. Although these assumptions are logically defensible, they have not been empirically tested. Planning studies of immigrants' need for local services are almost non-existent. To test these assumptions, we have carried out a modest empirical experiment assessing immigrants' service needs in Peel Region and determining whether ethnic enclaves have any effect on the demand for services. This article reports our findings. This study was commissioned by the Region of Peel Planning Department as part of their ongoing research on immigration to Peel.

The study is based on a small sample (20 residents) of in-depth interviews with residents in two South Asian enclaves, the Heart Lake and Springdale areas in Brampton, and the Erindale area in Mississauga, and matched control areas. Two control areas provided a comparison with which to isolate the enclaves' impact on the demand for services. To assess immigrants' needs and to identify modes of delivery, we also canvassed community agencies and neighbourhood informants as well as frontline workers and managers of Ontario Works, Social Housing, Child Health, TransHelp and other officials of the Region of Peel.

The Region of Peel and the study areas

The Region of Peel is a second-tier local government in the western wing of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). It includes the municipalities of Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon. The estimated 2005 population of the region was 1,126,000, representing an increase of about 34,000 persons annually since 2001. Most of this increase comes from immigration. In 2001, about 43% of the regional population were immigrants, a proportion that may now be nearing almost 50%. Visible minorities constituted about 38% of the 2001 regional population. South Asians formed the single largest group, 16% of the total population and 41% of visible minorities. Most were immigrants.

* The original version of this article appeared in the June 2007 edition of *Plan Canada*.

As a general attribute applicable to both immigrants and the Canadian-born, ethnicity stamps two clusters of neighbourhoods. In the north-eastern corner of Mississauga, Italians dominate, whereas in the middle of Mississauga (around Pearson airport) and in the northern part of Brampton, South Asians are the single largest ethnic group. We focused on South Asian enclaves, sampling one census tract of South Asian concentration each in Mississauga (Erindale South) and in Brampton (Heart Lake).

Our social experiment consisted of matching two "control" areas, one for each of the enclave tracts. The control areas are census tracts that have comparable demographic, spatial and social characteristics, but without high concentrations of South Asians. Their population was relatively more mixed. Table 1 points out their similarities, except in the degree of concentration of South Asians. The purpose in setting up this research design was to see if South Asians who live in enclaves have different service needs than those living in "control" areas.

Our "windshield" survey indicated that both the enclave and control tracts in Brampton and Mississauga typify GTA neighbourhoods, despite having different ethnic make-ups. These areas consist mainly of single detached and a few semi-detached homes interspersed with a wide range of public and private services such as commercial plazas, churches, schools and recreation and community centers.

Findings

This study analyzed South Asians in the supply and demand framework. We assumed demand was reflected in the expressed and perceived needs of a cross-section of South Asian and other residents of the two enclaves. We asked sampled residents about their expressed needs, experiences and behaviours rather than about their attitudes and opinions. Thus our focus was on their felt needs and how they went about meeting them. This strategy was complemented by a survey of community organizations and neighbourhood informants, about their observations of immigrants' needs.

For the supply side, we focused on operational policies and programs. We conducted focus groups with three sets of caseworkers and managers from various regional agencies. We also asked representatives of community agencies about their experiences of the service delivery and issues encountered. We aimed only to identify issues that arise in the delivery of services, and not to evaluate the adequacy and quality of these services.

Demand of services

Our findings suggest that immigrants have almost similar service needs as the public at large. Whether it is water supply, police protection or social housing, immigrants' needs are similar to those of the Canadian-born. These needs are determined by demographic, socio-economic and spatial characteristics of the resident population. They are also defined by the variety of services are offered to citizens.

Within these parameters, the cultural dimensions of immigrants' needs relate to the modes of delivery rather than to any special provisions of services. Some larger families might require bigger public housing units or accommodation of their custom of sharing bedrooms among siblings, for example. Immigrants may need childcare workers in kindergartens who can speak the children's languages. Such operational differences in the provision of services are the primary expressions of immigrants' ethnicity. This theme is the defining characteristic of immigrants' needs. A

TABLE 1
Characteristics of the study and control areas

Areas	% South Asians	% Families earning more than $70,000	% Families earning less than $30,000	% Dwelling rented	Modal age of dwellings	% Constructed during the modal age	% Single family dwelling
Brampton							
Study area (576.05)	28.7	44.8	15	13.5	1981-90	67.9	71.1
Control area (575.06)	21.1	47.8	17.3	13.5	1981-90	51.8	63.7
Mississauga							
Study area (520.01)	21.2	37.3	14.9	18.9	1946-80	82.1	17.3
Control area (519)	14.5	39.8	20.8	13.2	1946-80	98.4	23.6

Source: Statistics Canada.

Except for language training, immigrants ask for the same services as those available to the general public. It is cultural sensitivity in the delivery of services that helps make services more satisfying for immigrants.

summary of our main findings about immigrant demands follows.

- Immigrants fall into two broad streams. The first is composed of a large number of self-reliant immigrants who find their way into Canadian life. Their needs for public services fall within the scope of public entitlements and they learn to rely on services offered to the citizen. The second stream is comprised of immigrants who need help settling or resettling. They may be poor refugees, families or individuals who lack facility in English, or victims of misfortunes. They are the clients of social security networks and they need housing, language training, employment, income support and counseling. Our survey has essentially taken soundings of the first stream.
- "Family and Friends" stand out as the first port of call for information and help. Obviously, "friends" here refers to co-ethnics and persons who came from the same country. Their own social networks steer immigrants towards public agencies and community organizations offering needed services. A Statistics Canada's study based on the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada substantiates the role friends and relatives play in helping immigrants settle in Canada (Tran and Chui 2003).
- Ethnic enclaves or neighbourhoods with concentrations of an ethnic group do not have any significant effect. They may facilitate the delivery of some linguistically and culturally sensitive services because of the presence of a large group of people of a similar background and needs in one area (i.e., the critical mass effect).
- Except for language training, immigrants ask for the same services as those available to the general public. It is cultural sensitivity in the delivery of services that helps make services more satisfying for immigrants.
- Gainful employment is the primary need of immigrants because it is the entry point into Canadian life. Some of the other needs identified in our survey include improving employment opportunities for immigrants (i.e. language training and transportation). Our survey indicates that essentially self-reliant and middle/lower class immigrants want housing, health and childcare services.
- Procedures and accessibility are two sets of difficulties in accessing services; however, both are generic rather than immigrant-specific. Some quotes from respondents illustrate this point well: "wait times are an issue, as is the voice mail that does not allow you to talk to a human being," "need more streamlined processes," "bureaucratic nightmare, too many forms to fill for a simple thing," and "long lines."

Supply of services

We can divide urban services into two distinct types: 1) services to properties, which are determined by land use and the physical characteristics of buildings such as water, sewer, roads, utilities, streets, etc.; and 2) services to people, which are essentially human services whose demand is determined by the social characteristics of residents. The Region's human services include public safety (such as emergency medical services and primary health care for urgent conditions), public health (such as communicable disease control and prevention, childhood development and health surveillance), housing and care (long-term care centres, affordable housing), and support for children (daily childcare services and parenting and family support programs). The ethnicity of residents has little influence on the demand for services to properties, but has direct bearing on the demand for human services. From this point of view, enclaves are expected to have an impact on the provision of human services.

The following points sum up our findings about the supply of services from the perspective of immigrants:

- Except for family size and language, delivery issues are similar both in immigrant and

mainstream families. The survey respondents singled out language as the biggest obstacle in delivering services. Although interpreter services are available in a few languages, the multitude of languages and dialects of immigrants in Peel Region constrains the availability of such services.

- Eligibility criteria of some programs are inconsistent and provincial standards for various regional programs are dated. In particular, participants cited the disconnect between the provincial occupancy standards and the size of immigrant families. New immigrants usually have large families. The current occupancy standards hinder large immigrant families from getting access to social housing, most of which are not bigger than two-bedroom units.
- Ethnic enclaves can help organize services in the cultural and linguistic idioms of the residents. For instance, the regional government could offer services in one or two languages spoken in the enclave and deploy caseworkers who are familiar with particular cultures into the enclaves.
- Immigrants' lack of trust in public agencies is another obstacle in accessing services. The public agencies sensed a bit of apprehension among immigrants in approaching governmental bodies. The suppliers of services felt a dire need to allay immigrants' fears of the government agencies.
- Participants echoed the immigrants' perennial concerns about accessing services, such as "run-arounds," "bureaucratic nightmares," "too many forms to fill for a simple thing," "long line-ups," and "complicated processes."

Conclusions and recommendations

Our recommendations emerge from the interpretations of our findings, though they should be regarded only as hypotheses that should be further tested before being adopted. Since our observations of the expressed demands are derived from a small sample, they are suggestive rather than representative of residents' opinions and judgments.

- This study began with the notion of isolating the "critical mass" effect of enclaves on immigrants' need for services. It found that living in enclaves per se does not precipitate any new demand. Neighbourhood seems to have relatively little impact on immigrants' human service needs. Social geography of a neighbourhood comes into play in the supply of services. Concentration of immigrants of a particular ethnicity in a specific area can facilitate effective delivery of linguistically and culturally relevant services to targeted clients.

  Recommendation: Examine the feasibility of identifying and branding enclaves for programming educational, child and public health and other human services in culturally sensitive ways.

- Immigrants are a very diverse group. It is necessary to recognize that a relatively large proportion of immigrants have no extraordinary service needs. Over time their needs are largely undifferentiated from the needs of the mainstream at large in the type and scope of services, except that the delivery of services has to be made in culturally sensitive ways. The impact of ethnicity on demand for services comes into play at the level of operational policies and program management, and not so much in terms of types of services.

  Recommendation: Planning for public services has to be culturally and linguistically sensitive to meet the needs of ethnically diverse populations, be they immigrants or Canadian-born.

- Our analysis shows that various regional service departments are well aware of the imperative of cultural sensitivity and linguistic accessibility in the delivery of services. The frontline staff generally have a fair understanding of immigrants' needs and they make individual accommodations. These practices could be systematized. Our focus groups brought up many examples of the need for diversity training and the necessity of revising standards.

  Recommendation: Cultural sensitivity may be formally operationalized at two levels: 1) by increasing diversity training of the frontline staff; and 2) by reviewing program standards and planning norms to make them inclusive of immigrants and ethnic minorities. Some of the standards and norms may originate from provincial and federal governments. The Region's role in such cases may be that of advocate for change.

Neighbourhood seems to have relatively little impact on immigrants' human service needs. Social geography of a neighbourhood comes into play in the supply of services. Concentration of immigrants of a particular ethnicity in an area can facilitate effective delivery of linguistically and culturally relevant services to targeted clients.

- Appropriate language training and the streamlining of procedures came up as the two suggestions for overcoming immigrants' difficulties in accessing services. The "run-around" that respondents identified as an obstacle can be overcome by initially consolidating regional services and later by offering provincial and federal programs from multi-service centres. Two or three one-stop service centres strategically located in various parts of the region would go a long way towards reducing immigrants' and other residents' difficulties of easy access, both in transportation and in organizational terms. Such centres could be part of the development policy framework of the Regional Official Plan. Their locations should be close to the transfer points of transit.

  Recommendation: The Region of Peel might examine the feasibility of establishing multi-service centres in order to coordinating the delivery of services.

- Suitable employment is the primary need of immigrants, both up on arrival and following settlement. Of course, it is also the need of Canadian-born residents. Peel Region has witnessed the emergence of ethnic economic niches in the form of businesses and industrial/service establishments producing ethnic goods and services. Such "ethnic economies" tend to be based in enclaves. Employment needs of immigrants are largely looked upon as a way of finding pre-existing jobs. How about being proactive and promoting immigrant entrepreneurship? Such a role would include programs of promoting and supporting small businesses, establishing business incubators and initiating employment development programs, for example.

  Recommendation: The Region of Peel in partnership with other agencies should review the possibility of formulating and organizing business development programs for immigrants, in particular, and plan appropriate physical facilities.

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Due to its proximity to the City of Toronto..., Hamilton does not initially seem like an ideal place to resettle government-assisted refugees....However, due to the low cost of living, effective settlement services and other social service resources that are available in Hamilton, the city has not only been able to retain the refugees who are sent there, but also attracts a fair number who were initially sent to other parts of Canada.

Resettlement of Government-assisted Refugees in Hamilton, Ontario*

PRADEEP NAVARATNA
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Government-assisted refugees (GARs)

Granting refuge to people who arrive at its borders seeking asylum has been a long-standing Canadian tradition. From Loyalists to Doukhobors, from Tamils to Kosovars, many groups of people have sought and found refuge in Canada (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998). Remarkably, sanctuary in Canada has not only been limited to those who arrive at its borders seeking asylum. Through its Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program, administered by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), the federal government offers permanent resettlement to refugees who live in refugee camps or refugee-like situations overseas (CIC 2006).

The Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program, with the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) as its legislative framework, is governed by principles that put more emphasis on refugee protection than on a person's ability to adapt and settle in Canada (CIC 2006a). Under the IRPA, refugees are not required to demonstrate their ability to successfully settle in Canada (Orr 2004). Through this program, the federal government annually sponsors approximately 7,500 individuals from abroad for resettlement in Canada (CIC 2006b). These individuals are known as government-assisted refugees (GARs). Those who fit into CIC's Convention Refugees Abroad Class and Humanitarian-Protected Persons Abroad Class are eligible to be sponsored by the Government for resettlement in Canada (CIC 2006a). Once they have arrived in Canada, the GARs are granted permanent resident status and receive settlement assistance through the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP).

The countries of origin of the GARs who are resettled in Canada closely reflect the origins of the major refugee populations of the world. In 2004, GARs from Afghanistan, Sudan, Congo, Somalia and Liberia were resettled in Canada. The GARs who arrived in the province of Ontario were resettled in Hamilton, London, Windsor, Kitchener, Toronto and Ottawa (CIC 2006). This article will examine the resettlement of GARs in the city of Hamilton.

Hamilton, Ontario as a place for refugee resettlement

According to the 2001 Census, the Hamilton census metropolitan area (CMA) had a population of 655,000. Of this, approximately 154,000 or 23% were identified as foreign-born (Statistics Canada 2005a). After Toronto and Vancouver, Hamilton CMA has the third highest percentage of foreign-born population in a Canadian city. According to the actual size of the foreign-born population, Hamilton ranks seventh among all

* The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Settlement and Integration Services Organization or its funders.

Canadian cities (Statistics Canada 2005b). Hamilton CMA receives approximately 3,500 newcomers per year (Statistics Canada 2005a); of these, approximately 320 or 9% are GARs (SISO 2006).

Due to its proximity to the City of Toronto, one of the most diverse metropolises in the world, Hamilton does not initially seem like an ideal place to resettle GARs. Since the majority of new immigrants to Canada tend to settle in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and since there is clear pattern of secondary migration to Toronto among all newcomers to Canada (Anisef and Lanphier 2003), it seems unlikely that Hamilton would be able to retain GARs who are sent there. However, due to the low cost of living, effective settlement services and other social service resources that are available in Hamilton, the city has not only been able to retain the GARs who are sent there, but also attracts a fair number who were initially sent to other parts of Canada (SISO 2006).

RAP in Hamilton

In Hamilton, the Service Provider Organization (SPO) designated by CIC to deliver RAP services is the Settlement and Integration Services Organization (SISO). Since its inception in October 2001, the RAP in Hamilton has been involved in successful resettlement of approximately 2000 GARs in the city (SISO 2006).

The GARs who have been resettled in Hamilton belong to different ethnic backgrounds and come from different parts of the world (SISO 2006). The main GAR groups which have been resettled in Hamilton include Sudanese from Kakuma camp in Kenya, Somalis from Dadaab camp in Kenya, Afghans from Tajikistan, Russia and other parts of central Asia, and Liberians from camps in Guinea and Ghana. Further, refugees from Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sierra Leone who have lived in various camps in Africa have also been resettled in Hamilton (SISO 2005). In 2006, GARs from Burma (Myanmar) who lived in refugee camps in Thailand were also resettled in Hamilton.

A study, conducted by the author, of the resettlement experience of GARs in Hamilton has revealed that GARs have found the peace and security in Canada that eluded them in their former host nations. The study also revealed that since they are permanent residents of Canada, the uncertainties GARs faced concerning their life and future had disappeared. Third, these people are now concentrating on rebuilding the lives that were devastated by years of conflict and war in their home countries. Lastly, their life in Canada has been a struggle – yet, they are unwilling to complain of the hardships, since they are grateful to Canada for offering them a new lease on life.

When examining the resettlement experience of GARs in Hamilton, from their own perspective, the overall resettlement experience is a deemed positive one. Living in safety and peace was the top priority for these individuals. Since they have accomplished this goal in Canada, they are now trying to rebuild other aspects of their lives that had been shattered as a result of their refugee experience. Their loyalty and gratefulness towards Canada and Hamilton are immense. The fact that none of the GARs were critical of the financial support received from CIC and welfare agencies, the settlement services in Hamilton or life in Canada in general may indicate that they do not want to sound ungrateful towards the country that provided them safety and peace.

However, the inquiry into the resettlement experience of GARs also managed to uncover that GARs in Hamilton have low incomes, face unemployment issues, language barriers and difficulty accessing higher education, and must struggle to rebuild their lives. In other words, they are living on the fringes of Canadian society, at poverty level. Their perception that life in Canada is better than what they left behind and the feeling that their quality of life has dramatically improved by coming to Canada has more to do with their comparison of their former refugee lives to their living conditions in Canada. However, since poverty is relative to one's physical location and these individuals are now living in Canada, their level of poverty needs to be analyzed and measured with reference to and in terms of Canadian living conditions, not in terms of people who live in refugee situations outside of Canada. GARs in Hamilton have an optimistic attitude towards their lives in Canada and are generally pleased with their living conditions and socio-economic status. However, this does not necessarily mean that GARs are unaware or unable to grasp their current socio-economic condition in Canada. What this means is that they still do not look at themselves with reference to other Canadians, but rather to the refugees they left behind.

Ideally, GARs are expected to integrate into the labour market within one year (CIC 1998). However, a number of GARs in Hamilton were

Since poverty is relative to one's physical location and these individuals are now living in Canada, their level of poverty needs to be analyzed and measured with reference to and in terms of Canadian living conditions, not in terms of people who live in refugee situations outside of Canada.

still receiving financial assistance through the Ontario welfare system a year after arrival in Canada, and some GARs who were approaching the end of their RAP assistance were also planning to access welfare. This finding is consistent with other studies that found that a significant number of GARs depend on other income assistance programs once RAP support stops (Dempsey and Yu 2005). Among the reasons that prevent GARs from accessing the labour markets are lack of proficiency in an official language, limited education, lack of work experience and difficulties associated with adjusting to the new environment (Anisef, Lam and Jansen 2001, Simich and Hamilton 2004). GARs in Hamilton also indicated similar reasons for not having been able to find employment. A useful and workable approach to integrate GARs into the labour market would be for CIC to extend the RAP support for a period of two years. This would allow GARs to become oriented to Canada, learn the language during their first year here, and actively look for employment during their second year without depending on the provincial welfare system. According to CIC (2003), if GARs earn more than 25% of their RAP allowance, CIC makes dollar for dollar deductions from their entitlement. This is a misguided approach. Rather than being penalizing for being employed, GARs should be rewarded by being allowed to keep the full RAP entitlement while working. This approach could provide GARs with an added incentive to try to access labour markets sooner and gain work experience in Canada.

Further, asking GARs to reimburse the immigration loan (the loan that was given to purchase passage to Canada) soon after their arrival in Canada also puts an undue burden on them. The issue of loans can be addressed in several ways. Ideally the loans should be eliminated altogether and CIC should pay for their passage to Canada. If the total elimination of this cost is deemed an undue burden, the government could allow GARs an interest-free grace period of five years before the first payment is due.

It is clear that GARs have the ability to successfully integrate into Canadian society just as any other group of immigrants. However, their settlement process takes more time. What is needed for successful resettlement is the availability of proper social and income support over a longer period. One way of addressing this problem would be to establish a dedicated program responsible for addressing the long-term settlement needs of GARs. Since GARs are appreciative of the safety and peace that Canada has provided for them, they may not demand more assistance for rebuilding their lives, and they may accept the level of settlement assistance that they are given without fuss or protest.

The settlement of immigrants to a new country occurs in three stages: immediate, intermediate and long term (Wayland 2006). The settlement needs that are addressed through RAP such as orientation, assistance in obtaining documents, housing and life skills instructions only address immediate settlement needs of GARs. The services that are provided by Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) and such other programs cover some aspects of both immediate and intermediate needs. However, the problem with settlement programs (with the exception of RAP) is that they are not designed to address the specific resettlement needs of GARs. Canada's settlement programs are mainly designed to address the needs of all immigrants and they are not especially geared towards refugee resettlement (Parsons 2005). Further, most of the settlement programs in Canada have been designed and funded to address the immediate settlement needs of immigrants (Omidvar and Richmond 2003). There are also funding constraints that limit the scope and effectiveness of settlement related activities. Therefore, it is clear that the vitally important long-term resettlement support that is needed by GARs to rebuild their lives cannot be effectively achieved under the mandate and scope of the current RAP.

Recommendations for policy makers

Unlike other groups of immigrants, GARs do not choose Canada as their destination. Rather, CIC brings them to Canada. Therefore, it is important to note that GARs are a unique group of immigrants and Canada has a special responsibility towards meeting their resettlement needs. In order to make the resettlement of GARs in Canada more inclusive and to eliminate the barriers that they face, a special resettlement program must be created. This program can easily and effectively be an extension of the RAP, and should begin the moment CIC selects the GARs to be resettled in Canada. The first step of this program would be to provide GARs with extensive information about Canada, in general, and their destination, in particular. This information should be accurate and up-to-date. As suggested by Simich, Beiser and Mawani (2002), GARs must be involved in selecting their final destination in Canada. When there are family and friends in Canada, GARs must be given a choice to select that destination if they wish to do so. In the absence of family or friends, information should be provided about as many destinations as possible in order to get the GARs involved in the final decision making (Simich et al. 2002).

This straightforward step could achieve several objectives. First, it would reduce secondary migration among GARs, thus saving the costs associated with it (Simich et al. 2002). Second, the presence of social support networks through friends, family or members of the community will reduce the burden on SPOs. Third, this step will help somewhat alieve feelings of anxiety about resettlement in an unknown place.

