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Our diverse cities

NUMBER 5 • SPRING 2008

Atlantic Region

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Our diverse cities

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Introduction
Our Diverse Cities: Atlantic Region

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This edition of Our Diverse Cities *is dedicated to research and policy on immigration and diversity in Atlantic Canada. As the fourth issue of* Our Diverse Cities *was dedicated to the situation in Ontario, this edition is a compilation of Atlantic-based research, policy and program initiatives about the changing demographics and socio-cultural makeup of the Atlantic Provinces.*

As each provincial government as well as numerous community organizations and settlement-providing organizations were invited to contribute, this publication provides an important compilation of regional approaches to policy and program development on the recruitment and retention of immigrants to the Atlantic region. The articles included present research, a great deal of which was funded by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre, and the strategies of municipal, provincial and regional institutions and community organizations for improving immigrant attraction to, and retention in, an increasingly diverse Atlantic Canada.

Atlantic Canada and Immigration: Policy Initiatives and Direction

In the last five to ten years, immigration has emerged as a major public policy issue in Atlantic Canada. Declining birth rates, the ageing of the resident population, out-migration (especially among young people), and a looming skills shortage have combined to focus attention on the need to develop and implement effective population strategies. Concern for the viability of rural communities, where the rate of demographic decline is greater than in urban centres, and the desire to preserve and strengthen the place of the region's Francophone minority have increased the sense of urgency that is shared by policy-makers at all levels of government as well as by community organizations. The recruitment and retention of more immigrants, while only one element in an overall population strategy, is seen as key to the economic health and social well-being of the Atlantic region.

Yet the challenges in the way of achieving greater immigration to the area are considerable. While the Atlantic population accounts for more than 7% of all Canadians, in 2006 the region's share of national immigration was only 1.4% (unpublished research courtesy of Ather Akbari). Lack of appropriate employment opportunities, barriers to credential recognition, and a lack in most places of existing ethnic communities have discouraged immigrants from either choosing Atlantic Canada as their destination or remaining in the region after their arrival. When immigration emerged as a major public policy concern, many parts of Atlantic Canada were actually experiencing declines in the numbers of new immigrants (following a spike in the mid-1990s) and/or deteriorating retention rates (Evernden; Nova Scotia Immigration Strategy 2005). The challenge has been to reverse these negative tendencies, and to build successful immigration strategies from a very small base.

All three levels of government have taken major steps toward meeting the challenge. The federal government, through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), supports a suite of programs in the region that provide language training, settlement services, refugee assistance, support to employers and temporary foreign workers, and the HOST program which matches volunteer families with newcomers (CIC – Atlantic Region). Such programs are developed in partnership with the provinces and delivered through non-governmental organizations (Arsenault; Foster). Federal partners have also come together with the provinces to establish the

Atlantic Population Table, a forum for stakeholders to share ideas and information in support of overall population strategy for the region. Moreover, a number of federal departments and agencies have joined with the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council to fund the Atlantic Metropolis Centre (AMC), whose mandate is to conduct and disseminate policy-relevant research on immigration, diversity and integration. The total federal investment in immigration programs and initiatives has increased appreciably in recent years.

Federal-provincial cooperation in the area of immigration is equally apparent from the point of view of the provinces. Beginning with New Brunswick in 1999, all four Atlantic provinces agreed upon Provincial Nominee Programs with the Government of Canada. These programs allow the provinces to expedite the process of immigration for selected newcomers, focusing on those who either have a secure offer or employment or can present a viable plan to invest in or start businesses. In addition, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia have entered into Federal-Provincial Framework Agreements that spell out how the provincial and federal governments will work together on a range of immigration issues (Evernden). All four provinces have also recently created offices dedicated to immigration and population strategy. Staff resources and provincial budget allocations in support of these agencies have been increased significantly as provinces work to promote themselves as attractive destinations for immigrants and to foster a welcoming environment. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador have also developed and published immigration strategies to guide their work, and New Brunswick is currently in the process of doing so (Jollymore and Poirier; Burke; Bruce). The need to encourage "welcoming communities" is a constant refrain in these strategies and in the policy discussions that surround them. Yet it has become increasingly clear that a "welcoming community" must be not only "friendly" but also a "helpful" community, one that facilitates the connection of immigrants with local institutions and social networks (Flint).

Municipal as well as federal and provincial governments have been engaging the issue of immigration and its effects on socio-cultural diversity in the Atlantic (Toro Lara). Immigration is very much on the agenda of the Atlantic Mayors Congress. In 2005, it sponsored an Atlantic Immigration Conference to explore ways in which more immigrants could be attracted to both urban and rural communities and integrated into them. It was at this conference that the Halifax Regional Council announced that it had adopted a vision to welcome immigrants into the community and that it was working on its own immigration action plan, intended to complement the initiatives of the federal and provincial governments. This action plan was subsequently published. The Greater Halifax Partnership (GHP), a public-private sector agency dedicated to promoting the economic and social vitality of the Halifax metropolitan area, has also led the development of a community-based immigration strategy for the region, entitled [The Halifax Regional Immigration Strategy], 2005. The GHP is working on many levels to encourage immigration, and has an especially important role in the crucial task of engaging the private sector (Greater Halifax Partnership).

Immigration trends and diversity in Atlantic Canada

The United States and the United Kingdom have been and remain important sources of immigrants to Atlantic Canada. Recent immigration strategies, however, recognize the need to embrace the trend to greater diversity in source countries as many recent newcomers have come from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. One particular source of potential immigrants to Atlantic Canada that has been identified in all recently developed strategies is international students. The number of international students studying in Atlantic Canadian universities has doubled in the last ten years (Akbari and Sun 2006). The fact that they are already living in and are familiar with the region, that they will earn well-recognized Canadian credentials, and that they may already have gained some Canadian work experience makes them an obvious and highly desirable group from which to recruit new permanent residents. In support of efforts in this direction, both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have recently signed agreements with CIC that allows international students to work part-time off-campus while studying and to work full-time in their fields for two years after graduation.

Community organizations, especially multicultural councils and settlement service providers, are extremely important to the

Beginning with New Brunswick in 1999, all four Atlantic provinces agreed upon Provincial Nominee Programs with the Government of Canada. These programs allow the provinces to expedite the process of immigration for selected newcomers, focusing on those who either have a secure offer or employment or can present a viable plan to invest in or start businesses.

attraction, settlement and integration of newcomers and immigrants in the Atlantic region. Arsenault, Campbell, Connellan and Foster explain the importance of settlement service provision, the need to understand newcomer needs, and the ways community organizations are essential in establishing Atlantic communities as welcoming and receptive to the needs of newcomers and immigrants. In addition to the direct services they provide, they have played a crucial role in raising the profile of immigration and diversity issues as public policy issues. For example, the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) Partnership Conference held in Halifax did a great deal to attract favourable attention to the immigration agenda in Nova Scotia and the region. Community organizations have also been very important partners of the AMC.

The immigration and retention efforts of recent years are beginning to show results. Analysis of census data by Ather Akbari shows that between 2001 and 2006, the annual immigrant inflow into the region increased by 75%, with Prince Edward Island leading the way with the largest rate of growth. The rate of retention has also increased significantly, from 52%of immigrants arriving between 1996 and 2001 to 64% arriving between 2001 and 2006. The distribution of improvements in retention rates across the four provinces differs from the relative increases in arrivals. Nova Scotia, third in the percentage increase of new immigrants, was first in the relative improvement of retention rates. New Brunswick, however, tops the list in absolute terms with a retention rate of 75% of recent arrivals (Akbari 2008). While the number of immigrants coming to and remaining in the Atlantic provinces remains small by national standards, the trend is toward significant growth.

Atlantic-based research on immigrant attraction and retention and cultural diversity

The second part of this publication contains articles based on research supported by, among others, the AMC. The first of these address the themes of "integration and religion" and "integration and intercultural competence," and are followed by articles on two broad themes: "social networks" and "research on immigrant women and gender." Gender-based research and research about immigrant women is a result of work from the AMC's research domain "Gender, migration and diversity/immigrant women," whereas the research on social networks is a cross-domain project undertaken by AMC researchers in various disciplines.

Integration and religion

The integration of religious groups is examined in three projects. Erhard and Bowlby describe the changing architectural landscape of Halifax where, in some cases, various religions take over existing structures, while in other cases, they put up new buildings. This openness is reflected in the successful integration of a group of Buddhists from affluent American communities who wanted to settle in a less militaristic environment, that of Halifax (Gambold Miller). Van den Hoonard, on the other hand, describes the less positive case of Bahá'í immigrants to Newfoundland. While well received by their coreligionists, they had more difficult experiences in their dealings with society in general, particularly in small communities

Integration and intercultural skills

Four articles stress the need for policies, administrative measures and intake practices that are better adapted to cultural diversity, or "more culturally competent." The range of challenges is first illustrated by the case of health care networks in Newfoundland (Vardy, Ryan and Audas) and Nova Scotia (Weerasinghe). In Newfoundland, efforts to provide basic services are hampered by the poor retention rate for International Medical Graduates (IMGs) in remote regions. The author recommends a better orientation program, increased welcoming efforts by communities, and a program of continuing medical education that would reduce

social and professional isolation. In Nova Scotia, where health care availability is better, there is more emphasis on cultural diversity. Weerasinghe stresses the need for cultural competency standards, multicultural health policies and the inclusion of intercultural communication in medical training programs. In a very different domain – sport and sports organizations – Livingston, Tirone, Smith and Miller report on the problems generated by the complexity of accreditation procedures and the lack of intercultural skills. They recommend, among other things, that the Coaching Association of Canada and Sport Canada develop directives for the integration of newcomers into sport and coaching. Lastly, Belkhodja's film documentary highlights the gap between the efforts of the City of Moncton to integrate immigrant graduates and the sad reality of the call centres where all too many of them end up. Hidden on the fringes of the urban fabric, these centres symbolize the status of immigrants who have become invisible.

Social networks: A multidimensional project

Gallant presents preliminary data from a cross-domain project that profiles immigrant communities in Atlantic Canada, and the role of networks in attracting, retaining and integrating immigrants, focusing on four immigrant communities in the region.

Quaicoe makes a generally positive assessment of the effect of various forms of education, from those offered by NGOs who provide initial intake services to the universities, on the social networks of immigrants in Atlantic Canada. The author also notes, however, that integration is easier in postsecondary institutions. Her respondents believe that integration and retention are primarily linked to mastery of the official languages of Canada, and to higher education.

According to Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou, social networks are strongly marked by sexual differences: whereas men associate on the basis of language, sports, religion and friendship, women put more emphasis on family ties, dietary preferences, caregiving and religious activities. Since women immigrants have less access to professional employment, they do volunteer work and build new types of networks on that basis. Similarly, new modes of communication (international telephones and the Internet) facilitate intra-network relations and the maintenance of contact with networks in the country of origin. In general, women's networks are denser in social and ethnic terms and accelerate the social, cultural and economic integration of all family members.

According to Weerasinghe, access to the health care network is facilitated by ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic networks, and in contrast to other areas, there are no sexual differences between the various types of health social networks. In addition to their positive impact on the mental and physical health of immigrants, these networks improve their rate of use of health care services.

Networks made up of family and friends, particularly in the Lebanese and Hindu communities, promote the economic integration of newcomers. Akbari observes, however, that once they are settled, these immigrants tend to become more mobile and less dependent on their networks.

Gardiner Barber surveyed social networks with regard to the concepts of security and citizenship, and found that the former is primarily related to economic security, whereas the latter is much more complex: religious, linguistic, racial, geographical and cultural factors have a widely varying effect on the concept of citizenship within immigrant networks. However, multiculturalism seems to constitute a suitable framework for the new transnational citizenships becoming apparent in the Atlantic region.

Research on immigrant women and gender

Two articles paint a dark picture of the overall situation of women immigrants in the Maritimes. In Halifax, women from sub-Saharan Africa suffer mainly from refusal to recognize their qualifications, from racial and linguistic discrimination and from difficulties in accessing education because of their dual role as employees and mothers (Topen). In the case of Newfoundland, Jaya and Porter noted additional factors such as the lack of suitable jobs and language training, the negative effect on families of isolation, depression brought on by unemployment, and housing and transportation problems.

More specific questions such as cross-cultural motherhood, violence and the combination of security and immigration are addressed by Cottrell, Yax-Fraser and Tastsoglou. Women immigrants interviewed by Cottrell report prejudice on the part of some authorities, who

tend to attribute family violence to original cultures as a way of minimizing its importance. Furthermore, the services that are available are fragmented and dispersed among various agencies. The author also points to the fact that many women are unaware of available resources and that others often hesitate to use these services because of negative reactions within the family. Yax-Fraser reports a tendency to obscure the key role mothers play in raising children between two cultures. The lack of analysis of cross-cultural mothering in the design and implementation of settlement programs relegates this phenomenon to the private sphere, whereas in reality, it is an important mechanism for integration and transfer between the private sphere and the public or political sphere: these mothers contribute to the formation of their children's identity as well as to the integration of the family into the social fabric, and thus to the transformation of Canadian society. The growing tendency to confuse security and immigration in Canada was analyzed by a team of 48 in six cities (Tastsoglou). Such confusion obscures the security concerns of immigrants, assigns a larger role to the state and to the bureaucracy, reinforces borders and increases racism. The group recommends responding to Canadian rather than American priorities, revising citizenship legislation on the basis of individual as well as collective and multicultural freedoms, and amending the definition of terrorism in the statute that relates to it.