Once GARs arrive in Canada, the time that they spend in the RAP should be extended for a minimum of one year or until RAP counsellors consider the client to be self-sufficient. During this time, RAP counsellors should address immediate, intermediate and long-term resettlement needs of GARs.

The reason for this approach is that the RAP is the only specialized settlement program to provide services to GARs. Therefore, it has the proper expertise to deal with these individuals. Every GAR should have a dedicated RAP counsellor who will be responsible for monitoring their settlement progress. Within the RAP, other support programs, such as youth and child programs, mental health programs, educational assistance programs, and community support programs should be created. These will help to address specific needs as they arise. Further, in order to respond to the intermediate and long-term settlement needs, GARs should be allowed to access all settlement programs beyond the normal three-year entitlement (Omidvar and Richmond 2003), even after obtaining Canadian citizenship.

An employment strategy that enables GARs to access jobs requiring a minimum level of official language ability must also be put in place. This could be achieved through targeting specific employers such as farmers, factory owners and general labour contractors. Also, through strategic resettlement initiatives, GARs can be directed to parts of Canada where they are most likely to find employment.

Finally, an all-inclusive approach must also address the negative connotations of problematic terminology. Since these individuals arrive in Canada as permanent residents, it is counter-productive to call them refugees once they are here. Therefore, they should be identified as government-sponsored immigrants or GSIs.

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Hamilton, like other second-tier cities, has been profoundly shaped by immigration. Some of the unique features of immigration to Hamilton include a strong immigrant retention rate, proportionately more European immigrants among recent immigrants, and proportionately fewer skilled immigrants and business immigrants than in Canada as a whole. We suggest that it is important to appreciate how immigration is negotiated and experienced, and how immigrants form communities that offer support and confidence and, in the process, serve to enforce and reinforce a sense of self-worth.

Immigrants and Immigrant Settlement in Hamilton

VIC SATZEWICH and WILLIAM SHAFFIR
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Immigration is, as we all know, part of Canada's ongoing nation-building process. At the same time, immigration issues are inevitably local. Immigrants and refugees may come to Canada, but they settle in specific cities, towns and neighbourhoods. As a result, the proper appreciation of issues surrounding immigrant and refugee settlement and integration must also account for the impact of local conditions and contexts as well as the backgrounds of immigrants themselves. Even though Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver receive the vast majority of immigrants who come to Canada, the story of immigrant settlement in second-tier cities is important to understand, particularly if plans to encourage a more even distribution of immigrants around the country are to bear fruit.

Immigrants in Hamilton: A brief overview

Like other Canadian cities, Hamilton has been profoundly shaped by immigration. Each year since 1999, between 3,000 and 4,000 immigrants – or 1.5% of the yearly flow of immigrants to Canada – come to Hamilton. According to the Census, 154,660 immigrants were living in Hamilton in 2001, making up 24% of the city's total population – slightly below the provincial figure of 27%. Hamilton's immigrants have settled in Canada earlier than did immigrants in other Ontario cities and in the rest of the country. In Hamilton, 67% of immigrants arrived in Canada in 1985 or earlier, compared to 54% in the rest of Ontario and in Canada as a whole. Conversely, 33% of immigrants in Hamilton arrived in 1986 or later, compared to 46% in the rest of Ontario and in Canada as a whole (Statistics Canada 2005: 1-2).

The composition of recent immigrant flows to Hamilton differs somewhat from the rest of Canada. These differences are mostly evident in the countries of origin of immigrants and in their immigration categories. The top ten countries of origin of recent immigrants to Hamilton tend to be more weighted toward European countries than immigration flows to Canada as a whole. Table 1 shows that five of the top ten countries of origin of recent immigrants are European (Yugoslavia, Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United Kingdom and Croatia). In fact, Hamilton is home to 13.2% of the 11,380 immigrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 2001 from Croatia, 8.8% of the 35,860 immigrants from Yugoslavia, and 7.2% of the 23,170 immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hamilton's immigrants also differ from other immigrants to Canada in terms of the relative weight of different categories of immigration. Among the most recent cohorts of new immigrants, Hamilton has welcomed proportionately more family class immigrants

TABLE 1

Source countries of recent immigrants arriving in Canada between 1991 and 2001 and living in Hamilton, 2001

Place of birth	Number	Percentage
Yugoslavia	2,725	7.7%
Poland	2,310	6.5%
India	2,285	6.4%
People's Republic of China	1,910	5.4%
Philippines	1,855	5.2%
Iraq	1,835	5.2%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,575	4.4%
Pakistan	1,405	4.0%
United Kingdom	1,395	3.9%
Croatia	1,320	3.7%
Total of top ten	18,615	52.4%
All other countries	16,925	47.6%
Total	35,540	100.0%

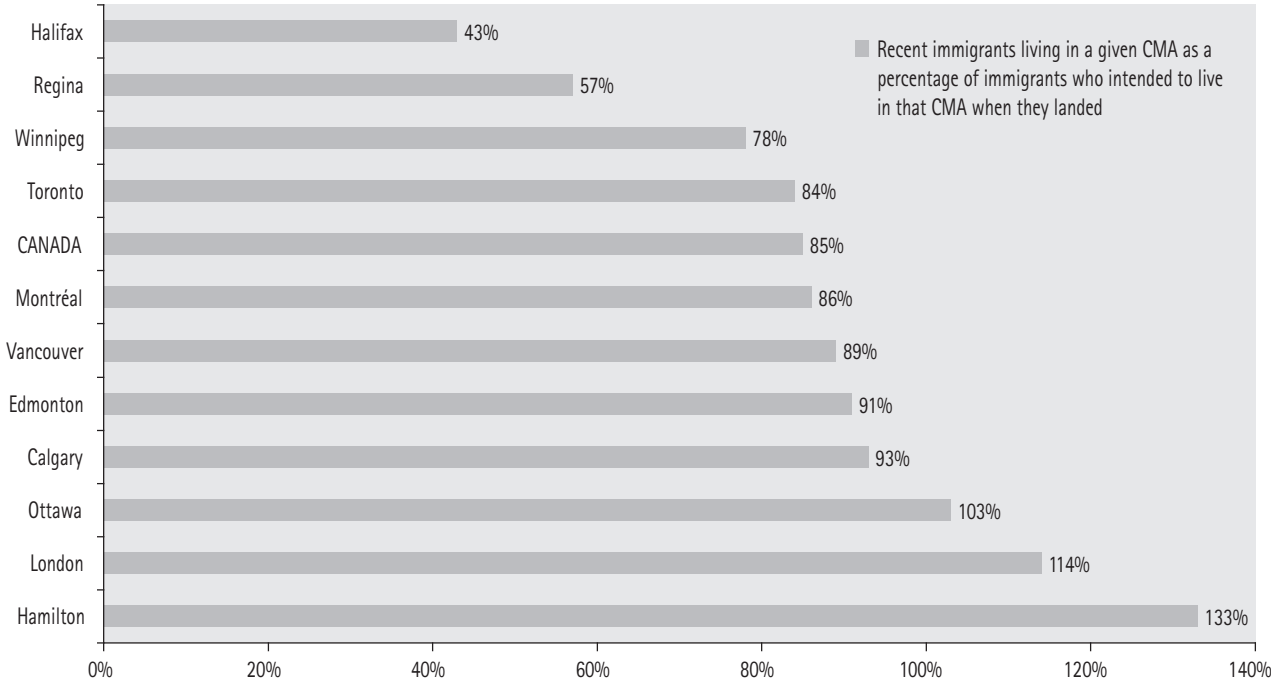
Source: Statistics Canada, *2001 Census*.

and refugees and proportionately fewer skilled workers and business immigrants than in the rest of Canada. Among those who listed Hamilton as their intended city of landing between 2001 and 2003, 34% were family class, 20% were refugees, 40% were skilled workers, and 3% were business class immigrants. This compares with 29% family class, 11% refugees, 52% skilled workers, and 5% business immigrants in the rest of the country.

Hamilton's immigration picture may be distorted if we look only at data on the city of intended destination. Hamilton may not be the first or original choice of residence for immigrants when they initially arrive in Canada; however, Hamilton does seem to do a better job than other cities in keeping immigrants who initially settle there, and in attracting immigrants from other cities within Canada. Immigrant retention can be measured by comparing the number of recent immigrants living in a city with the number who intended to live in that city when they first landed in Canada. Figure 1 provides information on the retention rate for Hamilton, other second-tier cities across the country, and the three major immigrant-receiving centres of Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. Among immigrants who landed in Canada between 1996 and 2001, 14,013 indicated that Hamilton was their intended destination at their time of landing. But in 2001, 18,685 immigrants who landed in Canada between 1996 and 2001 were living in Hamilton. As Figure 1 shows, Hamilton's immigrant retention rate reaches 133%.

FIGURE 1

Retention rates of recent immigrants (1996–2001) by CMA



Source: The Canadian Labour and Business Centre, 2005: 9.

Hamilton may not be the first or original choice of residence for immigrants when they initially arrive in Canada; however, Hamilton does seem to do a better job than other cities in keeping immigrants who initially settle there, and in attracting immigrants from other cities within Canada.

Toronto's immigrant retention rate, on the other hand, is 84%, Montréal's is 86% and Vancouver's is 89%. Even among other second-tier cities, Hamilton shows a strong retention rate, well above the rate of 114% for London, Ontario, 103% for Ottawa and 93% for Calgary.

One of the key policy questions facing the City of Hamilton, Hamilton employers and immigrant settlement agencies is the following: how can the city attract more skilled immigrants? According to Moretza Jafarpur, Executive Director of Hamilton's Settlement and Integration Services Organization, the city needs to have a higher profile in the applicant's mind when he or she is considering immigrating to Canada. He believes that while most immigrants and potential immigrants know about cities like Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal, the opportunities offered by other Canadian cities are less well known. As demographic pressures increase, Jafarpur expects that competition between first- and second-tier cities for skilled immigrants will increase. As a result, he suggests that cities like Hamilton need to do a better job in advertising what they offer to new immigrants, and need to be more proactive in encouraging overseas immigration offices to sell the merits of second-tier cities to potential immigrants.

The experience of immigration

In addition to statistical data, we have also tried to appreciate how immigration is negotiated and experienced. Far from being passive or responding uncritically to conditions to which they are confronted, immigrants play an active role in the immigration drama. Perhaps, as our data indicate and much as in the past, when the immigrant community served as a safe haven from the uncertainties of the outside world, immigrants form a community, although inchoate, that offers support and confidence and, in the process, serves to enforce and reinforce a sense of self-worth.

A conversation with two Liberian immigrants provides an insight into the complexity of the immigration trajectory. Immigrants of the refugee category, their account is heavily impacted by their prior stay at a refugee camp in Ghana. Even before facing the drastic culture shock awaiting them in Hamilton, they were required to negotiate the challenges of the refugee camp. One of them remarks: "You get to the camp, and without knowing what's going on, you get confused." The experiences in the camp, including the numerous illegal workers striving to make ends meet as well as women offering prostitution services to survive, are not easily eradicated from one's memory. Equally frustrating and dispiriting are the contacts with Canadian government officials. They not only demand to interview prospective refugees several times but, as the other observes, "…you're expected to remember the information from the first person [interviewer] to the last" – a considerably difficult feat under ordinary circumstances but exacerbated in cases where the interviewees are illiterate. From the perspective of the refugee camp residents, the process of immigration eligibility lacks clarity: "as much as people appreciate the opportunity, it's also creating problems….Nobody really knows the process or what you have to do to be qualified."

The church serves as a central institution enabling newcomers to cope with the culture shock they inevitably encounter upon arrival. In Hamilton, as a Liberian-centred church is not yet available, Liberians typically visit and join churches in the area that are known to be welcoming and somewhat consistent with the newcomers' ways of worship. "People come right away to the church, even before they look for jobs," offers one newcomer. However, the relevance of the church for purposes of providing stability and meaning to the immigration journey begins even earlier, in the refugee camp where, as one former refugee camp resident says, "…up to 90% see the church as their last hope."

As a stabilizing institution, the church's relevance extends beyond the religious doctrine it offers. Its social and cultural programs offer much-needed emotional support and opportunities that help newcomers find a measure of direction

in their challenging transition to a new society. "We come to a new community, we don't know our way around. Some of us come with high hopes, we come with a lot of expectations. You need someone to talk to, show you around, explain how it works....And these are the kinds of support that the church gives." More generally, the church helps newcomers cope with their displacement and accompanying culture shock:

> The first thing is a total shock when you arrive in Canada, a total shock. As much as you have the good news that you are leaving a bad situation for a good one, it's a total shock. One, you are coming to a land where you typically know nobody....The people you've lived with, the culture you've grown up into, you leave behind. So the first thing is this tendency of fear....You're asking, "Am I in the right place, in the wrong place?" The next thing is who to talk to? Because you have questions all the time, because if you don't get the right person to answer, then you take the wrong path, and sometimes by the time you know you're on the wrong path, it's too late....

By facilitating contact with local Hamiltonians who are familiar with potential employment prospects, with the qualifications required for entry to educational institutions and with available social service programs, churches help meet newcomers' pressing needs. They also serve as meeting places, enabling newcomers to retain and strengthen ties with members of their group and to learn about on-going and recent developments concerning friends and family members who were left behind. They also teach newcomers the ropes about such seemingly mundane matters as where to purchase familiar food products and how to shop at the local supermarkets and farmers' markets.

SISO's Host Program

Hamilton's Settlement and Integration Services Organization (SISO) is a community-based organization that helps to mediate newcomers' experiences, particularly through its Host Program. SISO's mandate is to "...to provide programs and services to culturally and racially diverse immigrant and refugee communities" in Hamilton and to enable "...all people to fully participate in the social, economic and cultural life of society." The program aims to provide a range of services and guidance to newly arrived immigrant refugees.

The Host Program, which connects new immigrants and refugees to Canadian families, provides its participants with "...emotional support to rebuild their social support system and expand their network of friends." According to one official, those who volunteer as hosts within the program "become aware of issues and challenges with which newcomers struggle in the process of settling into their new country." The Program's immediate benefits are described by a Liberian immigrant in this manner:

> SISO has a program that connects Liberian families with Canadian ones, so every Liberian family has a Canadian family as host. And the responsibility of the family is to help emotionally, to find a way to go to school if I want to go to school, if you need a job, or clothing. And most of the Liberians that are in school, that have jobs, passed through those families.

One SISO official recalls the arrival of the first Liberian family in Hamilton and the emotional impact that this arrival generated, both for himself and for the head of the Liberian household:

> When we received our first family, a single mom with three daughters, she was placed at the reception hotel that we use on Main Street. I went to see her, to welcome her, and I brought along a couple of people from our community, from the Host Program....So we just went there, and I said, "Welcome to Canada." She stood and said, "Thank you very much. You are the first person in 15 years to welcome me and my family somewhere."...I asked her if she wanted to meet a Canadian family, and she said, "Of course, I need that." Eventually she became an ambassador of her community.

He adds:

> Liberians are open-minded, willing to connect with others. Basically, up until now, every single Liberian family has been connected with a Canadian. The family supports them emotionally, because this is really about emotional support, about friendship, about educating them, about the local community and how it works.

Conclusion

Hamilton, a mid-sized city, shares immigration characteristics with other cities of comparable size. Yet, owing to its proximity to Toronto, Hamilton also enjoys distinctive features, such

as the migration of immigrants deterred by Toronto's high living costs. Between one-half to two-thirds of newcomers are secondary migrants whose point of entry was not Hamilton. Also, as Hamilton has one of the highest rates of ageing populations in Ontario, matched by the outflow of the baby-boomers' children, the impact of immigration on the city's economy and general population will likely be greater than in other Canadian cities. Finally, the absence in Hamilton of immigrant-based institutions with deep historical roots, and accompanying interests in monopolizing immigrant services, may allow for the introduction of innovative approaches to responding to newcomers' needs, expectations and dreams, and empowering them to shape the contours of their personal journeys and to call Hamilton their new home.

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This article features an overview of PROMPT's policy paper "In the Public Interest: Immigrant Access to Regulated Professions in Today's Ontario" and follows the progression of its findings and recommendations through Justice George Thomson's Review of Appeal Processes in Ontario's Regulated Professions, and the recently passed Bill 124, Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act, 2006.

In the Public Interest: Immigrant Access to Regulated Professions in Today's Ontario

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Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades

PROMPT (Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades) is a coalition of more than 20 immigrant professional and trade associations, community initiatives and umbrella groups. Member associations of PROMPT represent some 20,000 immigrants across Ontario. PROMPT was established in 2003 by the Council of Agencies Serving South Asians (CASSA) in order to provide a vehicle through which members could engage collectively in the development of policy solutions to address and challenge the systemic barriers that immigrants face in participating in the labour market.

A review of immigrant access to regulated professions

Following its establishment, one of PROMPT's first tasks was to undertake a nine-month research project on the registration component of the regulatory process (i.e., gaining access to regulated professions) in Ontario from the perspective of internationally educated professionals (IEPs). The project was also designed to be participatory and action-oriented in order to create new knowledge and generate impetus for systemic change, with input and direction from IEPS. The project was conducted in two steps: an exploratory phase and a verification phase. The exploratory phase included an extensive Internet and library search of national and international scope to uncover resources dealing with existing regulatory legislation, as well as policy recommendations and best practices related to IEPs. During this phase, nine telephone interviews were held with purposively sampled individuals knowledgeable in the regulatory process or policy development related to IEPs. During the verification phase, preliminary research findings were tested through a series of stakeholder events including feedback sessions with PROMPT's general membership and research working group, discussion with and feedback from regulators, government staff focus groups, and expert readers' feedback.

Occupational regulation in Ontario

When regulatory bodies were first introduced in Ontario, they served the dual purposes of protecting the professional status of practitioners and protecting public interest and safety. The review showed that accountability mechanisms were limited and varied according to each of the 38 regulated professions. One cross-professional accountability mechanism that all regulatory bodies shared was that, given their mandates by

public statute, they were accountable to the Government of Ontario, which is in turn accountable to the public.

Barriers from an immigrant's perspective

Barriers preventing immigrants from gaining access to their professions were identified to be both individual (suggesting a problem that immigrants must overcome) and systemic (suggesting a problem that the regulatory system must overcome). While addressing individual-level barriers is an important task, the focus of this paper was to highlight systemic barriers and to offer suggestions on ways to address them. PROMPT was concerned with the fact that registration practices that did exist were voluntary, tended to be ad hoc, had little formal program evaluation and, for the most part, did not address systemic barriers.

Six critical issues regarding professional regulation in Ontario emerged:

- Lack of clarity and consistency in legislation;
- Lack of public accountability;
- Lack of coordination and coherence on access policy and foreign credential assessment;
- Lack of government leadership;
- Competing interests within regulation; and,
- Unclear assumptions underlying the registration process.

PROMPT recommendations for enhanced accountability in the registration process

Overarching principles and values

The identification of these six issues underscored PROMPT's recommendation to create overarching principles and values within the registration process. PROMPT recommended that:

> Registration processes within regulated professions are guided by the overarching principles of being equitable, accountable and in the public interest. Registration processes are guided by the values of relevancy, consistency, transparency, timeliness, affordability, accessibility, respect and defensibility.

In the paper, each principle is defined and a rationale is provided to support its relevance. "Equity" entails that registration processes are carried out in compliance with the regulatory bodies' legal and ethical obligation not to discriminate. It implies being clear on what is being assessed and what is not. Processes must consider skills, knowledge, credentials and competency to practice without regard to an applicant's race, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, country of training, socio-economic status, or labour market demand. "In the public interest" signifies that registration processes license *all* qualified and competent professional applicants and ensure the safety, health and welfare of the public. "Accountable" processes are those that ensure and demonstrate publicly that registration is carried out in the public interest, as defined above.

The eight values are also defined in depth and the rationale of their importance is outlined.

Accountability mechanisms

To ensure that these values and principles are concretely applied, PROMPT offered an additional four recommendations of structures that would enhance existing accountability mechanisms. PROMPT established that:

- Occupational regulatory bodies are required by legislation to undertake regulatory audits (both outcome and process) that result in equity action plans. Annual equity reports are provided to the public;
- Strategies to strengthen the public nature of accountability through regulatory councils are required;
- A centralized secretariat for the regulated professions be created to enhance accountability and to provide a vehicle for cross-jurisdictional collaboration; and,
- Arms-length appeal processes are required for each profession or across sectors.

Again, each mechanism is outlined and rationalized. The current and potential role of government and citizen appointees on regulatory councils is explored. Different responsibilities for the secretariat are considered. Criteria for appeals assessors are outlined.

The research confirmed that while there might be emerging agreement on principles and values, there was not yet agreement on how to implement these values, nor on how to ensure their accountability. *In the Public Interest* called on provincial government to the assume primary leadership in putting these ideas into action. Strong government leadership, in collaboration

In spring 2006, Ontario's Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) introduced Bill 124, Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act. *The goal of this Act was to help ensure that regulated professions and individuals applying for registration by regulated professions are governed by registration practices that are transparent, objective, impartial and fair.*

with all stakeholders – with IEPs playing a central role – was essential in addressing this critical challenge.

This strong government leadership came from the Honourable Mary Anne Chambers, former Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities.

Review of Appeal Processes in Ontario's Regulated Professions

The *In the Public Interest* report was launched in July 2004. It was at its launch that Minister Chambers announced the establishment of the Review of Appeal Processes in Ontario's Regulated Professions. This announcement substantiated the recommendation for an appeal process, as formulated in the report. The involvement of the Ministry in the development of the policy paper strongly suggests that the decision was associated with the paper's findings and recommendations. Justice George M. Thomson was commissioned to review the Registration Appeals Process.

Many of the key findings and recommendations outlined in Thomson's report,[1] released in November 2005, echoed the findings and recommendations of *In the Public Interest*. Although the review was announced to be of appeal processes, findings stipulated at the outset that the "best [regulatory] system is one that does not generate a large volume of appeals. It became evident during the review that registration and internal appeal or review processes are of vital importance as the 'front end' of an independent appeal system. Fair registration practices, including access to internal review or appeal, will help to ensure that the independent appeal process is not overused."

Recommendations: Registration Processes

The Appeals Review grouped registration recommendations according to elements of the process, the rationale for the elements, and how to implement the recommendations.

INFORMATION AND SUPPORT FOR APPLICANTS

Information on registration and appeals processes must be accessible and must include published criteria for deciding whether entry-to-practice requirements have been met. With clear criteria in place, applicants would be better able to prepare and to assess whether they have grounds for an appeal. Specific exemptions to certain requirements should be included. In addition to information provision, support for applicants to navigate through the registration process should be available, including through internal appeal or review. This support, to be provided by regulators, other organizations, or both, could increase chances of success and thereby reduce the demand for an independent appeal.

REGISTRATION PROCEDURES

Components that underscore recommended registration processes should include reasonable fees, and reasonable delays in processing cases, and alternative methods of confirming credentials or demonstrating competency should be available when documents are unobtainable. Other components include access to documents held by the regulatory body that pertain to the registration application (with exceptions for public safety reasons or where disclosure would undermine the integrity of an assessment process), and the provision of training for council members and staff who evaluate qualifications and make registration decisions.

ASSESSMENTS BY THIRD PARTIES

Whether or not assessments are made internally or by external assessors, it is essential that procedural protections also extend to third party assessments of credentials, language skills or competency. Applicants should have the opportunity to have key registration decisions reviewed or appealed internally by persons within the regulatory body who were not involved in the initial decision, and should have access to the

[1] George M. Thomson, 2005, *Report to the Ontario Minister of Citizenship and Immigration: Review of Appeal Processes from Registration Decisions in Ontario's Regulated Professions*. November 2005.

basis for the initial or proposed registration decision. The right to a hearing or opportunity to meet with at least one decision maker could arguably decrease requests for costly and time-consuming formal hearings, and this would be supplemented by the opportunity to make written submissions.

REGISTRATION DECISIONS AND REASONS

Clearly articulated and explained registration decisions linked to published criteria will help both the applicant and regulatory body.

MEASURES TO ENSURE FAIR AND EFFECTIVE REGISTRATION PRACTICES

To ensure that registration processes are attained, government, regulators and other stakeholders should:

- Establish a Fair Registration Practices Code in statute or regulation that sets out basic requirements for all regulators in the registration process;
- Collect, verify, disseminate, and update promising registration practices and innovative techniques that regulators can consider as ways to achieve the Code requirements;
- Test and evaluate different ways of achieving certain elements of fair registration, such as providing support to applicants, allowing meetings with at least one decision maker, and conducting reviews of registration practices;
- Develop how-to guides and other supports that regulators may use to achieve certain elements of fair registration, such as guidelines on developing measurable criteria for deciding whether registration requirements have been met, criteria for reviews of registration practices, and generic or cross-sector training modules for decision makers;
- Introduce a requirement in the Fair Registration Practices Code to ensure that regulators periodically review and improve their registration practices, on the basis of the Code, the recommendations in this report, and the published inventory of innovative and promising registration practices;
- Foster collaboration between government and regulators, with government providing technical assistance and some financial support to achieve the above five measures, to ensure fair registration practices.

Recommendations: Independent appeal body

While the report placed great weight on pre-appeal measures to reduce the volume of independent appeals, the Appeal Review concluded that the workload would still be sufficient to justify an appeal body. In the report, the Appeal Review recommended an appeal model and spelled out the grounds of appeals and legal remedies, the procedural elements to be included in the independent appeal process, the structure and location of an Independent Appeal Body, and the reporting and liaison requirements. This model would build on the expertise of the Health Professions Appeal and Review Board and Licence Appeal Tribunal – two independent appeal bodies already in place in Ontario – but would exist as a separate entity.

Several months later, the government responded to the Appeal Review report by introducing *Bill 124, Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act, 2006*.

Bill 124, Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act

In spring 2006, Ontario's Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) introduced *Bill 124, Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act*. The goal of this Act was to help ensure that regulated professions and individuals applying for registration by regulated professions are governed by registration practices that are transparent, objective, impartial and fair.[2] Regulated health professions would continue to operate under the Health Professions Procedural Code in respect of registration matters. The key components of Bill 124 include:

- The establishment of the Fair Registration Practices, which would consist of the following:
  a) information to applicants;
  b) decisions, written responses and written rationale within a reasonable time;
  c) internal reviews or appeals decisions within a reasonable time;
  d) publicly available information on required documentation and alternatives where the required documentation is not available;

[2] *Bill 124, An Act to provide for fair registration practices in Ontario's regulated professions*, The Hon. M. Colle, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. 2nd Session, 38th Legislature, Ontario 55 Elizabeth II, 2006.

On December 18 2006, the Access Centre was launched. Known as Global Experience Ontario, it was introduced as a new one-stop resource centre that would help people navigate through the complex systems when seeking to enter regulated professions, and promote internships and mentoring programs.

e) transparent, objective, impartial and fair assessment of qualifications;

f) trained assessors and decision makers; and,

g) access by applicants to records held by regulated professions with respect of their applications.

- The appointment of a Fair Registration Practices Commissioner, which would:

  a) assess the registration practices of regulated professions;

  b) monitor third parties retained by regulated professions to assess the qualifications of individuals applying for registration;

  c) advise regulated professions, government agencies, community agencies, colleges and universities, third parties retained by regulated professions to assess qualifications; and,

  d) report to the Minister on registration practices related to internationally trained individuals and their registration by regulated professions.

- The establishment of an Access Centre for Internationally Trained Individuals (ITI). Some of the functions could include:

  a) the provision of information and assistance to ITIs and others who are applicants or potential applicants for registration by a regulated profession with respect to the requirements for registration and the procedures for applying; and

  b) conducting research, analyzing trends and identifying issues related to the purpose of this Act and the registration of internationally trained individuals and others by regulated profession.

Bill 124 passed second reading in October 2006. The Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills on Bill 124 held three public hearings in Toronto and Hamilton in November and early December. Many comments and suggestions, ranging from the Bill being too prescriptive to being insufficiently prescriptive, to suggestions regarding specific elements of the Bill, were explored. Bill 124 passed third reading in the Ontario Legislature on December 13, 2006. Less than a week later, on December 18, the Access Centre was launched. Known as Global Experience Ontario, it was introduced as a new one-stop resource centre that would help people navigate through the complex systems when seeking to enter regulated professions, and promote internships and mentoring programs.

Bill 124 is a significant piece of legislation aiming to improve access to regulated professions. As the Bill is implemented, PROMPT and the internationally trained workers it represents will be carefully monitoring developments to ensure that changes made are indeed in the public interest.

About the authors

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Canadian immigration policy has largely been dominated by economic objectives with a commitment to long-term labour market goals. In essence, the policy contends that Canada needs young and well-educated people to sustain its economic growth. However, the policy has been ineffective in integrating many of these highly educated and skilled newcomers into their own professions. This research highlights barriers to employment as experienced by professionally trained immigrants who drive taxis in Toronto, and it suggests some strategies that may help overcome barriers to employment.

Professional Immigrants on a Road to Driving Taxis in Toronto

ABDULHAMID HATHIYANI
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Canada needs young and well-educated skilled people to sustain its economic growth. With a large number of baby boomers ready to retire, the birth rate alone will not be able sustain the population growth, relying heavily on immigration to address this gap. "Immigrants account for more than half of Canada's total population growth, and for 70% of the net growth in the labour market" (Wayland 2006: 1). Reitz (2005) projects that all labour force growth in Canada will stem from immigration in the near future, hence, the necessity and importance to sustain immigrant influx.

Currently, economic immigrants are chosen on the basis of a point system. Canada's immigration system gives a great deal of importance to education and training by awarding high points for qualifications during the immigration selection process. At the moment of applying for immigration, potential immigrants sign a declaration acknowledging their responsibility of seeking recognition of their credentials, but not enough is done to alert them of the challenges they may face upon their arrival in Canada. Immigrants are given the impression that their qualifications – which have been recognized by the government of Canada for immigration purposes – will have a similar standing when it comes to finding employment in their own profession. However, their qualifications are often insufficient to gain appropriate employment, leaving many new immigrants disappointed and frustrated.

This research offers first-hand insight into what some immigrant professionals endure in order to make a living in a profession other than the one for which they were trained. The study draws attention to the lived experiences of professionally trained immigrants who are driving taxis and identifies barriers they faced in their pursuit for employment. Finally, it provides solutions to overcome these barriers as suggested by those affected.

Underutilization of skills

According to the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), among newcomers who came to Canada as skilled immigrants, more than half were working in an occupation other than that for which they were qualified (Statistics Canada 2005). Underutilization of immigrant skills is not a new phenomenon. It has been the subject of research and policy initiatives for a long time in Canada (Goldberg 2000, Stasiulis 1990, Mata 1994, Conger 1994, Brouwer 1999). It has, however, taken new meaning recently, with the increase of immigrants from non-European countries. Recent immigrants to Canada are better educated than their counterparts who came in the 1960s and 1970s, yet they appear to be having more difficulty in securing meaningful employment (Finlayson 2004). Kelly and Trebilcock (2000) have noted that visible minorities have historically been marginalized in the workforce, usually holding semi or unskilled

TABLE 1
Rates of labour force participation of Canadian-born and immigrants (ages 15 to 64 years), by period of immigration and educational level, Toronto CMA, 2001

	Less than grade 9	Some high school	High school diploma	College or trade diploma	University degree	Total
Canadian-born	**48%**	**63%**	**82%**	**88%**	**89%**	**81%**
Immigrants	**55%**	**63%**	**74%**	**84%**	**85%**	**76%**
Immigrated before 1986	54%	73%	80%	85%	88%	79%
Immigrated 1986-1995	59%	60%	74%	86%	86%	76%
Immigrated 1996-2001	47%	50%	62%	76%	79%	68%

Source: CIC, 2001. www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/toronto/partc.html.

jobs characterized by low status, low control, inadequate wages and poor working conditions.

Losses due to underutilization of skills are not limited to the labour market but hinder revenues that could otherwise have been generated. Two different studies have shown that foreign-educated immigrants earned $2 billion less than Canada-born residents (Reitz 2001, Watt and Bloom 2001). There are a multitude of barriers for professionally trained immigrants to gain meaningful employment. While various barriers have been identified by existing literature, this study highlights the experiences of professionals who are driving taxis in Toronto.

Data gathering

Data was gathered from a non-representative sampling of immigrant taxi drivers in Toronto. To achieve the objectives of the research, 15 taxi drivers – from six different countries and all with university degrees – were interviewed along with an owner of a garage and an owner of a taxi brokerage company.

The participants had a wide range of post-secondary qualifications, from Master's degrees in programs such as Urban and Regional Planning, Genetics and Mathematics, to degrees in Electrical Engineering, Maritime Engineering, Civil Engineering and Agricultural Engineering. One respondent was a medical doctor. These individuals also brought with them an abundance of valuable international experience. The doctor had practiced medicine for more than 20 years, the business consultant had 16 years of experience, the university lecturer had more than ten years of experience and some of the engineers had more than ten years of experience. The cost to Canada of such enormous human capital gain was almost negligible.

Barriers to employment as perceived by respondents

In Toronto, the difference in labour force participation between Canadian-born and recent immigrants varied from 1% for those who had achieved less than a grade 9 level, to 10% for

TABLE 2
Earnings of recent immigrants as a percentage of earnings of people born in Canada

Years since arrival	Men 1980	Men 1990	Men 2000	Women 1980	Women 1990	Women 2000
1	71.6	63.4	63.1	64.7	70.0	60.5
2	86.9	73.3	71.4	79.3	79.8	68.4
3	93.4	77.0	75.5	84.4	84.4	71.7
4	88.8	77.1	77.3	87.8	82.0	74.3
5	92.7	78.5	77.1	91.7	83.8	77.4
6	93.5	81.5	76.5	94.9	83.3	77.8
7	95.1	84.5	76.6	97.9	87.3	76.8
8	89.9	97.5	75.2	96.3	94.6	80.2
9	97.3	97.2	78.3	103.1	93.7	82.2
10	100.4	90.1	79.8	103.1	93.3	87.3

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003.

Certain names can illicit a discriminatory reaction, causing the rejection of the person's application for the position....The mere fact of belonging to a particular racial, religious or ethnic group that is easily identifiable through the person's name can act as a barrier to employment before a visible contact is even made.

those holding a university degree. There was however a significant difference of 20% between the two groups who held a high school diploma. Table 1 highlights Toronto's labour force participation of immigrants and non-immigrants, according to educational levels. Among the Canadian-born, those who had less than a grade 9 level had the lowest rate of participation. At all educational levels, the more recent immigrant group had the lowest level of labour force participation.

When it comes to actual earnings, the results are astounding. According to Statistics Canada, immigrants who came to Canada in the 1980s would start off with a 28.4% disadvantage, as compared to their Canadian-born counterparts (see Table 2). But within a few years, their salaries became comparable. This trend has recently changed. The males who arrived in the 1990s started off with a 36.6% earnings disadvantage and after ten years, they were still lagging behind by almost 10% with this divide increasing to almost 20% for those arriving a decade later.

Suffice it to say that more recent the arrival to Canada, the harder it is has been to keep up with Canadian-born residents, in terms of their human capital in the labour market. "Whether they worked in a high-skilled or a low-skilled occupation, recent immigrants earned less than their Canadian-born counterparts" (Statistics Canada 2003: 13).

The undervaluation of immigrants' education and experience has been a basis of numerous studies (Basran and Zong 1998, Reitz 2001, Statistics Canada 2003, Pendakur and Pendakur 2002). In a 2006 report, the Conference Board of Canada emphasized that many immigrants hold skills and knowledge that are valuable but are underused and under-rewarded. Several studies have divided major occupational barriers for professional immigrants into two main categories: institutional barriers such as accreditation, and individual barriers such as language skills (Statistics Canada 2003, Frenette and Morrisette 2004, Galarneau and Morrisette 2004).

When the participants of this study were asked what they thought was the reason they weren't able to get suitable employment, most gave more than one answer. The responses were very intriguing as some of the barriers mentioned may not have been given much attention in the past.

As shown in Table 3, a majority of respondents (53%) cited racism as the greatest barrier to entering the job market. Research suggests that racial minorities experience more problems regarding skill underutilization, which is viewed as evidence of racial discrimination (Reitz 2005). Teelucksingh and Galabuzi (2005) reiterate that race continues to be a major factor in the distribution of opportunities in the Canadian labour market. In another study, Esses et al. (2007) found that "visible minority immigrants are especially likely to experience discrimination in employment and that this discrimination is specifically attributable to their visible minority status." These findings are validated by the responses of the participants in the study. It was felt by a majority of respondents that racism was a major factor in their inability to practice their profession. Many respondents felt that the notion of lack of "Canadian experience" was being used as a screen for racial discrimination. A respondent

TABLE 3
Barriers to employment as perceived by the participants in the study

	Racism	Language	Accreditation	Canadian Experience	Networking	Government	Social Skills	Employers	Lack of Guidance
No. of Respondents	8 (53%)	7 (47%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	2 (13%)	2 (13%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)

who had a master's degree made his views clear about this situation:

> They believed that without any Canadian experience, you would not fit in your profession....Canadians use *Canadian experience* as a blockage for immigrants. They use it as a ploy to block work from immigrants...I see it as discrimination. (Taxi driver)

These comments were further supported by other respondents mentioned below. Their experiences reinforce the perception of the prejudicial and racist bias that exists in the employment sector. When asked what he thought was the reason for not finding employment in his profession, a respondent stated:

> I believe it was racism. I was looking for some information on the Internet and posted my real name and got no answer....When I changed that and wrote my name as Mike... I got lots of answers. (Taxi driver)

This response underscores that certain names can elicit a discriminatory reaction, causing the rejection of the person's application for the position. Toronto being an increasingly multicultural and multi-religious city, certain names can be identified as belonging to certain ethnic or religious groups. The mere fact of belonging to a particular racial, religious or ethnic group that is easily identifiable through a name can act as a barrier to employment before a visible contact is even made.

Almost half (47%) of the respondents felt their English language skills were a barrier to employment. This was a significant finding considering that they possessed university-level education. It suggests that although the respondents may have mastered everyday usage of the English language, they were not familiar with the professional vocabulary, or "lingo," used by companies in Canada and this could have acted as a barrier. While some new Canadians may know several major languages and dialects, if their command of English is not up to a native speaker's standard, they remain disadvantaged (Galarneau and Morissette 2004). Lack of fluency in the English language may therefore compound the difficulty in becoming gainfully employed and impede personal development and civic participation.

More than a quarter of the respondents cited lack of Canadian work experience as the most serious problem they encountered. This reiterates that Canadian experience remains a considerable obstacle for new immigrants looking for work. To demand Canadian experience from recently arrived immigrants reflects the proverbial chicken and egg scenario. Yet, Canadian employers require Canadian skills and Canadian experience from newly arrived prospective employees. The following response illustrates this issue:

> Canadian experience is the main reason for not finding a job for a new immigrant....For a new immigrant he or she has to have the first job to get the experience. (Taxi driver)

Another issue mentioned during the interviews was lack of appropriate social networks. The respondent who highlighted this stated that, "you need good networks to find work. New immigrants don't have that." Recent immigrants are relatively new to Canada. A sense of community or network supports may not have been developed, and it can be presumed that the newer the immigrant and their community, the fewer social networks they may have.

Some respondents felt that the government was at the source of the problem, that it was not doing enough to help new immigrants integrate into the labour market. There were others who felt that lack of social skills played a part. Finally the employer and the lack of guidance were each mentioned once as barriers.

Overcoming barriers to employment

There was no shortage of ideas on ways of overcoming barriers, and emphasis was put on the importance for the government to do more to alleviate the problems. The respondents suggested that the government should provide them with training and should help them settle in areas where there are better work opportunities. All levels of government should recognize the importance of identifying discriminatory barriers and removing them, and should support and encourage full participation of all Canadians in the various economic, cultural, social and political programs, regardless of their individual backgrounds.

The preliminary process should be improved at the country of origin. When applying for a visa, many immigrants mistakenly assume that granting of the "points" for their occupation and education is an approval of their skills and qualifications. Little do they realize that the visa

A suggestion from the respondents was that accreditation should be linked with the immigration application process at the country of origin so that prospective immigrants are aware of and familiar with Canadian legislation, codes and standards prior to emigrating.

granted by the government to immigrate to Canada has no bearing on the individual's ability to practice their skills or trade in this country. A suggestion from the respondents was that accreditation should be linked with the immigration application process at the country of origin so that prospective immigrants are aware of and familiar with Canadian legislation, codes and standards prior to emigrating. Collaboration on the assessment of academic credentials could be done prior to migration, similar to the Australian model where recognition of credentials is done beforehand. This could give immigrants the opportunity to prepare and re-train if they have to, while waiting for their immigration visas so that when they arrive in Canada, they are better equipped and prepared.

A significant number of respondents stressed the importance of having the right and consistent employment-related information prior to or upon their arrival in Canada. A common concern among respondents was the lack of information and resources to prepare and assist newcomers. There is, however, a wealth of information posted on the Websites by the government, which clearly isn't obvious to the respondents. Respondents had contacted various agencies upon their arrival but many of these lacked the proper fit between the needs of the client and the appropriate guidance that was required.

All respondents brought with them a wealth of valuable experience. While not having credentials recognized was cited as a barrier to employment, the process of accreditation and retraining was found to be long and tedious, with different processes and requirements for different professions. The need to feed the family cannot be placed on hold while the immigrant goes through this lengthy process. Shortening the process or even eliminating it could help overcome this barrier for many.

Conclusion

Findings of this research show that the underutilization of skills of professionally trained immigrants cannot be fully understood without taking its prejudicial and racial dimensions into consideration. Racism was cited in this study as the most formidable barrier to securing meaningful employment. Even when the barrier mentioned was the lack of the right English accent, lack of Canadian experience, or non-recognition of qualifications from certain countries, there was almost always an undertone of discrimination attached to it. Respondents had been confronted with both individual and institutional racism. While individual racism was experienced with comments from their clients while driving a taxi, it was the systemic racism that had the most far-reaching effect, notably when applying for employment. Describing this type of institutional racism, Budhu (2001) explains that "systemic and structural racism – through major societal institutions, from educational, labour market, to justice and service delivery systems – create barriers, which prevent visible minority communities from fully developing their potential and participating equitably in Canadian society. These barriers also serve to rob the society of valuable human resources."

While Canada manages to attract the most accomplished immigrants, it essentially squanders them by creating barriers to their integration and participation into the labour market by not fully utilizing their skills and knowledge. When one calls for a taxi, they may not just get a cab at the doorstep, but a qualified and experienced doctor or an engineer along with it, except that they can not practice their skills. This approach does not allow maintenance of social cohesion or maximize the competitive advantage immigrants bring with them. There has to be a change of attitude on the part of all the players: the government, the private sector and the populace at large. Issues affecting integration of immigrant labour skills including racism, lack of Canadian experience, language accent, etc., need to be fully understood and addressed before we lose our competitive edge in a challenging global market. Esses et al. (2007) also conclude that "discrimination against visible minority

immigrants must be eliminated in order to foster and promote a truly inclusive society." Canada needs immigrants in order to maintain its growth. With the population of racialized immigrants set to rise in the coming decades, the challenge is for the Canadian government and various institutions to take the lead and build foundations to help newcomers overcome barriers to employment and be inclusive so as to bring about a social change that will benefit all, irrespective of when they came to Canada or where they were born.

About the author

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This article explores the barriers ethnic communities in Ontario face in practicing religious and cultural rites with respect to their dead. It examines challenges posed by emerging communities with regards to locating funeral homes and practicing burial rites and their interconnectedness or lack thereof with multicultural rights. It also offers advice to help overcome barriers in practicing funeral and burial rites.

Funeral and Burial Sites, Rites and Rights in Multicultural Ontario

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Canada is a multicultural society committed to sustaining the cultural heritage and practices of its minorities. Although participation of various diasporas in the informal sector of citizenship such as street parades, demonstrations, multicultural shows, picnicking and so on is visible and welcomed, their involvement in formal and institutional areas of citizenship remains limited (Isin and Semiatycki 1999). While a number of issues related to citizenship rights have been addressed, several others remain outstanding. In this article, we explore if such rights encompass those who have died.

From the time a person dies to beyond the grieving period, ethnic communities have rituals and customs that are different from each other and from the mainstream community. As Canada becomes increasingly multicultural, it is important to recognize the existence of various practices on a global level. The key elements of funeral and burial practices fall under two broad categories: tangible and intangible. While funeral and burial rites may not be entirely physical, they will require a physical space to perform its practices. In this article we attempt to reconstruct the interconnectedness of multicultural rights and freedoms with respect to rites and the spatial dimension for funerals and burials. We also explore the challenges and obstacles diverse ethnic communities in Ontario encounter in practicing their rites and rituals. Finally, we make a few recommendations to overcome these hurdles.