Lastly, Ku's research, as well as work done by Brigham and Walsh, explore new theoretical and methodological avenues adapted to issues involving women immigrants. Ku develops the basis of a transnational feminist analysis that is "conscious of gender as intermediating and mediated by other systems of domination, and accounting for specific, local and subjective aspects in the context of macro and material structures that organize gender relations." Such an approach is said to enable identification of the complex circumstances that both marginalize women immigrants and lead them to negotiate new roles within the host society. Brigham and Walsh use artistic expression – visual arts, narrative, dramatic dialogue and so on – to encourage women immigrants to express their experiences more effectively. In this way, the authors claim, women immigrants are led not only to represent themselves, but also to deconstruct and reconstruct their representations and those of others.

Concluding remarks

We hope that this edition of *Our Diverse Cities* dedicated to Atlantic Canada has increased understandings and knowledge about the history of migration to the Atlantic, while also describing research related to immigration and retention rates and the current state of affairs of the growing diverse communities in the Atlantic region. Its contents may also raise some questions relevant to research, program and policy needs.

Research capacity in the areas of immigrant attraction, retention, integration and cultural diversity is certainly increasing in the Atlantic region. All levels of government, community organizations and many academic researchers have turned their attention to the demographic and immigration trends in the region and are working toward enhancing knowledge and research, as well as policies and programs that encourage the healthy and positive integration of newcomers, immigrants and ethnic minority groups in the cities and rural areas of Atlantic Canada.

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Immigrants in Atlantic Canada

A Profile

Throughout this issue of Our Diverse Cities *there is a series of immigrant profiles for each of the Atlantic provinces, plus this one on the Atlantic region as a whole. These profiles have been drawn in large part from a series of much more detailed profiles prepared by a team led by Professor Ather Akbari of Saint Mary's University and the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology, Islamabad, Pakistan. He is also leader of the economics domain of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre. The research team included professors Scott Lynch of Memorial University, Wimal Rankaduwa of the University of Prince Edward Island, and Ted McDonald of the University of New Brunswick. Their detailed reports are posted on the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's website. This research was supported by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada.*

Demographic trends in Atlantic Canada

Since 1945, population growth rates in Atlantic Canada have declined continuously, and at the provincial level have largely stagnated, or even turned negative, in the early years of the 21st century. Declining fertility rates and net out-migration have been the major causes. From 2001 to 2006, the region's population remained unchanged at 2.3 million, with slight increases in the three Maritime provinces being offset by a drop in Newfoundland and Labrador. Since 1996, however, the total regional population has dropped by about 52,000. Without immigration, this drop would have been 25,000 more. Since 2001, all the provinces (not just Newfoundland and Labrador) would have lost population without new immigrants coming in.

Immigration trends in Atlantic Canada

Immigrants make up only 3.4% of the Atlantic population, compared with about one-fifth for Canada as a whole. While it is home to 7.2% of all Canadians, the region receives only about 2% of immigrants coming to Canada each year, with about half settling in Nova Scotia. More aggressive efforts to attract more immigrants to the region are showing results as each Atlantic province has increased its immigrant inflows since 2001, when the region's share of national immigration was only 1.2%.

Immigrant settlement patterns

In 2006, while about 55% of non-immigrants lived in urban Atlantic Canada, 70% of all immigrants and 80% of recent immigrants (those who had arrived since 2001) lived there. However, half of the recent immigrants who lived in rural Atlantic Canada were in areas considered highly rural. Immigrants from the United States and Europe were more likely to be farmers or running small businesses. Immigrants from India and China may be provincial nominees located in rural areas to fill professional shortages.

Age of recent arrivals

More than three-quarters of immigrants coming to Atlantic Canada between 2001 and 2006 were under 45, while only about 55% of the total population in 2006 was in that age group. Therefore, newly arrived immigrants bring down the average age of the total population, and increase the number of people who are potential members of the region's labour force. Recent

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immigrants have accounted for about 45% of the growth in Atlantic Canada's recent labour force, nine times higher than their contribution during 1981-1986.

Class composition of immigrants

Most immigrants arrive under the family class category, but the number of skilled category immigrants has been rising in recent years and that of business class immigrants has been falling. This drop is mainly due to changes in the admission rules for business class immigrants. The number of refugees has stayed steady since 1981.

Where do immigrants come from?

Since the early 1990s, the source country composition of immigrants to Atlantic Canada has shifted from Europe to Asia, including the Middle East. Other parts of Canada began this shift in the early 1970s due to changes in Canadian immigration rules, and global political and economic developments. After the first Gulf War (1991), many immigrants to Atlantic Canada came from the Middle East, many to Nova Scotia, where the immigrant inflow doubled to about 3,600 per year in the mid-1990s. This was mainly due to aggressive immigration consultant activity, and was unsustainable.

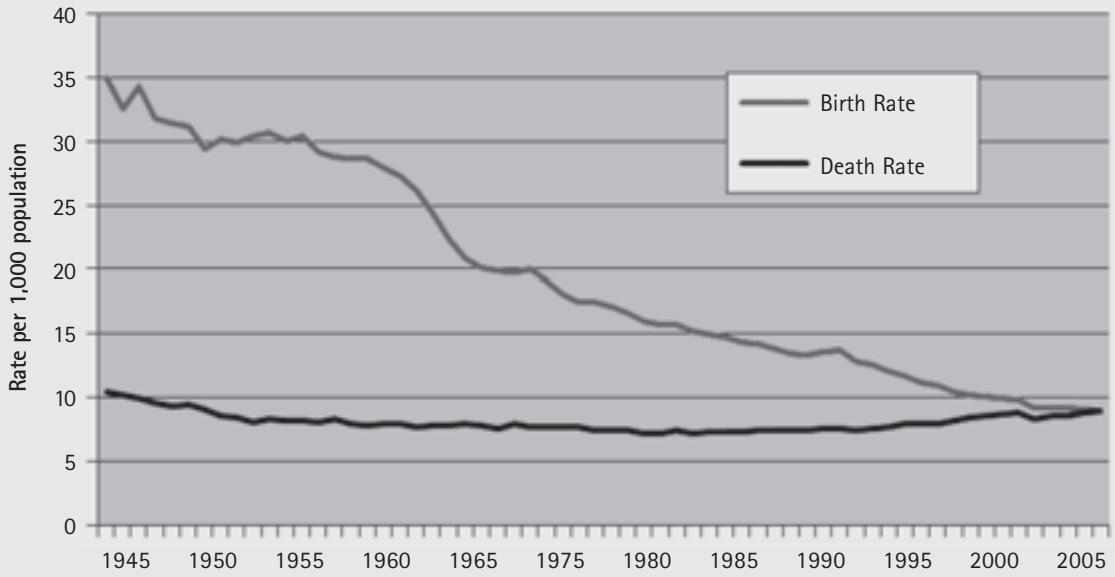
The top five source countries of origin for immigrants since 2003 have been China, the United States, the United Kingdom, Korea, and Egypt.