Sites: The spatial dimension

For new communities in Toronto, finding space to bury the dead is an old challenge. In the early 19th century, the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches operated Toronto's only two cemeteries. The government at that time recognized the lack of such facilities for new immigrants of different faiths and passed an Act on January 30, 1826 that allowed a plot of land to be used as a public cemetery designated for "all classes and sects" (Mount Pleasant 2006). This might have resolved the issue at that specific time; however, it remains today an important issue. With a larger population, the demand for cemetery and funeral services has grown rapidly and become increasingly complex (Sloane 1991). There is an emerging requirement for funeral services other than the "typical" burial. Demand for cremation has gone up from 28% of funeral services to almost 40% in the last ten years (Hansard, LAO 2002). Similarly, more people today ask for simple, or "no-frills," bereavement services under various religions, and for burials in the woodland areas.

One of the core challenges in modern multi-ethnic cities is the spatial expression of cultural

and religious differences, that is, how various social, cultural and religious groups perceive, use, claim and appropriate urban space (Sandercock 2003). Seeking this spatial accommodation sometimes challenges the local citizenship. Ethnic groups encounter particularly intense resistance and become subject to intense scrutiny (Isin and Semiatycki 2002). One such example was a Muslim group's purchase of a plot of land on the outskirts of London, Ontario. When it became evident that the Muslims planned to use the plot as a cemetery, they were told it was no longer for sale. Eventually the Ontario Municipal Board had to resolve the case (New Media Journalism 2002).

Historic land dedications define the majority of the cemeteries in Toronto. There is little room for expansion of existing sites because most of the space is either full or being rapidly consumed. With an increase in new ethnic communities in Toronto and surrounding areas, space is becoming scarce. Newer communities will have to travel long distances to cemeteries outside the city. Families and friends from some cultures visit the grave of loved ones more often than others. Traveling long distances can impose a change on cultural or religious rites. This engenders a challenge and an opportunity for urban planners to think creatively in order to accommodate new emerging ethnic communities. It may require municipalities to plan collectively.

Rites and rituals

Rites and rituals of new ethnic communities are different from those of the mainstream society, each with its own basic beliefs and practices. How people choose to arrange a last farewell for their loved one and how they choose to remember their dead are a part of their individual and collective self-presentation. Preserving their customs and rituals is therefore an important aspect of a community.

All human beings die, regardless of their ethnicity. It is a phase of transition when social, cultural and religious values are revisited to provide the best possible farewell for the deceased. The changing multicultural mosaic of Toronto, and indeed Ontario, exposes and introduces a myriad of customs and rituals that can be employed to enhance, subsume, or fuse social boundaries. Understanding and comparing the basic principles of such rites and rituals can help us better appreciate the practices of different communities, and identify some of the challenges they face. We will briefly talk about the prevailing "culture" in North America pertaining to death and compare them with the "other" rites and rituals with the help of the Hindu, Muslim and Chinese communities.

According to a common North American saying, there are two certainties in life: taxes and death. While it may be common to hear a conversation about taxes, it is rare to hear a discussion about death. North American society is referred to as a culture of "eternal youth" with a profound fear of dying. This is reflected by the avoidance, in both word and deed, of the reality of death (Metcalf and Huntington 1991). Avoidance is also exposed in the terminology used when dealing with the dead, "coffins" become "caskets," "hearses" become "coaches," "corpses" become "loved ones." Graves are no longer "dug and filled" but are "opened" and "closed." Bodies are not even buried in a graveyard but are "interred" in a "memorial park" (Salisbury 2002). Funeral rites and rituals usually culminate with a funeral service. However, the rituals and rites vary by community, which we will illustrate below with an overview of Hindu, Muslim and Chinese practices.

Hindu

Rebirth, as opposed to avoidance, is an essential theme in Hinduism. The traditional Hindu funeral arrangement is devised to allow for the transition of the soul into another life. Essentially, cremation separates the soul, the spiritual form, from the body, which represents the material world. The body is cremated on a funeral pyre to signify the termination of the individual's existence as a material being. Cremation takes place in Ontario, but is different from traditional Hindu practice. Consequently, this leads us to another important issue for the community – spreading of the cremated remains. For a devout Hindu, immersing of ashes in moving water is one of the final rites of the death ritual. The *Toronto Star*, a leading daily paper, stated that "conservation authorities argue it is not allowed and is subject to local bylaws" (Ghombu 2007). The legality of this remains unclear, exposing gaps in the legislation.

Muslim

Muslims believe in the resurrection of the body and in life after death. Therefore, Muslims must be buried as soon as possible. However, this is usually not possible because of bureaucratic and legal requirements, such as obtaining death

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certificates, performing autopsies and finding cemetery staff, especially during weekends or holidays. For Muslims, autopsies are prohibited and so it becomes challenging when an autopsy is required.

Although the Muslim community is approaching 10% of Toronto's population, it does not have a cemetery of its own. Various Muslim organizations have made arrangements with established cemeteries and purchased sectioned areas for use by their community but this has not resolved the religious and cultural issues the community faces. Muslim requirements for single depth burial, ideally, but not usually, without a coffin, and for graves to face Mecca are frequently at odds with cemetery lay out.

The Muslim community has tried to overcome the challenge of practicing certain rituals such as the ritual *ghusl* (bath) for the deceased by constructing facilities within the mosque environment. While these facilities provide most of the funeral services necessary for the community, they are not officially recognized as funeral homes. As a result they do not get compensated directly for services rendered to the deceased who were on social assistance. This brings to the fore an opportunity for policy makers and planners to take into consideration multiple and varied possibilities beyond the traditionally held beliefs to the concept of funerals and burials.

Chinese

Important to the Chinese belief is the distinction and separation of the living and the dead. "One of the most polluted places in the Chinese worldview is the graveyard, home to many wandering spirits" (Kiong and Kong 2000). Rituals convey to people who they are and where they belong. Comparison between immigrant ritual practices and mainstream practices indicate that death rituals can be employed to enhance, subsume or to fuse social boundaries.

This was not the case for the Chinese community of Markham, a growing metropolis north of Toronto. A funeral home at a major intersection was originally denied a permit on the City's official plan. The Chinese community, which comprised over 50% of the neighbourhood, supported this plan to keep the funeral home away from the locality. In spite of objections from the Chinese businesses of the area, the Ontario Municipal Board finally granted permission to build a funeral home in the area (Planning 1998). This decision by the Board disappointed many in the community.

Multicultural Rights

The laws and policies of Canada emphasize the equality of all citizens. The Canadian Constitution and *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantee these rights, and these rights extend to the dead. Intricacies arise in the practicality of such laws.

The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* require that "planning instruments be both sensitive to and responsive to the social needs of particular communities and therefore, calls all the more for people-centered approaches" (Qadeer 1997). Through this law, religious and cultural rights are guaranteed: however, such federal policies are not always reflected in the policies and practices of the provincial or local governments. While the right to practice religious and cultural rites is covered under federal laws, funeral and burial guidelines fall under provincial laws. On the other hand, the establishment of funeral homes and cemeteries must abide by zoning and land use requirements covered under municipal jurisdiction.

The requirement of a funeral director makes it difficult for ethnic communities to establish a funeral home. Ontario's *Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act, 2002* states that "no funeral director shall manage more than one funeral establishment except in the prescribed circumstances" (Ontario 2002). The shift, for governments, away from an activist role towards a free market approach exacerbated this problem. Most ethnic communities are still small in comparison to the established mainstream communities. Hiring a full-fledged funeral director could prove beyond their economic

ability. To have their own funeral home or a cemetery, ethnic communities have to make a determined and arduous exertion at all levels of socio-economic and bureaucratic fronts to fulfill their needs.

Current modern urban planning practices encompass the "mentalities" of the dominant groups (Isin and Semiatycki 2002). This is reflected in the many funeral homes in Toronto. Almost all funeral homes consist of a chapel, an indication that the funeral home is geared more towards the needs of the dominant cultural group. There is a significant population of ethnic communities in Toronto comprising different religious and cultural groups. The service for a deceased person who is a Sikh, a Hindu or a Muslim may not require the set up of a chapel but an empty space where the mourners could sit on the floor in humility and pay homage to the deceased. Regardless of the multifunctional usage of the chapel, this gives us an indication that the ethnic communities are those who are required to make bigger adjustments to practice their rites.

Another difficulty ethnic communities face is that city planners tend to adopt culturally and religiously "neutral" positions to defend equity, leaving them with a struggle to acquire their rights. With the changing mosaic of the city, this neutral position may be unable to address new challenges, and exposes gaps that may work against ethnic communities. A case in point is the erection of an impromptu shrine near the site of a fatal motor vehicle collision. In an effort to pay tribute to the local youth killed in the accident, the community established a roadside memorial with wreaths, flowers and personal objects that remained by the roadside for more than two months. Upon receiving complaints, the City disposed of the memorial, upsetting the family of the bereaved. This incident prompted the City to update policies and guidelines pertaining to roadside memorials (City of Toronto 2006). It exposed gaps that currently exist and need to be addressed to accommodate the customs and cultures of the new communities. A concerted and proactive role, instead of a reactionary one, could have avoided the disappointment of many.

Conclusion

From a distance, all graves may look the same with gravestones similar in height, width and shape. A closer look disrupts the homogeneity and reveals inscriptions in different languages, with symbols pertaining to different religions and cultures. These graves bear witness to a growing multiculturalism in present-day Toronto. These are helpful observations but one perhaps needs more evidence than just witnessing burial grounds in Toronto to be convinced of the acceptance of immigrants as full citizens with equal rights in comparison with their host society. Changes will have to be initiated by both the government and the private sector to accommodate rites and rituals of the ethnic communities and consideration made to include spatial forms and structures that will uphold symbolic meanings for such communities.

Many laws pertaining to funerals and burials were written to accommodate the mainstream communities. Changing such legislative policies and laws would be difficult without proper representation at the decision making table. While Canada is increasingly becoming a multicultural, multi-religious country, this is not reflected in the composition of the Board of Funeral Services. We can only speculate on why such exclusion occurs; however, if immigrants are excluded from governing bodies, meaningful change will take a long time.

Bureaucracy and legislation combined with structural, institutional or economic constraints limit the available possibilities of practicing desired cultural and religious customs and rituals for the deceased. Setting up institutions, such as a funeral home, is a difficult and expensive proposition for the new communities. The argument that the diasporic communities could establish their own funerary businesses to cater for their community may not be plausible because of economies of scale. Canada prides itself with a social safety net that ensures fundamental basic necessities for all. The government is there to protect the minorities and the marginalized. If such safeguards are available for the living, one might argue that the government has a responsibility to protect the rights of the dead. Laws need to be revisited and adjusted to reflect the changing reality.

While this article has focused on multicultural rights in regards to the rites and rituals for the dead, the issue draws attention to a wider problem when it comes to ethnic groups attempting to collectively exercise their citizenship rights. With the changing mosaic of Canada, the requirements of these communities will mirror this transformation and so will the need to adjust public policies if we are to sustain a harmonious multicultural society. Policy makers will have to be creative and take into consideration all the diverse and divergent cultural practices.

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The influx in the numbers and diversity of immigrant youth arriving from countries throughout the world creates challenges for the Canadian education system. Based on the findings of a year-long qualitative study conducted in Waterloo Region, this article provides insights into the range of immigrant youth experiences in high school and provides much-needed interpretation to the alarming quantitative data on ESL student dropout rates. It is solution-focused, offering leaders in the Waterloo Region community concrete recommendations that are rooted in the experiences of immigrant students themselves.

Pathways to Success in Waterloo Region: Immigrant Youth at High School

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The purpose of this article is to highlight the key findings of a research project conducted in Waterloo Region between June 2005 and June 2006 entitled Pathways to Success: Immigrant Youth at High School. The article describes the factors that help and hinder immigrant youth in high school, while exploring some of the tensions that exist within these experiences. It concludes with a series of recommendations or "pathways" that youth, parents, schools, school boards, the provincial education system, and community members can implement to maximize positive outcomes for immigrant high school students.

Immigrant youth in Canada

Cities across Canada have become home to youth arriving from countries all over the world. Over the past five years, 240,000 school-aged children and youth (aged 5 to 19) have arrived as immigrants to Canada – approximately 50,000 each year from more than 180 countries (CIC 2004). In 2001, there were 1.5 million immigrant children in Canada between the ages of 5 and 19; they made up 25% of all school-aged children in Canada (2001 Census). In 2007, Canada plans to accept between 240,000 and 265,000 newcomers as permanent residents mainly from Asia and Africa (CIC 2006). This is an increase of 5.2% compared to the previous year's targets, representing the largest one-year increase in more than 15 years and continuing a recent expansionist trend in response to pending labour market shortages (Reitz 2005). As this trend will likely continue, so too will the increase in numbers of immigrant youth in Canada.

These demographic changes have created challenges for Canada's educators, within school boards and in the classroom. Canadian studies on immigrant youth show that disturbingly high numbers – as many as 46% to 74% in some jurisdictions – do not complete high school (Derwing et al. 1999, Duffy 2004, Gunderson 2004, Watt and Roessingh 2001). Ranging between 12% and 25%, the dropout rate among the general student population is much lower (King 2004, Bushnik, Barr-Telford and Bussiere 2004). Even though the demand for English as a second language (ESL) services has been increasing, resources for these and other services for immigrant youth are becoming scarce (Ivison 2003).

As Canada increasingly relies on immigration for its economic and social growth, the success of its immigrant youth represents an important ingredient in Canada's future. Public education has been seen as a way of providing equal opportunity for all to succeed (Education Equality Task Force 2002). Yet the high rate of immigrant youth dropouts, combined with decreases in funding and supports for immigrant youth, raises a serious concern that could lead to an inequitable education system (Coulman 2003, Duffy 2004, Ivison 2003, Lymburner 2004). Canada is at risk of developing an immigrant underclass precisely at a time in Canadian history when their contribution to nation building is needed most.

Waterloo Region, with a mid-size urban population of 500,000, has the fifth largest immigrant per capita population of all Canadian urban centres. The region has an unusually high proportion of refugees relative to other communities, with some estimates suggesting that up to one-third of all immigrants are refugees (Janzen and Ochocka 2003). The region has a long history of being welcoming to immigrants and refugees dating back to its Mennonite roots, and has developed a strong network of immigrant supports. The two local school boards host the Settlement and Education Partnership in Waterloo Region (SEPWR), which provides settlement services to newcomer students and families. Combined with a strong partnership team built on past collaborations, Waterloo Region was an ideal site for a research study exploring how a community can support immigrant youth to be successful in high school.

Research project description and methodology

The Pathways to Success: Immigrant Youth at High School research project was a partnership between the Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (CREHS) and Wilfrid Laurier University. The purpose of this project was to use Waterloo Region as a case study to explore factors that maximize positive outcomes (both social and academic) for immigrant youth in high school. The research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

"Pathways to Success" built on past research by providing in-depth insights into the range of immigrant youth experiences in school (not limited only to the ESL experience). As a qualitative study, it gave much-needed interpretation to the alarming quantitative data on ESL student dropout rates. It was solution-focused, offering leaders in the Waterloo Region community concrete "pathways to success" that are rooted in the experiences of immigrant students themselves. This article is a summary of the Pathways to Success research report, which was completed in September 2006. The full report is available online at www.crehs.on.ca.

Pathways to Success used a participatory action research approach (Nelson et al. 1998), which was expressed through its use of a cross-stakeholder steering committee to guide the project, the hiring and training of immigrant youth researchers, and the holding of a community forum to share findings and build commitment to implementing solutions. The involvement of immigrant youth was central in carrying out all aspects of this study.

The study focused on youth aged 16 to 20 who had been living in Canada no more than five years, from four ethnocultural groups (Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan; Northeast Africa; Spanish-speaking Latin American; and former Yugoslavia). The methods of gathering information included: key informant interviews with school board trustees/senior administrators, student leaders in school, parents serving on parent councils, ESL teachers and other community leaders (n=10); focus groups with immigrant youth from four ethnocultural groups (n=26); focus groups with parents of immigrant youth and high school teachers (n=14); in-depth individual interviews with immigrant youth (n=10); and a community forum attended by approximately 160 people.

Research results

Key to this research study was the exploration of factors that enable or hinder the achievement of positive social and academic outcomes by immigrant high school students. Below is a summary of these contributing factors, followed by recommendations for action that each stakeholder group can take in order to maximize the success of immigrant youth in high school. Although these results are specific to Waterloo Region, they can apply to other communities of similar size and immigrant population.

Factors that benefit immigrant youth in high school

Research participants described a number of factors that were essential in developing a foundation for success among immigrant youth in high school. Data showed that youth who were academically and socially successful in school were self-motivated in their desire to succeed. Research participants said that youth who did well academically generally worked diligently, had strong beliefs about the importance and value of school, and had established goals for post-secondary education. They also showed a remarkable amount of patience, flexibility and resilience.

Youth described a number of creative coping mechanisms that help them succeed in school and adjust to life in a new country, even when faced with countless obstacles. Many showed strength for themselves and for their parents, found ways of linking with people who could help them, and were optimistic about their current situation and their future.

> After leaving my country, going through so many different countries....I am not going to waste my time. I have to do something that will make me better after all of the hard times when I was little. (Immigrant youth)

Youth who did well in school had the support from at least one person such as a parent, caregiver, family member, teacher, mentor or friend who believed in them and gave them encouragement. These supporters or role models encouraged them to do well in school and impressed upon them the importance of education.

> My dad never, never, ever, ever misses a parent night. We don't even tell him, I don't know how he knows! But he always talks with my teachers, with my counsellors.... He asks teachers how we are doing in school. (Immigrant youth)

Research data showed that some responses to the needs of immigrant youth did exist. Research participants identified the importance of having teachers who are understanding and supportive, spoke about other students who befriended immigrant youth, and identified parents who found ways to support their children through role modeling and listening. Research participants also described the positive impact that these individuals had on immigrant youth.

> This year I have a very nice teacher and we speak about life in class...it's like speaking with a friend. (Immigrant youth)

Research participants also identified the importance of wider community support for the success of newcomer youth in high school. Community services provided a number of valuable resources to newcomer families and their children, and specific resources for newcomer youth were identified as an important priority for the Waterloo Region community.

Key enabling factors contributing to positive social and academic outcomes for immigrant high school students:

- **Individual level:** Self-motivation; family support; peer support and friendships.
- **Institutional level:** Supportive teachers and principals; consistent, quality education; specific school supports; school-community partnerships.
- **Community level:** Community services and supports.

Factors that hinder immigrant youth in high school

In contrast, immigrant students who were not doing well in high school or who had dropped out of school described the impact on their lives of the absence of enabling factors such as those cited above. Lack of family support, conflicts within the family, and lack of guidance and support from family, friends or teachers caused considerable stress and frustration among these youth. Although youth involved in the research study showed resiliency, not all of them had the support systems and resources needed to succeed.

Youth who did well in school had the support from at least one person such as a parent, caregiver, family member, teacher, mentor or friend who believed in them and gave them encouragement. These supporters or role models encouraged them to do well in school and impressed upon them the importance of education.

Key informants described how immigrant youth dealt with numerous pressures and challenges as a result of their experiences as immigrants, in addition to all the other stresses with which high-school aged youth are confronted. These challenges ranged from having to learn a new language, to providing economic, emotional and social support to their parents, to dealing with social isolation and bullying in school.

> My parents couldn't speak English, so I was the only one to translate for them...sometimes I have to skip school because they have an appointment and I have to translate for them. (Immigrant youth)

Many youth interviewed for the research felt pressured by the expectations of those around them, the desire to meet those expectations, and the search for supports necessary to help them succeed. High social and academic demands were experienced by these youth from a number of different sources, yet research participants noted a lack of accommodations within the schools and few resources available to offer help in a meaningful way. This tension forced youth to seek out help and resources on their own, extending their capacity to cope even further.

> If back in their countries...they have witnessed their family members being killed in front of them...if they have lived in camps for a long period of time...if they come here, and suddenly they are sent to high school with all the expectations of high school, then for sure it will be very difficult for them to continue." (Immigrant parent)

Results from the research indicate that a combination of factors led to negative outcomes for immigrant high school students.

Key hindering factors contributing to negative social and academic outcomes for immigrant high school students:

- **Individual level:** Difficulties "fitting in" to high school culture; trauma and stress of escaping from war/violence; unemployment and underemployment of parents of immigrant youth; parent-child role reversal; home-school culture conflict.
- **Institutional level:** Unwelcoming school culture and climate; inadequate resources and supports in schools; difficulties with the Canadian school system and meeting academic requirements.
- **Socio-political level:** Gaps in education and lack of English fluency; teasing and bullying.

Pathways to success: Future recommendations for immigrant high school students

Although the majority of research participants identified examples of supports for youth, research data also suggested that there was a lack of a coordinated system response in Waterloo Region high schools to help address the problems and challenges immigrant youth brought with them into schools.

Examples of responses were described as unplanned or happenstance, and dependant on the good will of individual people encountered by immigrant youth. Even specialized services and supports that were available seemed to be reactive, rather than proactive. As a result, youth felt that they were not guaranteed the support they needed, some teachers felt marginalized and unsupported for their efforts, and some schools were identified as over-extended in providing the most basic support for immigrant youth.

Research participants were asked to give recommendations that would lead to increased success for immigrant youth in high school. These recommendations were intended to provide some guidance about what should be done in Waterloo Region or other similar communities to maximize the success of

immigrant youth. They are written in the form of advice, and organized by stakeholder group.

- **Youth:** Be patient, persevere and don't be afraid to ask for help; make friends strategically; get involved; believe in yourself; talk to your parents; be friendly and open-minded towards newcomer youth (for Canadian-born youth).
- **Parents:** Get involved any way you can; talk to your children and encourage them in school; be understanding of the changes your children are going through.
- **Individual schools:** Develop or increase peer mentorship programs; increase openness and understanding; develop communication strategies and partnerships with newcomer parents; increase social opportunities for newcomer youth; develop leadership opportunities for youth; develop a welcoming, representative learning environment.
- **School boards:** Hire qualified, quality teachers; improve multicultural training of teachers, including ESL teachers; increase subsidies and make them more available to newcomer youth; provide orientation to newcomer parents.
- **Provincial education system:** Increase funding for partnerships between schools and community organizations serving newcomers; incorporate a more comprehensive, intensive ESL program; value quality education for all youth in school;[1] develop support for newcomer parents; offer more support, programs and time for newcomer youth and their families to facilitate their transition into the school system.
- **Community members:** Be more welcoming to newcomers; acknowledge and value the potential and skills of newcomers; adapt to the changing reality and the changing population; increase newcomer-friendly policies and representation of newcomers in decision-making roles; make immigrant youth aware of positive role models.