Immigrant retention

In Atlantic Canada, the immigrant retention rate dropped significantly from about 75% in the first half of the 1980s to less than half ten years later. Many moved on to places in central and western Canada with established communities of immigrants from the same parts of the world, and which offer the comfort of familiar customs, language, religion, and traditions. Retention rates since the mid-1990s have improved, however, and in 2006 Atlantic Canada is retaining almost two-thirds of the immigrants who first settle there.

FIGURE 1

Birth and death rates, Atlantic Canada, 1945-2006



Source: Statistics Canada; the Provinces.

Education levels and labour market performance

More immigrants are now arriving with higher educational levels than either those who came in the past, or non-immigrants. In 1981, immigrants formed 4.5% of the labour force in Atlantic Canada compared with 19% of Canada's labour force. In 2001, immigrants had dropped to 3.6% of the regional labour force while edging up to 20% of the national labour force, but their contribution has increased steeply as non-immigrant labour force growth has slowed down. However, labour force participation rates have been declining among new arrivals since the early 1990s. With the increase in family class immigrants, many younger people are still in school. By contrast, participation rates among non-immigrants have increased since the early 1990s, although remaining below those of recent immigrants.

Immigrants generally earn more income, have a lower unemployment rate, and receive a lower percentage of income as government transfers than non-immigrants do. However, among recent immigrants, incomes have been falling and unemployment rates have been rising over time, indicating difficulties faced by new arrivals in labour market integration.

Atlantic Canada has received fewer highly skilled immigrants (professionals and managers) between the mid-1990s and 2002, but this has reversed since 2002. This is probably an outcome of more aggressive pursuit of immigrants under Provincial Nominee Programs. Most of the highly skilled immigrants work in the service sector. Immigrant professionals earn more, while immigrant managers earn less, than their non-immigrant counterparts.

International students in Atlantic Canada

From 1996 to 2005, annual inflows of international students to Atlantic Canada doubled, from 1,500 to 3,000. In 2005, the top five source countries were China, the United States, Bermuda, Korea, and Japan. Most arrive as university students and take about three years to finish their education. International students are potentially highly skilled immigrants who also possess high degree of acculturation.

New-Brunswic and, to a lesser extent, P.E.I....are now welcoming increasing numbers of immigrants. Nova Scotia immigration inflows have also increased dramatically since 2002. Newfoundland and Labrador's immigration flows remain relatively flat in comparison to the other Atlantic provinces. However, notwithstanding recent increases in immigration in Atlantic Canada, the region still receives far below its proportion of the Canadian population.

Taking up the Challenge

The Atlantic Provinces and Immigration

BRIAN EVERNDEN
Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Under Section 95 of the *Constitution Act*, immigration is a shared responsibility between the federal government and the provinces. Notwithstanding, throughout most of the 20th century the federal government was the dominant player in the development and delivery of immigration policies and programs. In recent years, however, the provinces and territories have taken an increasingly more active role in immigration. Within the context of historical immigration patterns, this article will look at several indicators to assess the Atlantic Provinces' interest in using immigration to address its demographic and labour-force challenges.

Immigration flows and composition

Atlantic Canada originally drew its immigrant population from Europe. Initial settlement by the French Acadians began in the early 17th century; this was followed by a surge in immigrants primarily from the British Isles in the 18th and 19th centuries. Until the introduction of the points system in 1968, immigration flows to Atlantic Canada were primarily comprised of these two groups, with immigrants from the British Isles accounting for the majority of the population and French Acadians representing the majority of the remainder (University of Calgary 1997).

The points system, which replaced an earlier determination process that granted permanent residency based on nationality, marked a shift away from European immigrants. The points system assesses the applicant based on a number of factors including education, employment, and age. As the points system became established, immigration to the Atlantic region from Africa, the Middle East, Asia and South and Central America increased. For example, from 1997 to 2006 roughly 33% of permanent residents who settled in Atlantic Canada were from Africa and the Middle East, and 32% were from Asia and the Pacific (CIC 2006). Despite the fact that Atlantic Canada received a greater flow of immigrants from its non-traditional source countries, the level of diversity in the region remains significantly

TABLE 1
Ethnic makeup of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador, 1971

Ethnic Group	Newfoundland and Labrador	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	New Brunswick
British Isles	93.8%	77.5%	82.7%	57.6%
French	3.0%	10.2%	13.7%	37.0%
German	0.5%	5.2%	0.9%	1.4%
Asian	0.3%	0.6%	0.3%	0.4%

Source: University of Calgary, 1997.

below that of Canada as a whole. In 2006, immigrants made up 19.8% of the Canadian population (Munro 2007: 8). In comparison, this figure ranged from only 1.5% in Newfoundland and Labrador to 4.7% in Nova Scotia (*Ibid*).

From 1980 to 2006, there have been four periods in Atlantic Canada immigration.

Between 1980 and 1983, Atlantic Canada experienced significant decreases in the number of immigrants coming to the region. During this period, immigration fell 50% from 3,553 to 1,767 (CIC 2006). In the second period, immigration increased 180% from 1,767 in 1983 to 4,956 in 1995, with the majority of growth occurring in Nova Scotia (*Ibid*). After this surge, immigration fell again in the third period to 2,637 in 2002, a decline of 47% from 1995 (*Ibid*). Finally, since 2002, immigration to Atlantic Canada has increased by 101%, peaking at a 26-year high of 5,307 in 2006 – far exceeding the 9.8% increase in immigration in Canada during the same period (*Ibid*).

Notably, New Brunswick, and to a lesser extent Prince Edward Island, which showed relatively flat immigration trends from 1983 to 2002, are now welcoming increasing numbers of immigrants. Nova Scotia immigration inflows have also increased dramatically since 2002. Newfoundland and Labrador's immigration flows remain relatively flat in comparison to the other Atlantic provinces. However, notwithstanding recent increases in immigration in Atlantic Canada, the region still receives far below its proportion of the Canadian population. From 2004 to 2006, the Atlantic provinces accounted for 7.2% (Statistics Canada 2007) of the total Canadian population but welcomed only 1.7% of total immigrants (CIC 2006).

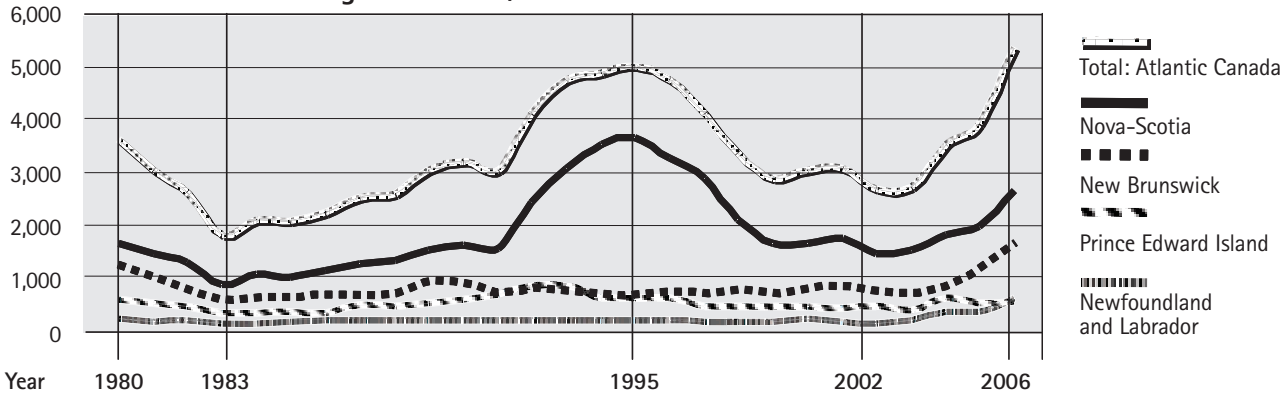
The challenges of immigration in Atlantic Canada

In 2005, 87% of immigrants settled in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia and roughly three-quarters of those settled in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal (CIC 2006). This trend of choosing to immigrate to select urban areas can be explained, at least in part, by studies that found immigrants are attracted to destinations where they can be supported by friends and/or family. Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada supports this finding. It revealed that 41% of immigrants choose their location based on this factor (Statistics Canada 2003: 15). Subsequently, one challenge that the Atlantic provinces must face in terms of immigration is the establishment of a critical mass of immigrants that will subsequently attract later-arriving immigrants.

The Atlantic provinces' low immigration levels are aggravated by high levels of secondary migration to other parts of the country. The 2001 Census revealed that 52% of immigrants who arrived in Atlantic Canada from 1996 to 2001 were still residents in the region at the time of the census (Akbari 2008). However, like immigration flows in Atlantic Canada, retention rates are improving. The 2006 Census revealed that 64% of immigrants who arrived in Atlantic Canada from 2001 to 2006 were still residing in the region at the time of the census (Akbari 2008). This is a 12% improvement from the 2001 Census.

Second to proximity of friends and family, economic conditions are a prominent consideration when an immigrant is deciding on where to settle (Statistics Canada 2003: 15, Millward 2005). Similar to the Canadian-

FIGURE 1
Atlantic Canada immigration intake, 1980–2006



The Atlantic provinces have all recently released, or are in the process of developing, broad-based strategies to increase population growth within their jurisdiction, in part (or in whole) through immigration. Nova Scotia implemented an immigration strategy in January 2005; Newfoundland and Labrador....in March 2007, and most recently, in February 2008, New Brunswick released its Population Growth Strategy.

born population, immigrants are willing to move to secure employment, to obtain better employment or to relocate to an area where they are more likely to benefit from their skills and education (Houle 2007: 23). While in recent years unemployment rates have declined in Atlantic Canada, they remain higher than in other Canadian provinces. In January 2008, the Atlantic provinces' unemployment rates ranged from a low of 7.4% in Nova Scotia to a high of 12.2% in Newfoundland and Labrador (Statistics Canada 2008). In comparison, Ontario's unemployment rate was 6.3%, British Columbia's was 4.1% and Alberta's was 3.2% (*Ibid*). In addition, Atlantic Canada generally has lower diversity in industry and employment activities compared to the major CMAs (Bruce 2007: 94). For immigrants with specific skill sets this could make finding suitable employment in Atlantic Canada more difficult than in a major CMA.

Together, these challenges make it disproportionately difficult for Atlantic Canada to respond to significant demographic and labour force challenges through immigration. This is reflected in Statistic Canada's medium-growth scenario projections, which suggest that the Atlantic region is expected to grow only 2.5% between 2005 and 2031 (compared with an overall Canadian growth rate of 20.9% over the same period) (Munro 2007: 5). Similarly, labour force projection scenarios suggest that the labour force in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador is projected to fall between 2006 and 2031 (Martel 2007, Table 2). Under some circumstances, the labour force of Prince Edward Island is projected to increase (*Ibid*).

Seeing these challenges, the Atlantic provinces have recently begun to participate more actively in the immigration sector. The next section of this article will assess four activities that serve as a barometer of the interest in immigration in the Atlantic region. These initiatives are: the Provincial Nominee Program; federal-provincial immigration framework agreements; the recent establishment of stand-alone immigration agencies, and the creation of immigration strategies that include overall levels targets.

The Provincial Nominee Program

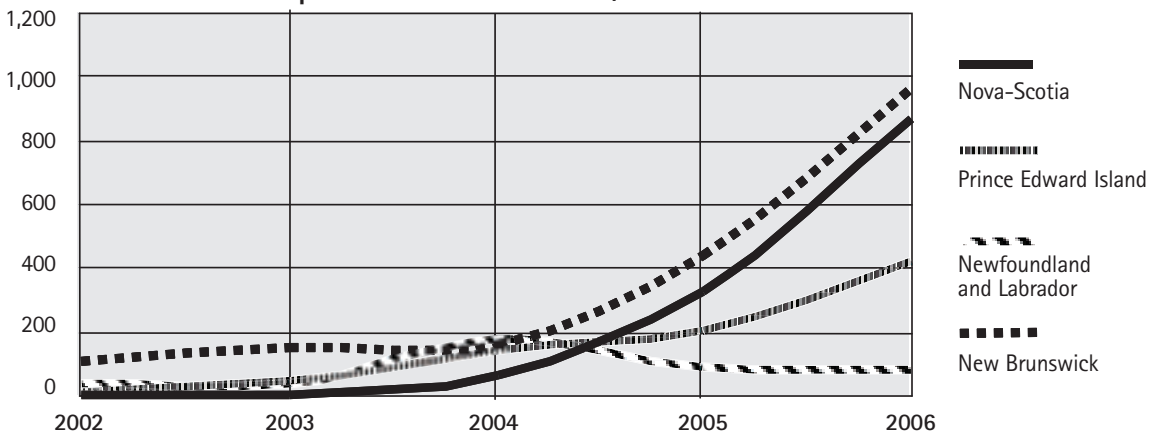
The Provincial Nominee Program allows a province or territory to participate in the selection of newcomers coming to their jurisdiction by allowing them to identify (or "nominate") potential immigrants. Those selected under this program are given expedited processing by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The Provincial Nominee Program recognizes that provinces have different needs and circumstances and that they have a role in addressing their respective immigration needs. The Atlantic provinces have all signed provincial nominee agreements with the federal government. Similar to most other Canadian provinces, the Atlantic provinces established provincial nominee agreements with the federal government in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