[1] Six Ways: Transforming High School in Ontario is a set of six new programs offered through Ontario's Ministry of Education to provide high school students with additional ways to accumulate credits to graduate, based on their individual needs. One of these programs is the Lighthouse Projects, which focuses on credit recovery, alternative education, apprenticeship opportunities, college connections, and success for targeted groups such as ESL students. For more information on these programs, visit www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/ 6ways/welcome.html.

Conclusion

The findings of this research study illustrate the complexity of the experience of immigrant youth in Waterloo Region. It highlights how teachers, students and community leaders are already making a positive impact on the lives of immigrant youth. However, immigrant youth and their families require intentional, specific supports – that are dependable and inclusive – both from the school system and the larger community. The findings of this research study provide communities like Waterloo Region with an opportunity to demonstrate a commitment to diversity by developing programs and services that offer meaningful opportunities for relationship building, cross-cultural understanding, and an education system where no one is left behind.

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A growing body of research demonstrates the utility, and under-use, of culture as a tool to facilitate youth engagement. Cultural programs have proven effective in engaging marginalized youth and improving outcomes across a range of indicators.

The Growing Case for Youth Engagement Through Culture*

ELIZABETH FIX and NADINE SIVAK
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The engagement of Canadian youth, particularly the most marginalized youth, has become a pressing public policy issue in Canada in recent years. Incidents such as the rise in gun and gang violence in Toronto's "Summer of the Gun" in 2005,[1] the June 2006 arrests of 17 Toronto area youth on terrorism-related charges, and the spike in Aboriginal youth suicides in Kascechewan in early 2007 have drawn media and public attention to the deep disengagement experienced by some segments of the Ontario youth population. Over the same period, a significant body of research has formed, which examines cultural engagement as a protective factor against the disengagement of youth that often precedes criminality, violence and suicide. This paper will examine the growing policy case in favour of cultural participation as a tool to facilitate positive youth engagement.

Cultural isolation as a driver of youth disengagement

In examining the drivers of disengagement among culturally diverse and Aboriginal youth, a series of leading Canadian researchers have identified cultural isolation as a key factor in youth disengagement. Looking at 196 Aboriginal bands in British Columbia, Michael Chandler and Christopher Lalonde of the University of British Columbia observe that while "First Nations groups do in fact suffer dramatically elevated suicide rates, such rates vary widely." In identifying what distinguished between bands with elevated suicide rates and those where "suicide is essentially unknown," the authors conclude that "[c]ommunities that have taken active steps to preserve and rehabilitate their own cultures are shown to be those in which youth suicide rates are dramatically lower" (Chandler and Lalonde 1998: 1).

In interviews with current and former gang members, University of Toronto criminologists Scot Wortley and Julian Tanner (2005) have examined the factors that lead youth into gangs. In the Toronto Street Gang Pilot Project, the researchers interviewed 125 active and former members of criminal street gangs, aged 17 to 24, about their reasons for joining gangs. The authors found that, among gang-involved youth, perceptions of a surrounding society as inherently unwelcoming and unfair drive feelings of social alienation and defiance that draw youth into gang membership.

Among visible minority youth, research by Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee (2007) of the University of Toronto suggests that Canadian-born children of visible minority immigrants to Canada are more disengaged than their parents. The authors examine seven

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

[1] In 2005, the number of gun-related homicides had doubled in Toronto over the previous year. There were 78 homicides in Toronto, 52 of which were gun-related, compared with 27 of 64 homicides in 2004 (RCMP, 2006). For a broader analysis of homicide trends in Toronto, including the over-representation of young black males among homicide victims, please see *Trends in Homicide in Toronto* by Rosemary Gartner and Sara Thompson (2004).

measures of attachment and engagement contained in the Ethnic Diversity Survey and conclude that, while income and educational attainment rise for second-generation immigrant youth, perceptions of discrimination rise and belonging drops off precipitously. Although Reitz and Bannerjee's methodologies have been subject to critique by Douglas Palmer and others, there is ample evidence that visible minority youth, whether first or second generation, perceive themselves to be discriminated against to a much greater extent than do white youth. Quoted in a *Globe and Mail* editorial of the same month, Ralph Agard, a Toronto educator and former Black-community leader, described the impact of perceptions of discrimination on youth: "More and more society is seen to be the enemy by young people who have come through systems that have not treated them equally."

Youth disengagement in context

As will be shown, a number of other societal trends have exacerbated the phenomenon of youth disengagement in Canada. The deep disengagement experienced by some segments of the youth population in Ontario, outlined above, exists within the larger context of increasingly racialized and spatialized poverty in Ontario – that is, that the most poor are more and more likely to be visible minorities located in vulnerable communities with deepening poverty and falling levels of social infrastructure (Ornstein 2006). Cultural exclusion and isolation appear to compound this broader structural social and economic exclusion, evidenced in poor educational and labour market outcomes for marginalized youth in Ontario. While limited opportunities for cultural participation form a barrier between marginalized youth and broader society, so too do low levels of representation in media compound lived social isolation with a form of cultural isolation.

In *A Fragile Social Fabric*, Canadian sociologists Raymond Breton and Norbert Hartmann (2004) note that the cultural sector is not representative of Canada's diversity. The authors concluded that this has critical implications for societal inclusion, as perceptions of recognition and fairness are closely correlated. In other words, if people do not see themselves on TV, in film, or in magazines, they are less likely to perceive the surrounding society as fair, open and equitable and may choose, quite rationally, to disengage. Such cultural isolation is likely a significant factor in youth disengagement, given the growing divide between contemporary, urban youth culture in Canada and the representation of youth in the mainstream media in Canada.

Culture as a tool of youth engagement

A growing body of research demonstrates the utility, and under-use, of culture as a tool of youth engagement. Cultural programs have proven effective in engaging marginalized youth and improving outcomes across a range of indicators, including providing a bridge to broader civic engagement. In addition, such programs have proven cost-effective in reducing the burden on social supports for youth. Despite this, a limited supply of locally relevant cultural programming for youth exists in most urban centres in Canada. Youth culture seems under-valued and under-funded with few programs in place despite demonstrably high demand.

Efficacy

A number of recent studies outside Canada have positively evaluated the contribution of cultural programs for youth to the overall health and social sustainability of communities. Benefits are evident at both the individual and community levels. Culturally based programs foster social skills including co-operative work, negotiation, conflict resolution and tolerance for difference, individual responsibility, perseverance, self-management, and integrity. According to a comprehensive UK study, arts interventions are successful because they "offer a non-traditional, non-institutional, social and emotional environment; a non-judgemental and un-authoritarian model of engagement; and an opportunity to participate in a creative process that involves both structure and freedom. At the same time engagement in the participatory arts requires respect, responsibility, co-operation and collaboration" (Hughes 2005: 11).

Beyond their success at engaging marginalized youth, cultural programs demonstrate impressive results in improving the psycho-social development outcomes for youth. A number of studies indicate that learning in and through art can help "level the playing field" for youth from disadvantaged circumstances. A US Department of Education-sponsored ten-year study of more than 25,000 secondary school students found that those with high levels of art participation outperformed "arts poor" students on almost every measure (higher achievement, staying in school and better attitudes toward school and

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community) and that the comparative gains for arts-involved youth generally become more pronounced over time (Caterall, Champleau and Iwanaga 1999). This same study found that arts-involved students generally perform 16 to 18 percentage points above non-arts-involved students in academic achievement, and the differences between high- and low-arts youth were just as significant for economically disadvantaged students.

In Canada, the current benchmark study for the efficacy of cultural programs in producing better outcomes for marginalized youth is the National Arts and Youth Demonstration Project (NAYDP) conducted by Robin Wright and Lindsay John of the McGill University School of Social Work. The three-year longitudinal study examined the impact of community-based arts programs for youth aged 9 to 15, in five multicultural, low-income communities across Canada. Results from the NAYDP study indicate that youth can be sustained in long-term arts programs when barriers to participation are removed and that participation in arts programming can significantly improve social development and engagement. In the case of the NAYDP, youth demonstrated an improvement in both social and technical skills, increased confidence, improved interpersonal skills, improved conflict resolution and problem-solving skills, and decreased level of conduct problems, emotional problems, anti-social behaviour, academic failure and alcohol use.

The Edmonton Arts and Youth Feasibility Study (EAYFS) extended the NAYDP methodology into more challenging circumstances, working with 23 high-risk youth, in collaboration with the iHuman Youth Society. Where the NAYDP worked with diverse youth in low income settings, the EAYFS sample group faced even greater challenges: 91% had recently sold drugs, 73% had recently used hard drugs and 39% had recently attempted suicide. Despite the limitations of the Edmonton report as a feasibility study (e.g., smaller sample, no control group), the findings were impressive, with youth reporting decreased levels of loneliness, depression, and drug use and increased problem-solving capacity, ability to focus, ability to cooperate with youth and adults, and pro-social communication skills after only ten weeks of arts programming.

Cultural participation predicts broader civic engagement

Beyond the benefit to the individual, a series of studies assert that cultural programming for youth forms better citizens and, in turn, stronger communities. According to the William Penn Foundation's report *Culture Builds Community*, cultural participation can act to bridge differences between ethnic and class divides in ways that other forms of civic engagement do not (Stern and Seifert 2002). The American findings are reinforced by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg whose report *The Arts and Community Development in Winnipeg* argues that "cultural participation helps connect individuals to the social spaces occupied by others and encourages "buy-in" to institutional rules and shared norms of behaviour" (Kuly, Stewart and Dudley 2005).

The unique value of the arts in nurturing social capital and driving civic renewal features prominently in the work of Harvard University's Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement. In their landmark "Better Together" Report in 2000, the authors note that cultural programs generate social capital "by strengthening friendships, helping communities to understand and celebrate their heritage and providing a safe way to discuss and solve difficult social problems" (p. 44). Among the report's key recommendations is the incorporation of the arts into social problem solving by governments, educators and social leaders. Such observations are consistent with findings from the NAYDP study indicating that community-based arts programs increase parents' positive perceptions of their neighbourhoods.

Cultural programming also serves to connect people across diverse communities and thereby generate bridging social capital. In *"Irrational" Organizations: Culture and Community Change*,

Mark J. Stern (2004) summarizes two key social impacts of the arts as "increasing collective efficacy" and "building bridges across long-standing divides of ethnicity and social class." The study points to a clear positive correlation between cultural participation and other forms of community involvement and notes that "because cultural participants travel across the city, they build links between neighborhoods that have very few connections to one another".

The function of culture in bridging social divides is important to counter what a number of researchers have identified as growing social isolation accompanying the sharp growth of ethnic enclaves in Canada's largest cities, which have dramatically increased, from six in 1981 to 254 in 2001. Although the correlation between ethnic enclaves and social isolation has been challenged, notably by Qadeer and Kumar, others, including J. David Hulchanski have tracked a growing social distance among Toronto residents based on socio-economic status and skin colour. This argument is borne out by the United Way's *Poverty by Postal Code* report, which identifies 120 Toronto neighbourhoods where over one-quarter of the families live in poverty, and notes that the number of Toronto neighbourhoods with a high proportion of poor families has doubled each decade since 1981. Increasingly, marginalized youth in Ontario find themselves economically and socially isolated in their neighbourhoods, cut off from broader society. The Mayor of Toronto estimates that 60% of youth in Malvern, a north Scarborough community marked by gang violence, have not ventured far enough from their neighbourhood to see Lake Ontario. According to the authors of *Better Together*, "the arts represent perhaps the most underutilized forum for rebuilding community in America" (p. 33).

Efficiency

The value proposition for cultural programs rests with both its efficacy and efficiency. A University of Southern California study (2001) estimates that the costs and benefits of providing quality arts education for the most disadvantaged and at-risk 4th- through 12th-graders could allow the state to recover one and a half times its investment through savings to the criminal justice system and increased tax revenue.

This study confirms other similar findings, including those of Dr. Gina Browne, who conducted a 2002 study examining the costs and benefits of youth programming in at-risk communities. The study found that investment in arts and recreation substantially decreases financial burden on social systems, specifically, by at least 50% in the use of medical specialists, Children's Aid Society services, 911 services, psychologists, chiropractors, and by 10% to 33% in the use of occupational therapists, physiotherapists, social workers and probation officers.

High demand

In Toronto, this argument is borne out by the ongoing work of the Grassroots Youth Collaborative (GYC), an umbrella organization of Toronto area youth-led agencies. In examining their members' offerings, the GYC concludes that cultural programming is particularly effective at attracting at-risk youth to youth-led organizations such as IC Visions and Regent Park Focus. According to their research, a majority of youth (aged 12 to 30) agree that participation in arts, culture and creative activities not only enhances their interpersonal skills (88%) but also their self-esteem (82%). In a 2006 article, Rinaldo Walcott, Canada Research Chair in Social Justice and Cultural Studies noted, "In my view what we need are programs that will allow young people to engage with and make sense of the ways in which they can contribute to the culture of their communities and beyond. Such an approach means providing young people spaces where they can offer a critique of the culture and society and offer up alternatives."

Low supply

Despite compelling evidence of the value of culture in engaging youth constructively in community, well-structured, durable cultural programming for youth remains scarce. The limited availability of cultural programming for marginalized youth must be understood within the broader context of the erosion of social infrastructure of all forms. The impact of this erosion has been particularly dramatic in the country's urban centres, where demand on such services is the greatest (Strong Neighborhood Taskforce 2005).

Across Canada, participation in artistic, cultural and recreational activities correlates directly with household income. The National Longitudinal Survey on Children and Youth in Canada found that the rates of participation are the lowest for the poorest children in Canada, a fact attributable in part to rising costs of

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most arts programming. While recent funding decisions by the Province of Ontario have aimed to improve public access to school facilities, the lack of space available for community use and continued high cost of participation limits access by low-income youth (Toronto Community Foundation 2006). The predictable cumulative effect of these obstacles is that children from lower-income communities who need arts programs the most are not getting access to them, so that cultural exclusion tends to compound existing social and economic exclusion.

The experience abroad

On the international front, a growing number of jurisdictions are investing heavily in culture as a tool of youth engagement, bolstered by the growing body of evidence on the effectiveness of the arts in fostering individual development, strengthening neighbourhoods and promoting social cohesion.

In Venezuela, the Fundacion del Estado para el Sistema Nacional de las Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Venezuela ("El Sistema") is a publicly funded US$29 million-a-year music programme that serves 250,000 inner-city or lower class students. The program is seen as a flagship of international achievement and is attracting international imitators, among them the Scottish Arts Council, which is about to establish a similar project in one of the nation's poorest housing projects (Higgins 2006).

In the shadow of the July 7 London bombings and the attendant concerns over the disengagement of newcomer youth, the Arts Council of England moved quickly to adopt a bold three-year agenda which has children and youth, particularly youth-at-risk, as one if its top priorities. The strategy, which includes strengthening partnerships between the cultural, criminal justice and education sectors and investment in artists and arts organizations that work with youth, is backed by a £1.7 billion investment and will be subject to ongoing evaluation to guide ACE investments beyond 2008.

The growing confidence in the value proposition of cultural funding to heighten youth engagement has led some American jurisdictions, most notably Maryland, to create funding structures that reinvest money saved from reductions in youth custodies in culture and recreation programs. The "More for Maryland" campaign aims to reduce excessive spending on last resort programs like prisons and foster care, and to expand investment in opportunity and success

Implications for Ontario

Under the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (YCJA), enacted in April 2003, Canada has met its legislative objectives in reducing youth incarceration for less serious offences. In the four years since the implementation of the Act, there has been a significant reduction in the number of charges laid for less serious offences and the sentencing provisions of the YCJA have had a significant impact on reducing youth custody (Statistics Canada 2005). However, the policy objectives of the YCJA are, in part, premised upon primarily provincial investments in community programs consistent with the YCJA to support youth diverted from custody (Department of Justice Canada 2005).

To date, such investments have not been fully realized in some jurisdictions, notably Ontario. Cultural programs present a promising, cost-effective option within a holistic approach to support at-risk youth. New investments in youth

[2] Fresh Arts was a provincially funded summer employment program that aimed to nurture artistic and technical production skills, and to equip youth with transferable, employable skills and industry know-how. *Towards a New Policy/Program Remix* examines some of the outcomes of the Fresh Arts Program finding that hip-hop and urban arts in Toronto's racial minority and low-income communities helped to increase youth's social and cultural capital, which in the longer term translated into material and economic outcomes. More specifically, the programming served to increase youth's employability and material well-being because of work habits gained, job skills transferred and business knowledge acquired. As the report notes, Fresh Art was also instrumental in the development of Canadian urban music, establishing the careers of Little X, Kardinal Offishal, Saukrates, Jully Black, and Choclair, among others.

by the Province of Ontario, including the Youth Challenge Fund, are seeing high and often unanticipated levels of demands for investments in cultural programming and infrastructure.

A promising, though as yet untested model, is Toronto's Remix project. Born of the Mayor's Community Safety Panel, Remix engages marginalized young people aged 15 to 24 using hip-hop culture to promote skill development and enhance youth resiliency. Loosely modeled on the provincially funded Fresh Arts program of the 1990s[2] Remix provides support for youth to create personal development plans, connect with mentors, obtain life-skills training, pursue skill-building in media, and return to school, or obtain employment via an internship or entrepreneurial activity. Because of its crime prevention potential, the federal government has made a three-year, $600,000 investment in the project.

Policy challenges

Three key challenges confront public policy makers examining culture as a tool of youth engagement. Evidence: more and better Canadian research on the ability of cultural programming to improve youth outcomes is needed to establish culture as a vital component of social infrastructure. Comprehensiveness: culture must be seen as an integral part of a locally relevant, whole-of-government approach to at-risk youth. Integration: better coordination across jurisdictions of policy, programs and planning so that a value chain of youth engagement, from crime prevention to civic engagement to employment, can be conceptualized and implemented.

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The average caller looking for human services will make seven calls before finding what he or she is seeking. What if anyone, anywhere in Canada seeking information on human services could pick up a telephone and speak directly to a specialist with reliable answers and information about all the services or programs available?

211: Social Innovation Confronts Nagging Problems

BILL MORRIS
211 Ontario Initiative, United Way Canada

Canada has developed an impressive array of human services designed to ensure that people can successfully cope with many life challenges and be as productive, active and engaged as possible. This valuable social infrastructure encompasses initiatives aimed at addressing an extensive range of human needs from pre-school for toddlers or pre-natal classes for new parents right through to programs tailored for the frail or elderly. The multiplicity and specialization of these assets and the diffuse composition of the human services sector reflects the tremendous diversity of Canada and its people.

The downside of this diversity, however, is that gaining timely access to the right resources can be like finding a needle in a haystack – an extremely time-consuming and frustrating experience. In large urban communities like Toronto where more than 4,000 different government departments, community-based agencies and private players deliver more than 20,000 human services, simply navigating through the maze of providers can be bewildering, and often results in a hit and miss run-around. In rural and remote parts of Canada many services and programs, which others take for granted, aren't available locally. Instead, the chief impediment to access is distance, and knowing where the right service or program is located.

One-stop shopping

What if anyone, anywhere in Canada seeking information on human services could pick up a telephone and speak directly to a specialist with reliable answers and information about all the services or programs available? Someone trained to assess your particular requirements and refer you to the service providers that can best meet your needs. And, what if such a system could serve people in the language of their choice and was available any time of the day or night? Better yet, what if other professionals and front-line workers – clergy, police officers, teachers, clinicians, staff in government or politicians' offices, doctors and others – were able to access the same comprehensive, and authoritative database of human services information via the Internet so that they too could better serve the people who contact them?

Welcome to the bold new world of 211 – a bright idea that began in Atlanta, Georgia, which in less than ten years has blossomed into a vital new component of social infrastructure, now available to 200 million people across North America.

Like 911, the consolidated system for accessing emergency services, 211 utilizes three-digit phone dialing to eliminate the need for people to remember or find the right seven- or ten-digit phone number. Callers to 211 gain access to information about the entire human services system, as well as a helpful professional trained to assess the individual caller's needs, provide accurate information, and advise them about the most appropriate service or program available.

This one-stop shopping approach covering the full range of community, social, health and related government services and programs, has many obvious, and some not so obvious, public benefits.

Fast, reliable service

Modern call centre technology and database capability, coupled with a standards-based delivery model, results in fast, efficient service on a scale previously unattainable. For example, nearly 500,000 people will call 211 Toronto this year. Certified counselors answer 80% of 211 calls in less than 20 seconds. Nearly 90% of callers follow up on the information and referrals received through 211 and actually get the help or services they need. As a testament to 211's popularity and value to callers, virtually all say they would recommend the service to friends and family. Usage patterns indicate it's particularly popular with newcomers to Canada, women, and people without full-time employment.

While technology has ushered in what many call the information age, access remains uneven and a citizen's right to information is far from guaranteed. All too often those in the greatest need of human services – the vulnerable, elderly or disabled, newcomers to Canada and people with limited language skills or education – face the greatest barriers to basic information about existing supports and resources. When demand for programs outstrips availability, the tendency can be to further limit public information in order to ration the scarce resource. Unfortunately, this may serve to increase inequity and social exclusion.

211's explicit goal is to help overcome barriers to human services information and access. Callers can currently be served in more than 150 languages. Having trained people, not machines, answer all 211 calls enhances service quality, but also reduces mobility, sight and literacy-related access barriers. The addition of on-line 211 capacity expands access further, allowing email enquires and improved service for others, including people with impaired hearing or those located overseas.

While the 211 caller realizes much of the direct value that is derived from the help provided through referral to a particular training initiative, language program, flu vaccine, childcare or other service, the larger community also benefits. When problems are addressed before they can escalate, downstream demands on the health care, justice, and other publicly funded systems are minimized. Moreover, many human service initiatives are specifically designed to ensure citizens have the tools they need to be as self-sufficient and resilient as possible. Investments in 211 pay dividends in the form of reduced draws on public infrastructure, higher levels of civic engagement and improved productivity.