This program has been a key tool for provinces to respond to specific regional needs and address skills shortages in specific sectors of the economy. Provincial nominees represent a high proportion of total immigrants in the Atlantic region. In 2006, provincial nominees made up 44% of total immigrants in the Atlantic region (CIC 2006). In comparison, provincial nominees made up only 5% of total immigrants in Alberta and British Columbia (*Ibid*). The Atlantic provinces all established their provincial nominee programs shortly after signing provincial nominee agreements with the federal

TABLE 2
Provincial Nominee Agreement Signing Dates

New-Brunswick	1999
Newfoundland and Labrador	1999
Prince Edward Island	2001
Nova Scotia	2002

FIGURE 2
Atlantic Provinces provincial nominees intake, 2002–2006



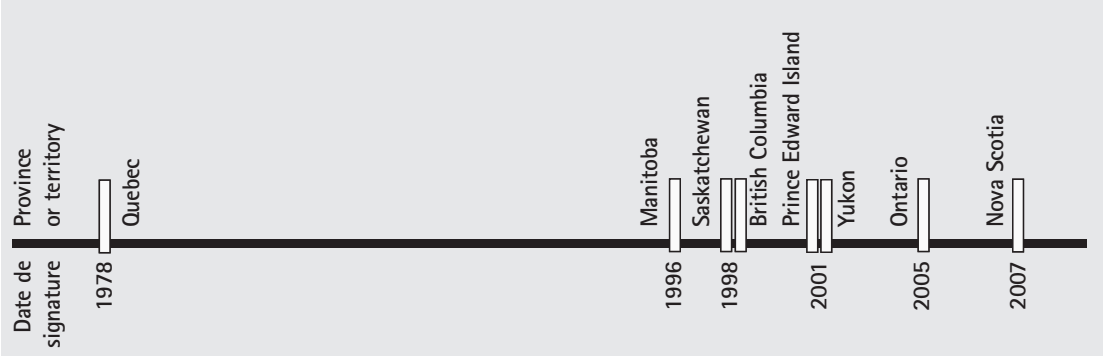
government. In New Brunswick, the number of provincial nominees increased from 106 in 2002 to 967 in 2006 (CIC 2006). In Nova Scotia, nominees have increased from 0 in 2003 to 863 in 2006 (*Ibid*). In Prince Edward Island, nominees have grown from 9 in 2002 to 423 in 2006 (*Ibid*). To date, Newfoundland and Labrador has not yet maximized the potential of its Provincial Nominee Program to the same extent as the other Atlantic provinces, although the 2007 Newfoundland and Labrador Immigration Strategy calls for the enhancement of its Provincial Nominee Program.

Federal–provincial immigration framework agreements

In addition to specifying details of how the federal and provincial governments work together on a broad array of immigration issues, these agreements represent a formal indication of a province's interest in immigration. Varying from one province to another, federal-provincial immigration framework agreements include provisions relating to the provincial delivery of settlement services, promotion and recruitment activity, and information sharing and research. Quebec was the first province to sign a federal-provincial immigration framework agreement in 1978.

Following Quebec's lead, many Western provinces began to sign agreements in the 1990s. With the exception of Prince Edward Island, the Atlantic provinces were later than other provinces in signing framework agreements on immigration with the federal government. Nova Scotia signed its first framework agreement in 2007, while New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador remain the only two provinces that currently do not have a signed agreement.

FIGURE 3
Federal–provincial immigration framework agreement signing dates



New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador: no agreement in place

Immigration offices

Another indicator that the Atlantic provinces are increasingly paying close attention to immigration is the recent establishment of stand-alone provincial bodies responsible for immigration. New Brunswick established a Population Growth Secretariat in April 2007; Newfoundland and Labrador established the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism in 2007; Nova Scotia established an Immigration Office in 2005, and Prince Edward Island established a Population Secretariat in 2004. Bringing all immigration activities under a stand-alone entity gives immigration a stronger and more focused profile.

Also, reflective of the increase in importance of immigration in the Atlantic provinces is the change in organizational structure that comes from the establishment of stand-alone bodies. For example, New Brunswick, with the establishment of its Population Growth Secretariat, has a Chief Executive Officer (equivalent to a deputy minister) responsible for immigration.

Immigration strategies

The Atlantic provinces have all recently released, or are in the process of developing, broad-based strategies to increase population growth within their jurisdiction, in part (or in whole) through immigration. Nova Scotia implemented an immigration strategy in January 2005, Newfoundland and Labrador implemented an immigration strategy in March 2007 and most recently, in February 2008, New Brunswick released its Population Growth Strategy.

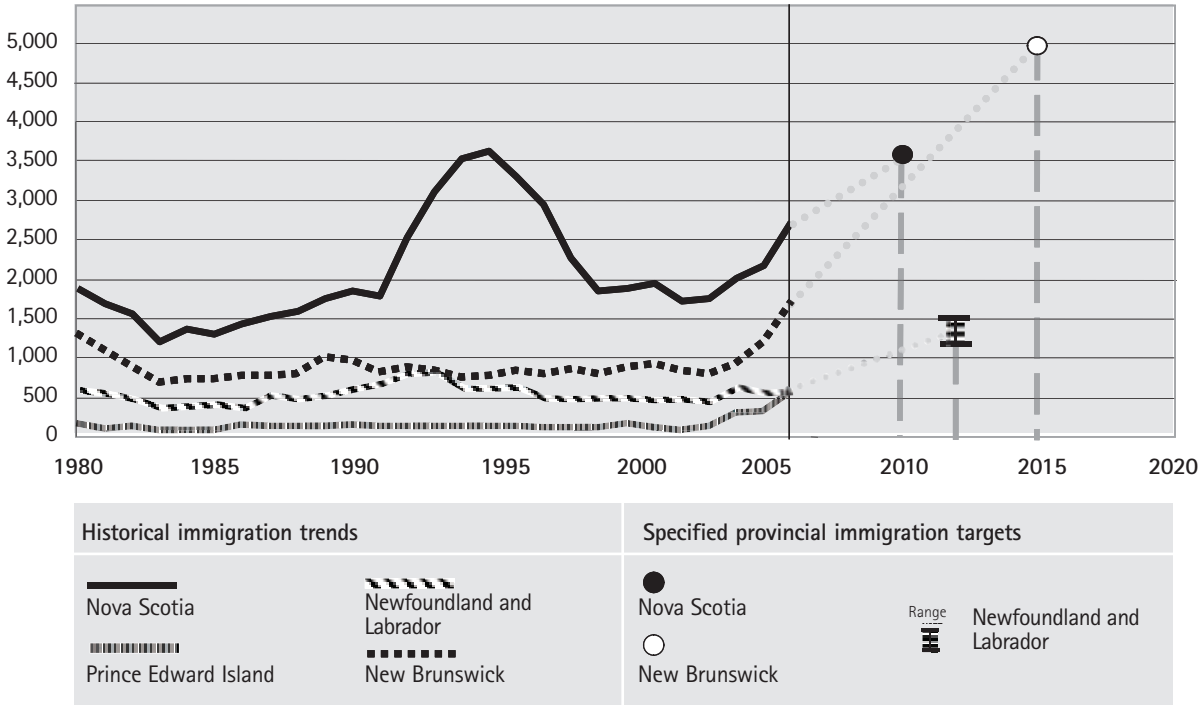
In general, these strategies focus on: building welcoming communities, marketing the Atlantic as an immigrant destination, improving settlement and integration services, and losing fewer immigrants to secondary migration. It is worth noting that they recognize the challenges facing the Atlantic provinces in attracting and retaining immigrants. Specifically, Nova Scotia's and Newfoundland and Labrador's strategies both acknowledge this challenge and underscore the importance of building welcoming communities.