In addition, 211 provides an effective channel to connect people wishing to give back to the community with organizations that need and rely on donations of volunteer time and other resources. Studies show that people who volunteer are involved in a win-win proposition. Their time and talent represent significant value to a large number of organizations, and the act of volunteering has been found to promote better health outcomes and greater happiness for the volunteer.

The impact of 211 can be felt throughout the human services supply chain. Rather than attempting to directly assist errant callers, often with mixed or poor results, staff in government offices, agencies and other organizations can steer callers to 211, confident they will be properly served. Since research shows the average caller looking for human services will make seven calls before finding what they're seeking, the potential savings in wasted time for both the caller and those fielding errant calls are, indeed, significant.

211 also reduces the cost of outreach and advertising. Each time a new service or program is introduced a new public outreach initiative is routinely launched to inform the population. Even minor changes to existing programs or the way they are delivered – things as simple as a change of address or a new application procedure – can trigger a costly new advertising or communications effort. Beyond the cost, the relative effectiveness of these outreach efforts tends to be fairly limited or diffused. Even when a program has achieved a high level of public awareness, governments and other providers are obliged to operate ongoing communications campaigns so the public knows how it can be accessed. The popular provincial health or nurse's hotlines, for example, enjoy very high levels of public awareness, in provinces that operate them. But, to ensure public awareness of the ten-digit toll-free phone number, governments continue to pay for high-profile advertising campaigns years after the program's introduction.

Generating additional value

A professionally developed and maintained database of service, programs and provider organizations is the foundation of 211, and enables additional public benefits to be generated. Systematic record updating and verification enables the authoritative 211

When problems are addressed before they can escalate, downstream demands on the health care, justice, and other publicly funded systems are minimized....Investments in 211 pay dividends in the form of reduced draws on public infrastructure, higher levels of civic engagement and improved productivity.

database to be sorted or subdivided to produce a variety of specialized data sets, directories or lists based on geography, service offering, etc. This content base facilitates development of special interest Web portals, specific mailings or outreach within a particular sector or community, customized surveys or consultations, as well as being a powerful new tool for research and analysis. Two examples of collaborative spin-off initiatives are settlement.org, an information resource about settling in Ontario, and the Access to Professions and Trades in Ontario Web portal, designed to assist internationally trained workers.

Mapping services and service providers using 211 data gives planners and funders new insights into how such services are distributed and into where geographic gaps or duplication in services may exist. When coupled with other data, particularly demographic information, we are able to gain an even richer and more detailed understanding of changing social conditions and the impact of existing and new initiatives. The understanding gained, for example, by combining and mapping geographic data about services with similar data on country of origin or mother tongue, can help funders and service providers identify unmet needs or underserviced groups. As a result, program investment decisions or delivery procedures can be adjusted to better reflect the community. Some Canadian municipalities are already utilizing information from the 211 system to help assess the potential impact of new land-use application as part of the local zoning and development process. Other funders including United Way use 211 data to map "high priority" neighbourhoods where vulnerable communities lack access to needed services.

When people contact the 211 system for assistance, the reason for each call, what information was required, where the caller was referred, and basic information about the caller's location, age, preferred language, gender, etc., are all carefully tracked. Later, a representative sample of callers are surveyed to determine, among other things, whether they successfully followed up on the referral, received the help they needed, and how satisfied they were with the service from 211.

This data on 211 transactions is another unique and valuable source of information – real-time consumer feedback about the quality, effectiveness and impact of our human services infrastructure. Governments and other funders routinely collect quite a bit of information from service providers in an attempt to evaluate the efficiency of programs or services. While these efforts do provide useful insights about various aspects of the provision of human services, they often lack good, detailed information from consumers about their actual experience and ultimately how helpful or appropriate a particular program or service was for the individual.

Better consumer response and feedback data is critical to improving the performance and efficiency of services and programs. By helping to identify design flaws, emerging needs, or implementation bottlenecks, consumers contribute to the ongoing process of reforming and refining such offerings. Similarly, input in the form of consumer data can help highlight best practices, document the relative success of new or existing initiatives, and aid the development of better services and ways to deliver them.

Enhancing emergency response and recovery

The demand for timely, accurate information, human services, as well as donations and volunteers can skyrocket during and after natural disasters and other emergencies. On September 11, 2001, calls from people eager to volunteer or seeking basic information overwhelmed New York's 911 system. Nearby in Connecticut, which had recently established the first statewide 211 system, people had an alternative and the 911 system was better able to cope with the huge spike in call volumes. The lesson wasn't lost on legislators or emergency planners in the United States. Shortly after the attacks, 211 was specifically identified for funding under terrorism protection legislation.

Four years later, Hurricane Katrina ravaged Louisiana and flooded New Orleans, exposing

serious flaws in emergency planning and the capacity of civil authorities to effectively respond to shocking human suffering. 211 proved to be one of the few systems that functioned and was able to ramp up quickly during the extended recovery period. In addition to its existing responsibilities, the relatively new statewide 211 system was official designated the first point of contact for displaced people in need of emergency housing and those wishing to volunteer time or resources. Although the New Orleans call centre was lost to flooding, the four remaining components of the state's 211 system filled the void. Response capacity was quickly augmented; more phone lines were added and 211 counselors streamed into Louisiana and the surrounding States from across the country.

Fortunately Canada hasn't experienced emergencies of a similar scale or severity. But Canada's first 211 centre located in Toronto was in place for both the SARS outbreak and the big electrical outage of 2003. Operating throughout the outage on back up power, the centre fielded what still stands as a one-day record number of calls. Many people simply needed reassurance or basic information; others, however, had more serious concerns. Some were trapped in high-rise apartments without elevators or utilities; others were unable to access needed medication, or critical medical services.

Long after disasters and emergencies slip off the front-page, the recovery period continues for those directly involved. In the aftermath of SARS thousands of people employed in Toronto's hospitality and tourism sector lost their jobs as convention planners, business travelers and vacationers steered clear of the city for many months. Reaching and serving this diverse workforce, many of whom as immigrants lacked Canadian job experience in other fields, was one of the key challenges. 211 again demonstrated its value and multilingual versatility, becoming the access point and platform for deploying a series of initiatives designed to help: relief funds, retraining or employment programs, and various community supports.

211 planners, operators and advocates from Canada and the United States recently held the first cross-border 211 summit to share information and explore opportunities to collaborate or share resources. Both groups share the goal of ensuring that 211 is universally available. Thus far, 211 development has focused on implementation of local, regional or provincial/statewide 211 service delivery capacity. Planners in both countries also recognize the potential increased value to be derived from networking 211 service providers into interoperable systems capable of offering interjurisdictional service. This would, for example, enable a person to access information and services for a loved one or friend living in another city, province/state or across the border.

Getting to that point will only be possible once 211 is more widely available. Development of 211 in Canada has lagged behind the United States, in the absence of clear jurisdictional responsibility or the necessary funding from senior levels of government. Unlike 911, 211 does not have the power to levy a monthly charge on phone subscribers in order to pay for the service. In Canada, municipalities have been among the first to recognize the value of 211 and have partnered with the United Way to implement service.

Expanding 211 nationwide

Like many good ideas, making 211 universally available to Canadians is more likely a question of when than if, particularly given the continental momentum behind the initiative. 211 coverage continues to grow, albeit at a slow pace, where people have been able to creatively tap into local resources. Not surprisingly, Ontario and Alberta are at the forefront of 211 development in Canada. Call centres located in Calgary and Edmonton enable two-thirds of Albertans to access 211. In Ontario, 211 is currently available to residents of Toronto, Niagara, Simcoe County and Halton – one-third of the population. In the coming months service will expand to Thunder Bay, Windsor-Essex, Ottawa and Peel, pushing Ontario past the 50% mark. Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan are at the advanced planning stage for implementation of provincial or interprovincial 211 systems, and Quebec is poised to open the first 211 call centre operating primarily in French, in 2008.

Over the past 40 years, 911 has grown to become firmly and indelibly etched in our collective memory as the number to call for emergency services – being without 911 is now unimaginable. In the near future, as more Canadians gain access, 211 will achieve a similar level of top-of-mind public recognition and ubiquity. As this occurs, it also opens the door to innovative new ways this important infrastructure can be utilized to generate a host of additional public benefits.

Through multicultural policies, multilingual collections and settlement services, public libraries can signal not only to newcomers, but also to members of the host society, that they reflect the multicultural realities of Canadian society. This article highlights some of the strategies used by library systems in Toronto and Windsor, two of Ontario's top immigrant-receiving cities, to serve newcomers.

More Than Books: Examining the Settlement Services of the Toronto and Windsor Public Libraries

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Public institutions need to provide innovative solutions in order to meet the needs of recent immigrants, who are struggling to achieve the same level of success as enjoyed by newcomers in the past (Omidvar and Richmond 2003). Canadian public institutions, such as public libraries, have responded with new ways of easing the transition and integration of newcomers and their families into Canadian society. This article will highlight some of the policies, programs and strategies used to serve newcomers by library systems in Toronto and Windsor, two of Ontario's top immigrant-receiving cities.

Public libraries: Responding to diversity

According to Canadian researchers, public libraries have a vital role to play in the promotion of diversity and multiculturalism. Public institutions can represent the ideals of Canadian society and reflect these concepts on a smaller scale within individual communities. Papillon (2005: 13) states that although policies such as multiculturalism exist at the federal level, diversity "is expressed and lived at the local level." Policies and strategies enacted by local institutions such as public libraries have the potential to change the lives of community members. Through multicultural policies, multilingual collections and settlement services, public libraries can signal not only to newcomers, but also to members of the host society, that they reflect the multicultural realities of Canadian society.

Canadian scholars have recognized the potential of public libraries to respond to the needs of newcomers. In exploring the information-gathering practices of immigrant groups, Caidi and Allard (2005) analyzed the role of public libraries in supporting the social inclusion of newcomers. They found that some newcomers lacked informational resources needed to access employment and other opportunities, and were especially vulnerable to exclusion due to underdeveloped social networks. The researchers concluded that libraries are well-situated to promote the inclusion of newcomers by providing access to information and technology, eventually increasing newcomers' participation in civil society (Caidi and Allard 2005). A key challenge is for Canadian public institutions to facilitate newcomers' social inclusion and access to labour markets.

Canadian libraries provide "many of the resources, both electronic and print, that immigrants value as they search for jobs, acquire language skills, find out about their new communities and their new country, and retain links to their cultures" (Wallace and Frisken 2000: 303). Public libraries play an important

social role, fostering a "sense of belonging" (Ibid.) among newcomers, while acting as an "important social centre" (Ibid: 287). Omidvar and Richmond (2003) also note the potential of libraries as sites of shared social space, promoting understanding and reducing distances between members of different groups.

The importance for public institutions to support the inclusion of newcomers has become more pronounced in recent years, particularly in light of research underlining the increasing barriers faced by newcomers (Wallace and Frisken 2000). Immigrants arriving in the past 20 years have experienced more poverty and underemployment than previous groups (Omidvar and Richmond 2003). This situation makes public institutions, including libraries, more crucial as sources of information, interaction and recreation, becoming "an important lifeboat" for some immigrants and refugees (Wallace and Frisken 2000: 291).

In the 1970s, Canadian public libraries offered multilingual collections focused on the preservation and maintenance of culture. Two decades later, however, they began to recognize and address many of the barriers faced by newcomers and to assist with their settlement. The policy objectives endorsed by the Canadian Library Association include: the prevention of racism, increasing newcomers' familiarity with social services and institutions, and contributing to newcomers' successful settlement and inclusion in Canadian society (Cox and Gagnon 1989). More recent policies, such as those of the Toronto Public Library (TPL) (2004), state that a primary goal is to assist newcomers in their search for employment.

Ontario's two most diverse cities

Though Toronto is Ontario's largest and most important immigrant-receiving centre, smaller cities also play a vital role in immigrant settlement. In 2001, 49% of Toronto's population was foreign-born, with more than one in five residents having lived in Canada for less than ten years (Statistics Canada 2001). Second only to Toronto, Windsor has the second-largest proportion of newcomers and foreign-born residents in Ontario: 27% of city residents were born outside of Canada and more than one in ten residents had emigrated within the past decade (Statistics Canada 2001).

Toronto Public Library

The TPL began to offer settlement programming ten years ago, in response to the increasing poverty and underemployment faced by newcomers (Quirke 2006). In the past five years, these efforts have been concentrated to develop programs and services designed specifically to meet the needs of recent immigrants (Quirke 2006). A central programming goal outlined in the current Strategic Plan of the TPL is to assist newcomers in overcoming challenges such as barriers to labour market integration (TPL 2004).

With 99 branch locations, the TPL has the highest annual circulation of any library system in North America (Hall 2006). With its presence in many neighbourhoods and large investments in programming and services for newcomers, the library plays an important role in the lives of recent immigrants to Toronto. The TPL's popularity among the city's newcomers is clear, as many recent immigrants become members of the library shortly after their arrival (Hall 2006, Gillespie 2003). In addition, foreign-born residents are more likely to be frequent users of TPL services than people born in Canada (Vander Kooy 2004)

A wide range of the TPL's settlement services can be found on Settlement.Org, an online information portal for newcomers and service providers. The site lists newcomer library services such as homework clubs, career workshops and resources, adult literacy services, English as a second language (ESL) resources, multilingual collections including audio-visual and periodicals, Internet and computer workshops, citizenship classes, and seminars on personal finance and health (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants 2006). The library's Website informs newcomers of additional information that is relevant to them, such as its telephone interpretation service offered free of charge at all branches. The service, available in 130 languages (Toronto Public Library 2006), can facilitate library registration for newcomers with little or no knowledge of English.

Through an innovative partnership with local school boards, settlement workers based in Toronto schools spend the summer months in 29 library branches, providing information on the variety of newcomer services available throughout the city. The project has expanded annually since its inception in 2001, prompting the TPL to place settlement workers in the Toronto Reference Library year-round.

A quarterly publication designed specifically for newcomers was introduced by the Toronto Public Library. Canadian Newcomer Magazine, *produced in partnership with Citizenship and Immigration Canada, features articles by and for newcomers on such relevant topics as housing and tenants' rights, credential recognition and job-finding resources, mentoring programs, diversity in Canadian workplaces, strategies for dealing with children's adjustment, and banking.*

A quarterly publication designed specifically for newcomers was introduced by the Toronto Public Library in winter 2003. *Canadian Newcomer Magazine*, produced in partnership with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), features articles by and for newcomers on such relevant topics as housing and tenants' rights, credential recognition and job-finding resources, mentoring programs, diversity in Canadian workplaces, strategies for dealing with children's adjustment, and banking.

Windsor Public Library

The Windsor Public Library (WPL), consisting of ten branches and serving a city of 205 000 residents (Statistics Canada 2001), began offering settlement services approximately five years ago (Quirke 2006). In addition to daily international newspapers in a variety of languages, the WPL offers ESL materials, informal English language conversation groups, and referrals to local settlement agencies and services. *Canadian Newcomer Magazine* has been available to patrons since June 2006 and is featured prominently in a number of branch locations.

Summer 2006 marked the introduction of settlement workers in the Windsor Library system. The successful project was extended into the fall, with a settlement worker continuing to work in Windsor's Central Branch. Another recent introduction in the WPL was the city's telephone interpretation service, which is now available to staff from all ten branch locations. These developments identify service goals that target newcomers' informational needs.

Partnerships

The most salient feature of the newcomer programming offered by the Toronto and Windsor public libraries is multiple levels of partnership involved in the funding, development and delivery of settlement services. Partnerships with government agencies and other organizations have yielded many benefits for both library systems. The combination of library resources with the expertise and community engagement of local settlement agencies can result in improved service delivery to newcomers, fulfilling the mandate of both parties (Quirke 2006).

The TPL has ongoing partnerships with provincial and federal governments, in active program delivery and the funding of partner organizations. Updated accreditation information, developed with the assistance of the provincial government, is available through the TPL Website. Moreover, the library hosts ESL instruction provided by local school boards. *Canadian Newcomer Magazine*, available in both Toronto and Windsor libraries, is funded by CIC, as is the settlement worker program. The WPL cites ongoing collaborative work with local settlement agencies and ethnic associations as vital to the provision of settlement services.

The Settlement Workers in Schools program, funded by the federal government, was identified by the TPL as a key component of service delivery, outreach and program evaluation (Quirke 2006). Statistics are kept by settlement workers on the types of referrals and information provided to newcomers, in addition to demographic information on those served. This important information is used to develop and plan services, permitting the TPL to respond quickly to shifts in immigrant settlement patterns. The TPL supplements census data with demographic information from both local school boards and settlement workers to achieve up-to-date community profiles of newcomer groups. Program delivery is evaluated on a continual basis by the TPL, and the branch locations of settlement workers are revised accordingly each year (Quirke 2006).

Analysis and recommendations

As public institutions with programs funded by CIC, libraries serve the federal government's goals regarding newcomers' economic integration. By providing recent immigrants with materials and instruction for language

acquisition, accreditation information and job-finding resources, public libraries facilitate immigrants' entry into the labour market.

While Toronto and Windsor public libraries differ in the process of program development, they identified similar strategies and challenges surrounding the delivery of services to recent immigrants. The WPL is substantially smaller, with only ten branches, and only 4% of the total staff members employed by the TPL. In evaluating the need for service development, the consultation process in Windsor is more informal and individual than that of the TPL, as librarians speak directly with newcomers, settlement workers and local agencies. The TPL, in contrast, develops its three year Strategic Plan using detailed program statistics and demographic data, supplemented by formal and extensive community consultations with more than 1,400 individuals, including newcomers and settlement workers (Quirke 2006).

The process of needs-assessment and community consultation at the WPL may change as a result of the recent introduction of the settlement worker program, as this new program provides an additional opportunity to assess the library's newcomer services and obtain feedback from newcomers. Yet, WPL's service evaluation and development will likely remain more personal and less formalized than at the TPL. This is entirely appropriate, as the methods adopted by each library system must be appropriate to the size of the institution and the population it serves.

It is recommended that partnerships that currently exist between all levels of government, schools and community organizations be expanded, and that the possibility of new partnerships be explored. The introduction of settlement workers in public libraries during the summer months in Toronto and Windsor has been extremely successful and could be adopted in other library systems. According to Mylopoulos (2004: 12), settlement workers are "one of the most effective means of communicating public library resources and services" to newcomers. The need for settlement information in libraries cannot be understated. This need is particularly acute for branches located in neighbourhoods and communities with high newcomer populations.

Community outreach is also an important factor in effective newcomer programming in public libraries. Given the experiences of the Toronto and Windsor public libraries, only limited outreach activities can be undertaken at present, in light of both funding and staff shortages and the time-consuming and labour-intensive nature of the work (Quirke 2006). As they attempt to expand their base of patrons to include those not currently being served, libraries must make newcomers aware of the vast range of programming and informational resources available at local branches. It is recommended that staffing shortages be addressed to permit an expansion of the outreach activities of librarians. Other possible methods of outreach should also be explored, such as the use of settlement workers and their promotion of library services to newcomers. This work is well under way in Toronto and parallel uses of the resources of settlement workers in the Windsor Public Library could be examined.

Though it is crucial to consult newcomer patrons in the evaluation and development of appropriate resources and programs, whenever possible, librarians must also actively seek those who are underserved and underrepresented by current services. Outreach is a vital component in the processes of both extending the base of library users and creating inclusive library services.

Budgetary restrictions pose a key barrier to the provision and expansion of settlement services offered by the Toronto and Windsor public libraries (Quirke 2006). Budget increases in this domain could ease staffing shortages and permit the acquisition of more ESL and testing materials, which are heavily used and extremely popular with newcomers in both library systems (Quirke 2006).

Given the paucity of research on Canadian libraries' settlement services, it is clear that much work remains to be done in documenting the policies, practices and programs of libraries serving newcomers. In light of the success of newcomer programs, such as the rapidly expanding and popular settlement worker initiative, it is evident that more research, including comprehensive studies, is needed in order to assess the ability of such programs to meet the needs of patrons. Only after further study will it be possible to better understand whether or not, and how, these programs should be implemented in libraries across Ontario and Canada.

Conclusion

The multicultural framework of Canadian society provides unique opportunities to examine the

role that public institutions, such as libraries, play in immigrant settlement. Public libraries in Ontario have formed useful partnerships with all levels of government and community agencies in order to develop and offer services that reflect the wide range of needs of the diverse populations they serve. Public libraries have vast potential in providing updated settlement information to many of our cities' newcomers. It is in recognition of this potential, and with the hope that current trends of rising newcomer poverty and underemployment can be reversed, that the federal, provincial and municipal governments are investing in the informational resources of Ontario libraries. I encourage researchers and policy makers to devote time and energy to understanding the challenges faced in newcomer settlement, and the possible roles public libraries can play in easing this transition.

About the author

LISA QUIRKE is a Toronto researcher exploring the settlement programming of Ontario public libraries. She graduated from Ryerson University in 2006 with an M.A. in Immigration and Settlement Studies.

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This article highlights the further need for ethnically specific research on minorities and electoral political involvement. Understanding the differences is the first step towards encouraging political integration, and addressing the general under-representation trend of marginalized groups in elected Canadian political institutions.

From the Komagata Maru to Six Sikh MPs in Parliament

Factors Influencing Electoral Political Participation in the Canadian-Sikh Community

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Over the course of the 20th century, Canada's Sikh community has travelled the path from political exclusion to political inclusion. The Sikh community was barred entry into Canada in 1914 with the Komagata Maru challenge of the Continuous Journey order-in-council, and was then subjected to strict immigration laws and denied the basic right to vote until 1947. Today, in contrast, eight Canadian-Sikhs serve in provincial political office,[1] six Canadian-Sikhs sit as Members of Parliament,[2] and Punjabi is the fourth most commonly spoken language by MPs in the House of Commons (Rana 2004). On the federal level, Sikhs have become one of the few minority groups in Canada to achieve statistical over-representation[3] in a relatively short period. According to 2001 Statistics Canada data, Sikhs represent just under 1% of the Canadian population, whereas they hold approximately 2% of the 308 seats in the House of Commons.

Approximately 278,400 Sikhs live in Canada. Mostly settled in British Columbia and Ontario, Sikhs are amongst the fastest growing religious groups in the country (Statistics Canada, 2001). Over the past ten years, perhaps one of the most notable successes of this community has been its emergence on the federal and provincial political scene. This article will draw on existing literature to highlight internal factors (forms of capital) and external factors (structural opportunities) that may help to explain this phenomenal success story. Although the political gains have mainly occurred in British Columbia and Ontario, the focus of this article will be on the latter, and specifically on the cities of Brampton and Mississauga.