These immigration strategies developed by most of the Atlantic provinces include immigration targets.

Nova Scotia plans on increasing immigration to 3,600 by 2010, an increase of 40% from 2,585 in 2006. If Nova Scotia can uphold the trend it has been on from 2002 to 2006 they should be able to meet their target. The most ambitious of targets has been set by Newfoundland and Labrador, which plans on attracting 1,200 to 1,500 immigrants by 2012,

FIGURE 4

Historical immigration intake in Atlantic Canada and provincial targets



an increase of 130-190% from 511 in 2006. The targeted increase in Newfoundland and Labrador's immigration exceeds the 8% per year average increase in immigration that took place from 2002 to 2006. New Brunswick's target is 5,000 by 2015, an increase of roughly 204% from 1,646 in 2006. While at first glance this target appears to be ambitious, if New Brunswick is able to continue to increase its immigration by an average of 18% per year as it did from 2002 to 2006, this target could be reached. Prince Edward Island has not published immigration targets.

Conclusion

This article has highlighted the demographic and labour force challenges facing Atlantic Canada and has shown that relative to other Canadian provinces, this region has not used immigration programs and tools as early on as the other provinces. However, this article has also highlighted four pieces of evidence that suggest that Atlantic Canada is now increasingly utilizing immigration. First, the Atlantic provinces have started more extensively using the powers given to them under their Provincial Nominee Program agreements. Second, they have started to sign and/or signal an interest in federal-provincial immigration framework agreements. Third, the establishment of independent immigration offices and fourth, comprehensive immigration/population growth strategies represent the strongest signals of the Atlantic provinces' growing interest in immigration. Together, these indicators suggest that the Atlantic provinces have begun to move forward with capitalizing on the potential that immigration has in addressing their labour-market and demographic challenges. Notwithstanding, the immigration targets they have adopted for themselves will be daunting without focused and sustained effort.

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The 2007 Census confirms that the population is declining in rural Canada and that immigration is a key means of countering that trend. However, newcomers to the Atlantic provinces tend to concentrate in urban or less rural areas. Rural communities face a number of issues, and from a simplistic perspective, immigration can be viewed as a magic solution or as the only way to deal with demographic problems and their economic, social and political consequences. In fact, sustainable community development requires the engagement of a broad range of stakeholders in shaping winning strategies for keeping communities alive. That being said, nothing positive can be achieved without concerted action by the community, institutional and private sectors.

Helping Immigrants Become Established in the Regions

A Challenge for the Entire Community

JUAN MANUEL TORO LARA
Carrefour d'immigration rurale inc.

Statistical overview

The results of the last Census confirm the depopulation trend in Canada's rural areas. The principal causes are the aging population, the youth exodus and the low birth rate.[1] Between 2001 and 2006, the Atlantic provinces lost 950 inhabitants (Statistics Canada 2007), compared with 48,035 between 1996 and 2001 (Statistics Canada 2001). Thus, although the depopulation trend in the Atlantic provinces is continuing, the decline is less significant than it was at the time of the 2001 Census. This is partly attributable to higher immigration to the Atlantic provinces, as shown in the graphs of Figure 1.

Over the last five years, immigration has increased in all of the Atlantic provinces except Newfoundland, where it dropped slightly in 2004 and 2005. However, the increase is not at all significant when the population decline over the same period is taken into consideration. This finding is indicative of the short-term results of promotion and recruitment initiatives in the Atlantic provinces as a whole. It also highlights the need to continue working on these fronts in order to reap maximum benefit from the provincial nominee programs[2] and Citizenship and Immigration Canada's federal programs.

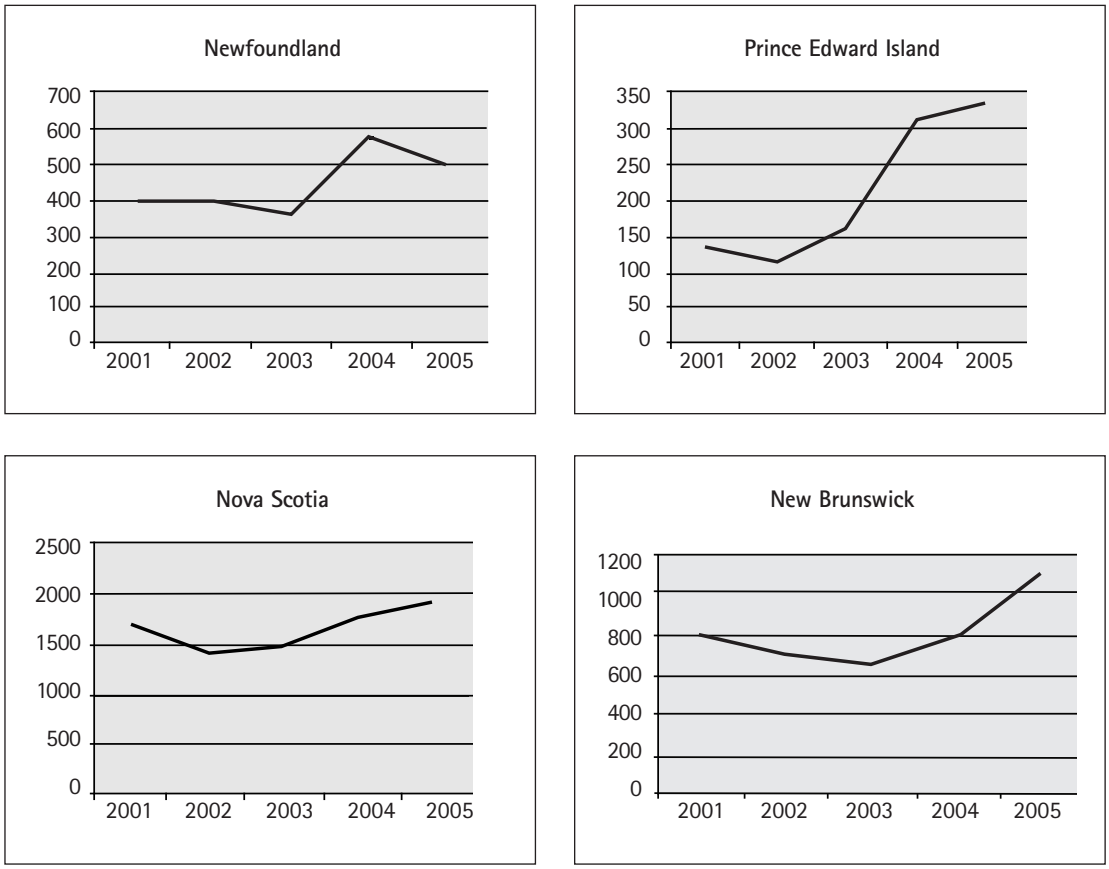
Between 2001 and 2005, the Atlantic provinces welcomed 15,647 immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2006). This shows that immigration has helped in some measure to counter the depopulation trend. Reversing the trend nonetheless remains a daunting challenge and requires proactive strategies to attract more newcomers.