Internal factors influencing political participation in the Canadian-Sikh community

Social capital in the Canadian-Sikh community

Studies on minority involvement in politics have pointed to the importance of ethnic communities as resources through which candidates from such groups can build social capital, which can easily be translated into political capital (Fennema and

[1] The three Canadian-Sikh MPPs from Ontario are Harinder Takhar (Lib), Kuldip Kular (Lib), Vic Dhillon (Lib). The five Canadian-Sikh MLAs from BC are Harry Lali (NDP), Harry Bains (NDP), Jagrup Brar (NDP), Raj Chouhan (NDP), and Wally Oppal (Lib).

[2] The six Canadian-Sikh MPs are Gurbax Singh Malhi (Lib), Navdeep Singh Bains (Lib), Dr. Ruby Dhalla (Lib), Ujjal Dosanjh (Lib), Sukh Dhaliwal (Lib), and Nina Grewal (Con).

[3] Over-representation is calculated by the ratio of the percentage of Canadian-Sikh MPs to the percentage of the population who indicated their religion as Sikh in the 2001 Census.

Tillie 1999, van Heesum 2002, Berger et al. 2004). In reference to the broader South Asian community, researchers such as Bird (2005) have commented on the "dense and overlapping networks of religious, social and business memberships [that] make them a key community for political mobilization" (Bird 2005: 83). Specifically with regard to Sikhs, there exists a highly developed and thriving community in Brampton and Mississauga with numerous *Gurudwaras*, cultural organizations, sports clubs, media outlets, seniors groups, and other associations based in the area. The volume and scale of religious and cultural organizations creates an expansive network of community linkages that in turn provide Canadian-Sikh candidates with an invaluable support base for community involvement (Matheson 2005).

Cultural capital in the Sikh community

A CULTURE OF POLITICS AND POLITICAL TRANSFERABILITY

The political socialization orientation implies that particular ethnic groups that exhibit differing patterns of political behaviour do so as a result of being "reared in environments and exposed to events and conditions as a consequence of which they have acquired values, attitudes, information and perspectives which also differ" (Clarke et al. 1985: 276). Furthermore, previous research by Black has shown that "[immigrants] have the capability to draw upon their political pasts in order to pay some attention to Canadian politics" (1987: 752).

With regard to Sikhs, they are a religious minority both in India and in Canada. The homeland experience of being a minority has likely created a politically socialized community that recognizes the importance and legitimacy of being involved in politics. Heightened political involvement of a minority group based on homeland experiences is not a unique response by a group to their minority status. For instance, there are numerous examples of the Jewish community exhibiting high levels of electoral political participation, including in the City of Toronto (Siemiatycki and Saloojee 2002). Similarly, the Sikh community appears to have been able to transfer its homeland orientation towards politics, and utilize previous experiences with political organizing to its advantage in the Canadian political context.

ELEVATED POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS – SIKHS IN CANADA

The political socialization of Sikhs in recent times has been advanced by a number of key events that placed Sikhs on the political stage in Canada, and led to the stereotyping of Sikhs as "terrorists" in the mid-1980s. Since then, the struggle to shed this stereotype has been suggested by some Sikhs as a reason that partially explains the political achievements of the community (Ali Khan 1999, Matheson 2005).

As well, the political consciousness of the Canadian-Sikh community has likely been elevated by the need to educate the Canadian public and defend (through political, legal and workplace battles) their right to wear articles of faith. A recent example of such a challenge is the Supreme Court of Canada case *Multani v. Commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeoys*, involving the *kirpan* in Quebec schools.

EXPERIENCE WITH COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Delivering organized responses to issues facing the group is not something new for the Sikh community. According to Judge (1994), the community has responded to the challenges arising from immigration by organizing itself ever since their early days in Canada. The Komagata Maru incident is one of the first examples of such an organized response. The refusal to allow the ship entry into the port resulted in the Vancouver South Asian community (dominated by Sikhs at the time) forming a "Shore Committee," which held protest meetings and raised funds for those on board (Judge 1994). From a political participation perspective, the inclination and experience of the Sikh community in organizing collective responses to specific challenges appears to transfer well into political mobilization.

Economic capital in the Canadian-Sikh community

Social class and financial instability are considerable barriers to minority political participation (Pelletier 1991, Simard et al. 1991, Stasiulis 1997, Siemiatycki and Matheson 2005). An economic profile of the Punjabi[4] community suggests that they are lagging economically when compared with the ethnically English community, with lower levels of income and higher levels of unemployment. However, despite these challenges,

[4] There is some ambiguity in inferring that characteristics of the Punjabi community are also characteristics of the Sikh community, since not all Punjabis are Sikh. However, considering that available statistics do not allow for precision, such an inference in the Canadian context is justified, especially given the dominance of Punjabi-Sikhs in Canada's immigration history from India.

Approximately 278,400 Sikhs live in Canada; mostly settled in British Columbia and Ontario, Sikhs are amongst the fastest growing religious groups in the country (Statistics Canada 2001). Over the past ten years, perhaps one of the most notable successes of this community has been its emergence on the federal and provincial political scene.

it seems that the community has been able to leverage social and cultural capital to make up for economic lags, which can be a barrier to political participation. The interconnection of ethnic resources is also noted by Bourdieu (1986) who suggests that cultural capital and social capital under certain conditions can be converted into economic capital.

In terms of personal economic capital, the six Sikh MPs/MPPs elected in Brampton and Mississauga all came to politics from successful professional and entrepreneurial careers. As noted by Sayers and Jetha (2005), having a successful career can serve as a platform for aspiring politicians to raise one's profile in their ethnic community, and provide them with access to political networks in the broader community. In turn, such exposure gives them the necessary positioning to serve as an intermediary between the broader community and their ethnic group.

External factors influencing political participation

In addition to the internal characteristics of the Canadian-Sikh community that have facilitated political participation, there are a number of structural factors that appear to have contributed to their electoral success.

A history of reliance on the family class immigration category

The historical and continued significance of family class immigration in the formation of the Punjabi community in Canada has been highlighted in previous research by Hugh Johnston (1988) and Walton-Roberts (2003). The strong sense of group collectivity, rather than a sense of individuality, that defines the Punjabi-Sikh community likely has relevance with respect to its overwhelming reliance on family class sponsorship. This is obviously a group of people that values family; and perhaps given its immigration history of isolation and exclusion, the larger Sikh community is considered to be an extension of family. With regard to political participation, it is not surprising then that there appears to be a collective sense of ownership for the campaigns of Sikh candidates, which is evident in the extent of political involvement shown by this community.

Tight residential concentration and the emergence of ethnic ridings

The distinct geographic areas where Canadian-Sikh candidates have been elected is interesting to mention since the majority of the representation, both provincially and federally, is from the Greater Toronto and Vancouver areas. Specifically in the Greater Toronto Area, the electoral gains have come from Brampton and Mississauga, where a relatively high percentage of Sikhs live (10.6% and 3.8% respectively, according to Statistics Canada 2001).

Research by Tossutti and Najem (2002) suggests that a riding's ethnic heterogeneity and the presence of other ethnic nominees in the candidacy race are factors that significantly influence the nomination prospects of an ethnic candidate. As such, the newer suburban ridings of Brampton and Mississauga may provide Sikh candidates with greater access to elected office, as parties in this region recognize the strategy of running ethnic candidates in certain areas. For example, Matheson (2005) noted an interesting pattern with the "colour coding" of ridings in Peel Region during the 2004 federal election. His research found that in particular ridings (mainly those with high percentages of South Asian constituents)[5] "four racial minority Liberal candidates defeated four racial minority Conservative candidates," while in other ridings,[6] "four Caucasian Liberal candidates defeated four Caucasian Conservative candidates" (Matheson 2005: 44). A similar pattern was observed for the 2006 Federal Election. Interestingly, of the eight minority candidates (four Liberals and four Conservatives) mentioned above, seven were Canadian-Sikhs.

[5] Bramalea-Gore-Malton, Brampton-Mississauga South, Brampton-Springdale, and Mississauga-Streetsville.

[6] Brampton West, Mississauga East-Cooksville, Mississauga-Erindale, and Mississauga South.

The political party electoral system

The political party system is a factor that has also contributed to the exceptional gains of Canadian-Sikhs in federal and provincial politics. According to Bird, "where they [visible minorities] are densely concentrated, electoral rules and nomination procedures at the national level produce strong incentives for parties and individual candidates to mobilize visible minority voters" (2005: 82).

In addition to the nomination process that occurs at the local riding association level, minority political participation has been furthered to some extent by the party system which allows the appointment of candidates to ridings by the national party leader (Dhillon 2005). This was certainly the case in the riding of Brampton-Springdale when Prime Minister Paul Martin appointed Ruby Dhalla as the Liberal candidate to stand for the 2004 federal election; she went on to win this seat.

The suburban political landscape

Of the Sikh politicians elected federally, all have been from suburban ridings in the Greater Toronto or Greater Vancouver Area. Research on the suburban success of immigrant and minority electoral candidates in the GTA suggests that the suburban landscape offers greater opportunity for political achievement (Siemiatycki and Matheson 2005).

In contrast with the older ridings of Toronto or Vancouver, political ambitions and machines are believed to not be so entrenched in the newer ridings of the suburbs (Siemiatycki and Matheson 2005). For example, the growth of Peel Region over the last few decades has led to a constant reshuffling of riding boundaries, as well as to the addition of new ridings, both circumstances make political footholds far less rooted. In the 2004 federal election, the ridings of Brampton-Springdale, Mississauga-Brampton South, and Mississauga-Streetsville were open to new candidates and it was from these ridings that two of the three Sikh MPs from Peel (Ruby Dhalla and Navdeep Bains) entered into the House.

Concluding thoughts

As Canada's population continues to diversify, so too should political institutions, in order to reflect changing demographics and encourage integration/social inclusion. However, the involvement of minority communities in Canadian electoral politics has not been occurring at an equal pace across different groups.

In addition to focusing on some of the factors that come together to influence political participation in the Canadian-Sikh community, this article highlights the further need for ethnically specific research on minorities and electoral political involvement. Understanding the differences is the first step towards encouraging political integration, and addressing the general under-representation trend of marginalized groups in elected Canadian political institutions.

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On the eve of the most recent 2006 civic vote, 246,924 names were dropped from Toronto's list of eligible voters because their Canadian citizenship could not be confirmed. Non-citizens comprise 16.2% of the City of Toronto's population.

Invisible City: Immigrants Without Voting Rights in Urban Ontario

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Invisible city: Imagined or real?

Imagine a Canadian city with a population of 370,000 people. That would make it Canada's fourteenth largest city, just 2000 inhabitants smaller than Halifax. Our imagined city would be larger than half the provincial capitals of Canada – twice the size of Regina and almost four times bigger than St. John's. Time is also on our conjured city's side, because it is Canada's fastest growing community.

Sounds like a great place to be – dynamic and full of opportunities. Just don't expect to have a say in how your city is governed. Because no one has the right to vote in this municipality.

Surprisingly, perhaps, this scenario is no fantasy. It plays out in Toronto, and to a lesser degree, in every city in Ontario whenever there is a municipal election. On the eve of the 2006 civic vote, 246,924 names were dropped from Toronto's list of eligible voters because their Canadian citizenship could not be confirmed. Non-citizens comprise 16.2% of the City of Toronto's population.

These disenfranchised persons live in Toronto, most work and pay property tax in Toronto, but they cannot vote in city (or provincial and federal) elections. They all have something else in common: they are all immigrants. Their transgression is not being Canadian citizens. In order to vote municipally in Ontario, a person must be: a) 18 years of age or older, b) a citizen of Canada, and c) either reside in the municipality or pay property tax to it through property owned or rented in it as a non-resident.

This baseline of almost 250,000 persons summarily disenfranchised in Toronto, explains why the city we imagined at the outset has a total population of 370,000. The 2001 Census (still the most recent source of Canadian immigration statistics) showed that 66.8% of Toronto's immigrants were 18 years of age or older. If we add the under-aged third of family members to this voting-deprived group of immigrants, they comprise an "invisible city" of 370,000 persons living in Toronto without any voting rights.

By far the largest "invisible city" of disenfranchised urban residents is to be found in Toronto. But replicas exist across Ontario. In 2001, 26.8% of Ontario's population of 11.4 million was foreign-born. If we assume that the proportion of Ontario's 3,030,075 immigrants who did not hold Canadian citizenship in 2001 is the same as the proportion of Toronto's immigrants who were dropped from the voter's list in 2006, then the total number of voting-deprived immigrants in Ontario is over 615,000! As we have seen, 40% of this total live in Toronto. The remainder are located in cities across the province – especially prevalent in such large immigrant centres as Ottawa, Hamilton, Windsor, Kitchener and Toronto-area municipalities like Mississauga, Brampton, Markham and Richmond Hill.

Who are the disenfranchised immigrants?

Elsewhere, I have identified the three categories of immigrants who are denied the right to vote (Siemiatycki 2006). Based on an analysis of the 2003 City of Toronto election, I concluded that at that time, 263,000 permanent Toronto inhabitants aged 18 or older were denied the right to vote because they were not Canadian citizens. The

largest subset (49%) was comprised of immigrants resident in Canada for more than three years who had not naturalized to take up Canadian citizenship. As the 2001 Census revealed, while the vast majority of immigrants do become Canadian citizens, 16% of immigrants eligible for citizenship have not naturalized. The second largest subset (38%) were those who had been in Canada less than three years, and were not yet eligible for citizenship. And the remainder (13%) were non-status migrants living in Toronto.

The second and third subsets are not eligible to claim Canadian citizenship. The former have not been in the country long enough, and the latter have irregular status which does not lead to citizenship. The largest sub-set, almost half the 263,000 disenfranchised voters are those who have chosen not to the exercise their right to become Canadian citizens.

There are a variety of reasons why immigrants may not naturalize. Some are from countries which do not accept dual citizenship, and losing birthplace citizenship could jeopardize property ownership there and complicate return travel. Some are reluctant to become Canadian because holding citizenship renders a newcomer here ineligible for a variety of government settlement services. Some may not regard the "benefits" of citizenship worth the cost or bother of naturalizing. And some may be uneasy about giving up a lifelong identity attached to their place of birth.

Interestingly, of all immigrants to Canada it is Americans who have the lowest rate of Canadian naturalization. In 2001, 32% of American immigrants eligible for Canadian citizenship had not naturalized – compared as we have seen with a 16% non-citizen rate for all immigrants in Canada (Tran et al. 2005). More generally, the 2001 Census revealed that immigrants to Canada from Africa and Asia are considerably more likely to become Canadian citizens than immigrants from Europe and the United States.

The number of disenfranchised immigrants in Ontario cities is unlikely to diminish any time soon. It is more likely to increase over time. Annual immigration arrivals will stay at the same level, if not increase, and the draw of Ontario remains powerful. So every time an election is called, there will be huge numbers not yet eligible for naturalization. Additionally, as Canada increasingly admits more migrants on a temporary basis – without access to citizenship – the numbers of non-voting inhabitants of our cities will grow.

One resident, one vote: The new urban citizenship

In Toronto, a campaign has been launched to extend municipal voting rights to all permanent inhabitants of the City, regardless of their national citizenship. This call comes from a network of immigrant community organizations and advocacy groups. It has been endorsed by a variety of civic officials, including Toronto Mayor David Miller. Ultimately, however, under Canada's Constitution it is the province which sets municipal voting rules. The "One Resident, One Vote" campaign therefore calls on the Ontario government to amend the *Municipal Elections Act* to extend voting rights to all those 18 years of age or older who make the City their home.

This is a radical political demand. It requires us to re-think and revise some basic, longstanding assumptions we have about the way we do politics. But such are the transformations inherent in global migration today.

Critics of extending the franchise in this fashion typically contend that the right to vote must be earned. And only one measure of entitlement is acceptable – proof of Canadian citizenship. The balance of this paper presents five reasons why such thinking is out of touch with the interests of our cities and Canadian society.

Other countries do it

Today, at least 26 countries in the world provide some measure of non-citizen voting rights. More than half are located in Europe, a handful are in South America, and the rest are scattered worldwide (Earnest 2003). In most instances, the right to vote is extended to all resident non-citizens, regardless of their country of origin. Typically, non-citizen voting rights are limited to local/municipal elections – and preclude participation in national elections.

The most permissive non-citizen voting regime is in New Zealand. Since 1975, all immigrants are eligible to vote in that country's municipal and national elections, after one year of residency in the country. In other words, several countries are practicing a more inclusive approach to immigrant political participation than Canada.

Municipal voting rights are different

The campaign for non-citizen voting rights is addressed to municipal elections. Immigrants overwhelmingly live in cities. Giving non-citizens the right to cast their ballot at municipal elections avoids all possible controversy over

non-Canadians exerting undue influence over federal responsibilities such as foreign policy. Municipal elections are about community issues. Non-citizens are contributing members of these communities.

Municipal voting rights in Canada have always been based on different principles than federal and provincial votes. As noted above, non-residents can legally vote in a municipal election. This is not the case in our federal or provincial elections, and it reflects a *stakeholder* principle that defines municipal voting rights.

A person who owns or rents property in a municipality has the right to vote there (along with their spouse) even if they don't live in the municipality. Since property owners and tenants pay property tax, they finance local government and therefore are deemed entitled to a voice in how the municipality spends their taxes. And in large municipalities there are many thousands of non-resident voters. The same right should be extended to *resident* non-citizens paying property taxes.

This principle is well captured in Toronto's new provincially approved municipal charter. The City of Toronto Act of 2005 identifies the City as a corporation "that is composed of the inhabitants of its geographic area." Indeed – note the emphasis on inhabitants, not citizens.

No taxation without representation

All those who inhabit our cities, finance local government and depend on its services should have the right to decide who runs City Hall.

Voteless and voiceless neighbourhoods

Recent immigrant arrivals are highly residentially concentrated in many cities. Newcomers understandably are typically drawn to living in neighbourhoods where others from their homeland reside. This means that non-citizens are not equally or randomly distributed across urban neighbourhoods.

Toronto provides a striking example of the extent to which some neighbourhoods go voteless and voiceless in municipal elections. Toronto is officially divided into 140 neighbourhoods. In some of these, over 30% of the population are non-citizens. This systemic political exclusion makes it difficult for the issues and needs of these inhabitants to be heard, despite the fact that all pay property taxes, whether their accommodations are owned or rented.

Not coincidentally, Toronto's officially recognized "at risk" neighbourhoods happen to coincide with areas where large numbers of non-citizens live.

Towards a new urban citizenship

Extending the municipal franchise to non-citizen residents will strengthen Canadian democracy, social inclusion and citizenship. Ironically, by placing so much emphasis on the requirement of formal citizenship to vote, we marginalize and prevent many newcomers from developing a real sense of belonging in our cities. Promoting participation is the essence of citizenship, and it strengthens newcomer integration.

This point was well expressed by the Mayor of Dublin, Ireland, in describing how immigrants there feel about being able to vote in the city's election before they became citizens of Ireland. Mayor Michael Conaghan said "They like the idea of being asked for their vote. They feel a part of the city, and I think that's important... I suppose they feel they're not being dismissed" (Young 2005).

Local governments have long been regarded as incubators of democracy. This is where people can most directly engage in collective decision-making and shared sovereignty. And cities of course are where immigrants settle.

In an age of unprecedented global migration, it serves neither newcomers nor our cities, to entrench political exclusion. Who knows: ramping up the message that all urban residents should vote in municipal elections might even raise the habitually low turnout rate of eligible civic voters. Creating a culture of political participation is a shared project for all of us.

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Sponsorship arrangements create a power imbalance for many immigrant and refugee women. When this power imbalance is combined with a lack of proficiency in one of Canada's official languages, it creates fertile ground in which partner abuse can occur. This abuse, in turn, has a strong impact on the risk of homelessness for immigrant and refugee women.

Domestic Violence in Sponsored Relationships and its Links to Homelessness

Implications for Service Delivery for Immigrant and Refugee Women*

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Homelessness is the lack of a place to live. The "absolutely homeless" refers to individuals who live outdoors, in abandoned buildings, in shelters and in hostels (CMHC 2001). The "relatively homeless" (also known as "invisible homeless") are those who live in unsafe, inadequate or insecure housing, pay too much of their income for rent, rent hotel or motel rooms by the month, or temporarily stay with friends or relatives. There are no reliable methods for counting the number of homeless people in Canada and as such, the exact estimates of homeless people are not available. Yet, evidence from service workers suggests that the number of homeless people has increased significantly since the mid-1990s. People without housing are a diverse population. The problem of homelessness has emerged as a particularly difficult issue amongst recent immigrant and refugee women. According to Klodawsky et al. (2005), immigrant and refugee mothers with children are a new and fast-growing group among the homeless.

A 2001 study by Côté, Kérisit and Côté reported that new immigrant and refugee women were particularly vulnerable to homelessness, especially those who had been sponsored by their partners. The sponsorship agreement – a three-year period for a spouse – is based on the premise that the woman's basic needs will be provided by her husband as the sponsor, thus creating a legal bondage of dependency which enforces patterns of inequality (Côté, Kérisit and Côté 2001). In a brief submitted to the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, the National Association of Women and the Law (NAWL) described this principle as a de facto privatization of basic social security by the federal government, which often creates a dynamic of dependence and subordination in the spousal relationship and undermines the equality rights of new immigrant women (NAWL 2001). A family environment of inequality is a fertile ground for domestic violence. Domestic violence refers to a pattern of coercive control that a person exercises over another in a family, common home or a household. This pattern is characterized by physical or sexual violence, verbal abuse, psychological abuse, emotional insults, financial deprivation and spiritual abuse. Other terms used

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in describing domestic violence include domestic abuse, family violence and partner abuse. Few studies have examined the issue of domestic violence and its links to an increased risk of homelessness, and the unique situation faced by immigrant and refugee women in relation to domestic violence and homelessness has been largely overlooked. Immigrant women are extremely vulnerable to a range of factors that have been linked to an increased risk of homelessness.

In addition to domestic violence, problems of poverty and the lack of affordable housing options have also been identified as major contributors to homelessness among women (Callaghan et al. 2002, Buckland et al. 2001, Novac et al. 1996). Just about one-quarter of the women were in shelters for other reasons, and among those, the majority (75%) had sought shelter because they were unable to find affordable housing (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2005). The erosion of earnings and relatively high rates of poverty combined with rising rental costs have created an untenable situation for many women. Despite the overall prosperity of most Canadians over the last ten years, certain marginalized groups such as immigrants, visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples have experienced an economic deterioration in their circumstances (Teelucksingh and Galabuzzi 2005, FCM 2004). In fact, increasing poverty has been identified as a major contributor to the growth in homelessness among families in ten Canadian cities (CMHC 2003). This trend of increasing poverty is exacerbated by problems of unemployment and underemployment, and by income assistance rates that have remained flat or declined while housing costs rose (CMHC 2003).

Ottawa is one of the fastest growing cities in Canada, experiencing 7.3% growth between 1996 and 2001. Most of this growth (39%) has been the result of immigration. Today, one in five Ottawa residents is an immigrant, and by 2020, the ratio is expected to be about one in three (United Way Ottawa 2004). About 75% of new immigrants to Canada now come from developing countries and as a result, Ottawa is growing fast into a multicultural community. More than 15% of the city's population is made up of members of visible minority groups, and this is expected to double by 2020 (Ibid.). The city is also characterized by a severe shortage of affordable housing, with 15,000 households on long waiting lists for social housing that can stretch up to eight years (Klodawsky et al. 2005). Waiting times for affordable housing in Ottawa have grown from three to five years in 1999, to five to eight years by 2002 (FCM 2004). As well, about 1,000 people, on average, sleep in homeless shelters each night (United Way Ottawa 2004).

Approximately 21% of new immigrants to Canada settle in Vancouver each year, and immigrants comprise almost 35% of the current population in the city, where rental units are reported to be more expensive than in all other metropolitan areas. Furthermore, Vancouver is the only major city in Canada where a majority of the population are renters rather than homeowners (City of Vancouver Housing Centre 2003). It is estimated that only about 20% of renters in Vancouver can afford to buy a "starter home." The Greater Vancouver Regional Steering Committee on Homelessness (GVRSCH 2002) reported that the number of households and individuals who were at risk of homelessness had increased dramatically in the Vancouver region between 1991 and 1996 – by 65% for individuals and 48% for households – while the region's population had grown by only 14% over the same period. The report suggested that these increases were likely due to the combined effects of declining household incomes, high housing costs, low vacancy rates, and an insufficient supply of affordable housing. A lack of coordination of support services, particularly those for marginalized groups such as immigrants and refugees, has also been identified as a concern that needs to be addressed (Gray 2001).

This article looks at the specific factors within sponsorship relationships that contribute to and/or compound domestic violence and explores how these dynamics heighten the risk of homelessness for immigrant and refugee women. Its primary objective is to expand knowledge of the experiences of immigrant women at risk of homelessness with a goal to identify effective strategies for empowering and supporting these women to reduce the risk of domestic violence and homelessness.

Methodology

This study focused on the links between domestic violence, sponsorship arrangements, "absolute homelessness" and "relative homelessness," including the homelessness experience of immigrant and refugee women in Ottawa and Vancouver. To understand the relationship among

A loss of status could bring an immediate risk of deportation, with direct impact on an immigrant woman's ability to continue living and working in Canada. Since immigrant women were more likely to depend on their partners for their entire livelihood, a breakdown of the sponsorship arrangement had direct impact on sudden poverty and homelessness.

these issues, the study adopted a qualitative research methodology, one that provided a forum for direct engagement with the study participants. As such, methods used included purposive sampling strategies, face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. In total, 45 interviews were conducted with immigrant and refugee women who had experienced homelessness, including women who were current or former shelter users. A majority had been sponsored by their spouses or partners and had experienced domestic abuse in their relationships. These interviews were conducted in English and French, and upon request, in other ethnic languages using interpretation. In addition to the personal interviews, three focus group discussions were held with 23 frontline workers from homeless shelters, transition homes for abused women, and immigrant settlement agencies. Other study components included a review of relevant research literature and interviews with key informants working in shelters or housing support services.

A demographic profile

A majority of the women interviewed (44%) were between ages 30 and 39 (Table 1). Roughly 25% of the participants were between 20 and 29, 22% were between 40 and 49, and 9% were age 50 or older.

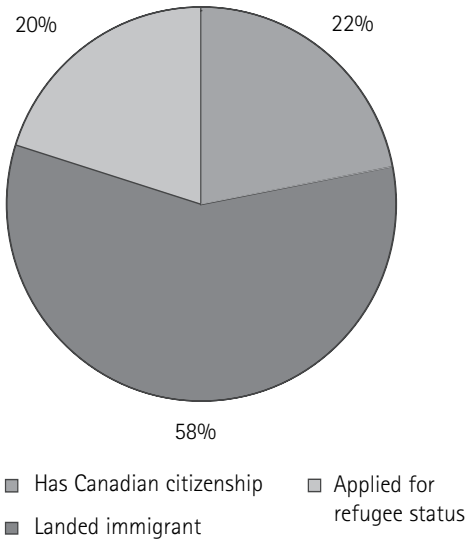
The majority of women interviewed were separated from their spouses or partners (60%). About 27% were divorced, 8% were widowed or never married, and 5% reported being currently married. Most of the women had children (71%), but only 60% lived with their children. Thus, about 10% of the women were separated from their children who, at the time of the interview, were living with their fathers or grandparents.

Most of the women (60%) had obtained a college degree or higher, and most degrees were from foreign universities. Three had completed their master's degree. Others had completed high school (31%) or had some elementary education. One woman reported that she had no formal

TABLE 1
Demographic profile of immigrant and refugee women

Demographic Profile	Number of cases	Proportion of cases (%)
Period of Immigration		
Between 2000 and 2005	31	69.0
Between 1995 and 1999	7	15.0
Between 1990 and 1994	6	14.0
Before 1990	1	2.0
Age		
20-29 years	11	25.0
30-39 years	20	44.0
40-49 years	10	22.0
50+ years	4	9.0
Marital Status		
Married/Common law	2	5.0
Separated	27	60.0
Widowed/Never married	4	8.0
Divorced	12	27.0
Education		
No formal education	1	1.0
Grade 1-8	3	7.0
Grade 9-12	14	31.0
College diploma	5	11.0
Bachelor's degree or higher	22	49.0
Language proficiency		
English	24	53.0
French	11	25.0
Both English and French	5	11.0
No official language	5	11.0
Employment status		
Full-time employment	3	7.0
Part-time employment	5	11.0
Unemployed	34	75.0
Student	3	7.0
Sources of income		
Work	8	18.0
Social assistance	33	73.0
Other sources	4	9.0
Monthly earnings		
Less than $250 per month	4	9
$250-$500 per month	5	11
$501-$1,000 per month	24	53
More than $1,000 per month	12	27

FIGURE 1
Immigrant status of immigrant and refugee women



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using primary data collected for this study. N=45

education. A majority of the women interviewed were able to communicate in English, French, or both. Others (11%), however, were unable to communicate in either official language. Among all the women interviewed, a total of 21 languages were represented.

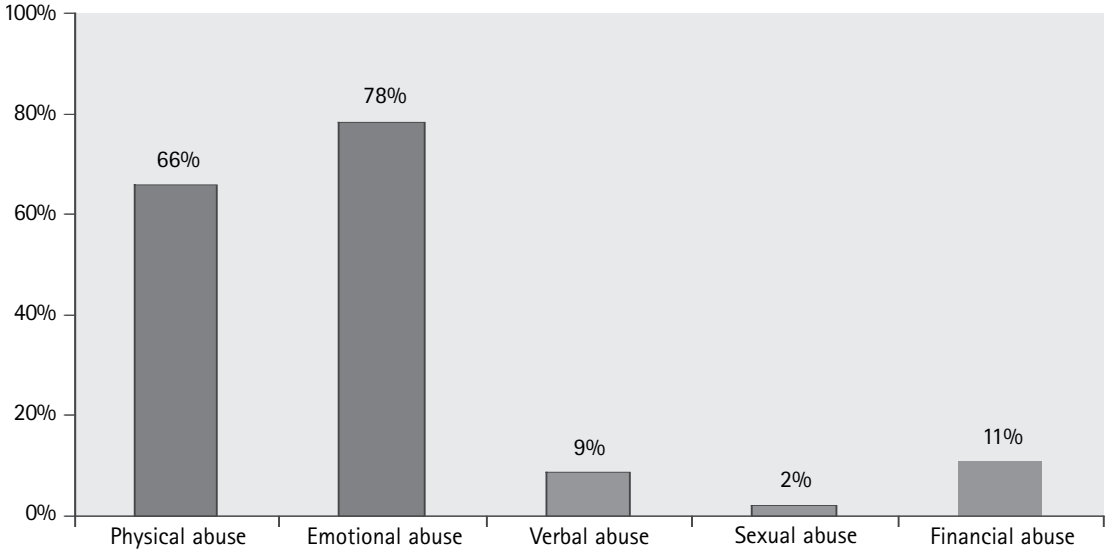
Most of the women interviewed were unemployed (76%). A few (18%) worked full-time or part-time, and three were enrolled in school. A majority of the women (73%) relied on social assistance as their source of income. Others received income from employment (18%), and 9% received income from other sources such as child support or income from religious institutions.

A majority of the women interviewed (53%) lived on $501 to $1,000 per month. About 22% lived on monthly incomes of $1,000 to $1,500, while 11% had monthly incomes of $250 to $500, and 9% lived on less that $250 per month. Only two of the women interviewed had a monthly income of more than $1,500.

Immigration status of immigrant and refugee women

Women interviewed for this study had immigrated to Canada from different parts of the world, including Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. A total of 25 countries were reported as participants' country of origin. Seven in ten women (69%) were new immigrants to Canada, having arrived within the last five years. In addition, 15% had immigrated ten to 15 years earlier, with only one participant having immigrated before 1990. A majority of the women in the sample (58%) were landed immigrants. About 22% had Canadian citizenship, while 20% had applied for refugee

FIGURE 2
Immigrant and refugee women, by type of abuse experienced



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using primary data collected for this study. N=45

status in Canada at some time in their lives. While approximately half of the women who had applied for refugee status had been successful and become permanent residents, the others had not been approved at the time of the study interview and therefore did not have status.

Types of abuse

Two types of partner abuse were the most commonly reported by study participants – physical abuse and emotional abuse. A majority of the immigrant and refugee women interviewed (78%) said they had experienced emotional abuse, and 66% said they had experienced physical violence at the hands of their spouse or partner. Other types of abuse by their partners included financial abuse (11%), verbal abuse (9%), and sexual abuse (2%). All the abuse reported occurred within the context of a marriage or common-law relationship.

Housing patterns

At the time of this study, the majority of immigrant and refugee women interviewed (55.5%) were living in subsidized housing units. About 31% were shelter residents. Some women (11%) were residing in basement rental units in private homes. Only one woman was living as a guest in her cousin's house at the time of the interview.

Sponsorship and immigrant status

> "Sponsorship procedures imprison women."
> — *Study participant*

A majority of the study participants had immigrated under the sponsorship program as dependants of their husbands. The women had little knowledge of Canada's immigration system, enabling their partners to use the process against them. The concept of sponsorship and the process used to implement it put extraordinary powers in the hands of the sponsors/husbands. Study participants expressed strong feelings about the impact of the sponsorship process on their lives:

> "Men use the papers to get power."

> "It is a weapon of violence for men."

> "He said I owed this paradise to him."

> "I had no idea about what my status was. All I knew was that my status depended on him."

> "I didn't even know that I was a permanent resident."

> "He kept saying that bringing me over had cost $10,000 that I had to re-pay before I left him."

Women who arrived as visitors or refugees were in even more precarious situations due to the temporary nature of their status, and they could be deported until their application for landed immigrant status was accepted.

> "He threatened to tell immigration to send me back. He was holding my life in his hands."

> "I thought I had status, only to find out that he had never filed the sponsorship papers."

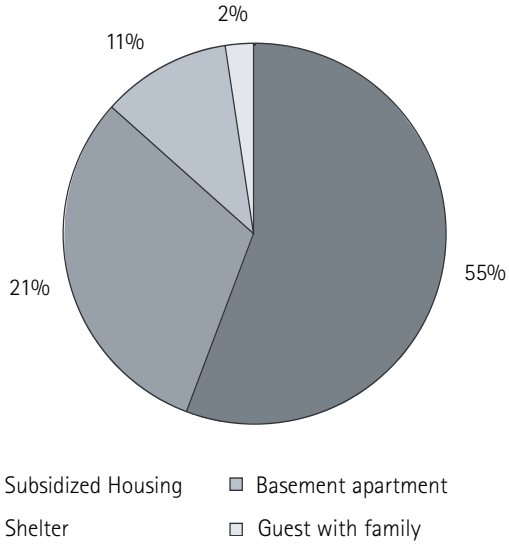
> "I never saw the papers."

> "He always said that he had brought me over, that he had lifted me out of a hole. The shelter helped me with the process of normalizing my status here because I had lost my diplomatic status."

> "He would disappear for a weekend or longer, and I couldn't say anything about it because I didn't have any resident status."

The sponsorship agreement also influenced how other family members viewed and treated husbands. He was "Mr. Good" for facilitating the sponsorship, so the immigrant woman was often blamed if the relationship did not work out. In

FIGURE 3
Current housing patterns of immigrant and refugee women



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using primary data collected for this study. N=45

The current sponsorship application process should more actively engage immigrant women, rather than putting them in a passive role. Immigrant women need to be the principal applicants for sponsorship based on their marriage or relationship to the partner. Translation services for those who may not be proficient in Canada's official languages are critical in this area.

cases of arranged marriages, women had little support if the marriage broke down. In some cases, the husband spoke poorly about his wife and informed their extended family in the country of origin that the wife had become "too independent" or "too Canadian." Extended family members would then advise the woman to be more submissive and to behave in the way her husband expected. If a woman insisted on leaving her husband, she would run the risk of being isolated from her immigrant or ethnic community or even faced the risk of rejection from her immediate family.

A loss of status could bring an immediate risk of deportation, with direct impact on an immigrant woman's ability to continue living and working in Canada. Since immigrant women were more likely to depend on their partners for their entire livelihood, a breakdown of the sponsorship arrangement had direct impact on sudden poverty and homelessness.

Discussion

When abuse occurs in a sponsorship arrangement, separation can further jeopardize a woman's status. Since "sponsorship ties their very existence in Canada to that of their husband's," a breakdown in the relationship destabilizes the women's lives and leaves them with few alternatives and at a greater risk of homelessness. Many of the immigrant and refugee women interviewed said they lived in a chronically vulnerable state. Violence by their husband/partner became the "final straw" and led them into homelessness. A lack of proficiency in English or French compounded the likelihood of unemployment, poverty and social isolation, and increased their dependence on their husbands/partners. Lack of official language proficiency also inhibited their ability to reach out for help and it affected the quality of the help they received.

Husbands and partners of immigrant and refugee women were said to exhibit a sense of entitlement and ownership of the women, and often enforced total control over all aspects of the women's lives. Different ethnic marriage rites, including arranged marriages, can also project a message that the woman is being "given away" and therefore "owned" by her husband. Sponsorship arrangements can reinforce this message of ownership and entitlement, as the men control the sponsorship process. "If you do not listen to me, I will send you back" was a commonly heard threat. As a result, a major part of partner abuse among immigrant and refugee women involved control of resources and financial abuse. Emotional and verbal abuses were reported to be common among immigrant and refugee families. Husbands/partners often dictated what the women could and could not do, including obtaining employment or going to school, visiting friends, making phone calls, and even talking to neighbours. The women were regularly told that they were not "good enough" and would not survive in Canada without their husbands. Not surprisingly, this put enormous emotional strain on these women who often became confused about life in Canada.

Sponsorship arrangements also directly impact how social services programs respond to immigrant and refugee women who experience homelessness. The nature of the sponsorship agreement determines a woman's status, including her eligibility for financial assistance, housing, and other kinds of support. For example, women without landed immigrant status are ineligible for subsidized housing, and there are eligibility requirements for legal aid. Frontline workers have observed husbands deliberately withhold information from their wives or give them inaccurate information about their sponsorship and their rights in Canada.

Immigrant and refugee women who experience homelessness require a range of housing supports to provide a holistic approach to their well-being. For such women, their homelessness requires more than just housing because of the increased likelihood of links to partner violence, the breakdown of sponsorship arrangements, unemployment, poverty, a lack of official language proficiency, and social isolation. Once the women reached out for help, they found several different kinds of help available, however

for many, the services were reported to be inadequate and insensitive to their unique needs.

Options

In order to develop more effective strategies to support and empower immigrant and refugee women who are at risk of domestic violence and homelessness, the following options may be considered:

- The current sponsorship application process should more actively engage immigrant women, rather than putting them in a passive role. Immigrant women need to be the principal applicants for sponsorship based on their marriage or relationship to the partner. Translation services for those who may not be proficient in Canada's official languages are critical in this area.
- In order to support the integration of immigrant families into Canadian society, the settlement process should focus on immigrant and refugee women. Here again, language training is crucial to their success, and customized settlement counselling is also essential in ensuring successful integration of women into Canadian society.
- Language training should be central to the settlement process for immigrant and refugee women. The process should provide mandatory language assessments, as well as opportunities for training in English or French, including free language classes and provisions for transportation and childcare.
- Immigrant and refugee women need particular spaces in which to interact with others from their community and with volunteer counsellors. Such spaces would provide a forum in which they could socialize with other women, learn about Canada, and obtain information about their rights, responsibilities, and the benefits available in their new society.
- Education programs should be developed in conjunction with leaders from the community. Information provided would focus on Canadian laws, women's rights, and issues around partner violence, parenting, and other topics relevant to the successful integration of new immigrants to Canada.
- Support services for immigrant and refugee women and their families who are homeless should incorporate cultural competency as part of their core delivery principles. For example, services should respect and reflect the beliefs, attitudes, languages, and actions of the population being served. Support services should also take into account the woman's immigration and socio-economic status, her knowledge of and access to the criminal justice system, her proficiency in English or French, as well as possible vulnerability to racism, discrimination, and ostracism from her own ethnic community.
- The lack of affordable housing is a problem that can only be addressed by action at all levels of government. More emergency shelters for the homeless, transitional housing, and shelters for abused women are needed. A monitoring system to ensure fairness in the provision of social and low-income housing is needed. Such a system would help prevent racism and discrimination in the allocation of social housing.
- Public education programs are needed, with a focus on anti-racism and anti-discrimination in order to enhance the creation of a more inclusive Canadian society.

Conclusion

Sponsorship arrangements create a power imbalance for many immigrant and refugee women. When this power imbalance is combined with a lack of proficiency in one of Canada's official languages, it creates fertile ground in which partner abuse can occur. This abuse, in turn, has a strong impact on the risk of homelessness for immigrant and refugee women. The presence of domestic violence, the breakdown of sponsorship agreements, and a lack of official language proficiency all play major roles in leading immigrant and refugee women into homelessness.

The ideas for action presented in this report require urgent attention. Through this research project, partnerships have been created among service agencies and frontline workers who advocate on behalf of immigrant and refugee women experiencing homelessness, and these partnerships can be utilized to help effect change. The increasing trend of homelessness among immigrant and refugee women has negative consequences, not only for immigrant and refugee women themselves, but also for their families and society at large. This report therefore calls for effective policies and actions to protect and secure the future of an important segment of women in Canadian society.

About the author

EKUWA SMITH conducted this study for the Housing and Homelessness Branch of Human Resource and Social Development Canada in her role as a Senior Research Associate with the Canadian Council on Social Development. She is currently a research officer with the Multiculturalism and Human Rights Branch of Canadian Heritage.

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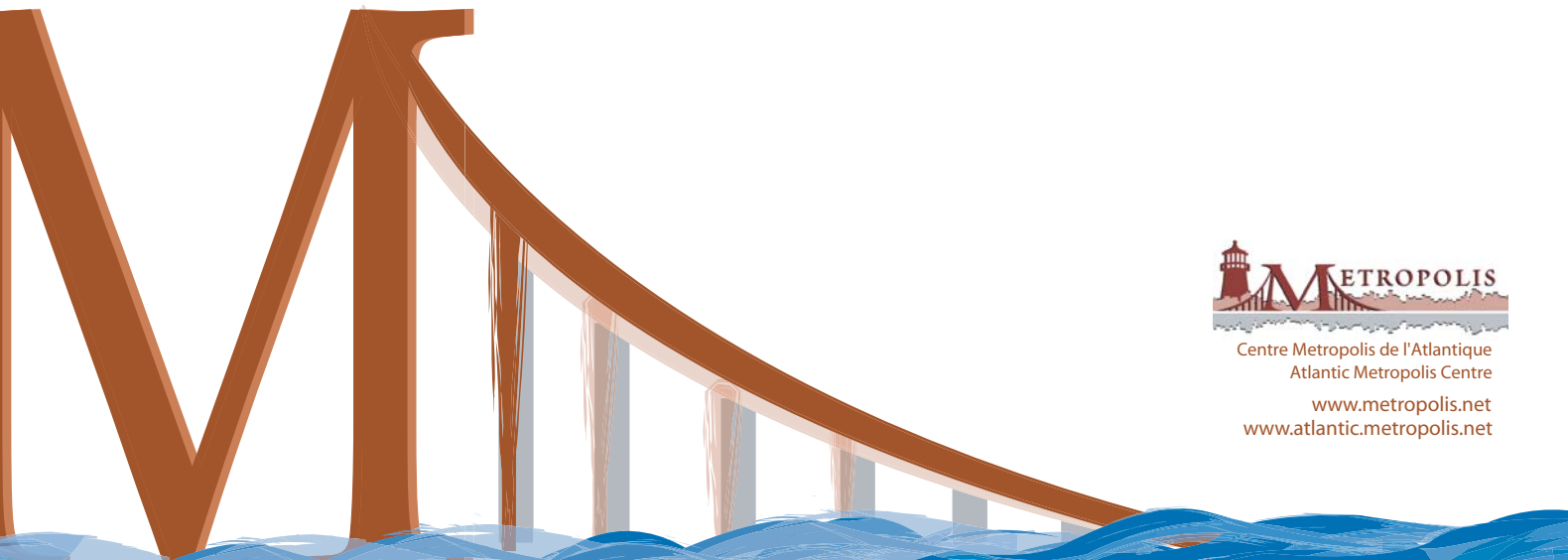

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