The 2006 Census statistical report shows that the population increase of 0.1% in New Brunswick (Statistics Canada 2007) is partly attributable to immigration, as indicated in Table 1.

[1] The gross birth rate is the number of live births, in a geographic region in a given year, per 1,000 inhabitants of that region in the middle of the year concerned. According to Statistics Canada, the 2006 birth rate in Canada was 10.6 per 1,000 inhabitants. The New Brunswick rate of 9.1 was one the lowest in the country.

[2] The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* authorizes the Minister to conclude agreements with the provinces on sharing responsibilities for immigration. Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have concluded agreements on provincial nominees, under which they may select a small number of immigrants to meet specific labour market requirements.

FIGURE 1
Immigration to the Atlantic provinces, 2001–2005



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the real impact of immigration based on an analysis of mobility data, because the data are not yet available. That being said, the statistics show a strong tendency for newcomers to settle in the larger cities of the Maritime provinces.

Voluntary settlement and mobility

In the opinion of the professionals working at the Carrefour d'immigration rurale inc. (CIR inc.) in Saint-Léonard, New Brunswick, the concept of retention, as it is often used in policy documents, does not take into account freedom of choice or normal, permissible mobility. The concept involves an obligation-based relationship between the host society and the newcomer. We therefore feel that it would be useful to revise the definition of "retention" to include the idea of voluntary settlement or "sedentarization." The establishment of a voluntary relationship reflects immigrants' freedom to choose a place for settlement in light of the conditions offered by the community concerned. This shift in perspective will require a great deal of training and information on the roles and responsibilities acquired by immigrants and by local stakeholders. This new way of approaching the immigration issue focuses on respect for the individual and requires host society to make an effort to create favourable conditions for immigrant settlement and integration – conditions that enable newcomers to make an informed choice during the "sedentarization" process.

In the opinion of the CIR inc. professionals, mobility is a source of enrichment that communities can turn to their advantage. Whether they stay permanently or not, all immigrants are demographic, social, cultural,

TABLE 1
Immigration to the Atlantic provinces

Province	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Newfoundland	404	405	359	579	496	2,243
Prince Edward Island	134	110	153	310	330	1,037
Nova Scotia	1,708	1,419	1,476	1,770	1,929	8,302
New Brunswick	801	710	667	795	1,092	4,065
Total	3,047	2,644	2,655	3,454	3,847	15,647

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *The Monitor*, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

political and economic assets to communities. In addition, mobility is a plus for agencies, field workers and decision-makers because it elicits questions, reassessments and findings that give direction to settlement strategies and approaches and prompts changes in practices.

Stakeholders involved in migration to rural communities could take ownership of this new perspective on mobility and become more aware of the issues surrounding immigrant settlement strategies. For example, even if a community becomes actively involved in attracting and receiving immigrants, mobility may produce some unexpected results because people come and go – there is no guarantee that immigrants will stay in the community forever. If that is clear from the outset, the community will probably avoid the feeling of disappointment caused by the departure of an individual or family in which it has invested a great deal.

Responsible immigration as a means of encouraging voluntary settlement

Rural immigration continues to cause a variety of reactions in the communities concerned, some of which have a very poor understanding of the process. Even though it prompts questions and concerns, the fact is that immigration is a mobilizing force; it can spark the interest of a number of stakeholders looking for strategies that foster sustainable community development in rural areas. However, for them to benefit fully from the process, the stakeholders must be very familiar with their roles and responsibilities. Based on their own experience, the professionals at CIR inc. believe that in order to handle immigration issues in the region more successfully, the issues must be better understood. Adequate knowledge of the roles of everyone involved in the community's immigration efforts, along with proactive awareness-raising activities, will help to establish and introduce strategies ensuring that immigrants flourish in small communities. Awareness raising cannot be dissociated from rural migration processes.

Of course, the conditions for immigrants to become successfully established operate at a number of levels, so local stakeholders have to work on several fronts to foster both sociocultural and economic integration. Responsible immigration suggests identifying clear roles and responsibilities for the actors involved in immigration (the host society, agencies, immigrants). However, many communities that have decided to get involved in immigration are unfamiliar with the issues and lack a clear idea of what they need to do. The result is confusion, because even if the commitment is there, it is very hard to focus on a specific set of key activities. It must be borne in mind that there is a world of difference between wanting to do something and knowing how to do it. Many rural communities have the commitment, but...

At Carrefour d'immigration rurale inc., our starting premise is responsible immigration. This means that the positive impacts and benefits of immigration in the New Brunswick community of Saint-Léonard will not be measured quantitatively but qualitatively, and we equate quality with sustainability.

In that context, responsible immigration requires a great deal of work to build community capacity (consultation, awareness raising, training), to establish a reception structure to meet the needs of newcomers, and to generate an accurate picture of what the community can offer them.

It must also be borne in mind that successful immigration is predicated on conditions that enable immigrants to flourish and on a measure of community acceptance of the process. If the

Mobility is a source of enrichment that communities can turn to their advantage. Whether they stay permanently or not, all immigrants are demographic, social, cultural, political and economic assets to communities. In addition, mobility is a plus for agencies, field workers and decision-makers because it elicits questions, reassessments and findings that give direction to settlement strategies and approaches and prompts changes in practices.

process is introduced precipitously into the community, it can trigger resistance on the part of the members of that community. Unfortunately, collective resistance to the collective process tends to find expression in interactions between individuals, and this prevents the host society and the newcomer from accepting one another. Consultation is vital to ensuring the success of the immigration experience and the community's involvement and agreement.

The need for political involvement

None of this would be possible without the political will to foster regional immigration. When a community decides to take charge of its own future by trying to launch immigration projects, the government must provide support for the initiative by helping the community get organized, promote itself and take appropriate action. Such support takes the form of funding for recruitment strategies, implementation of a reception structure, consultation, cooperation, involvement, and so on.

Between 2001 and 2005, the New Brunswick Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) produced 759 nominees, or 18.6% of the total number of immigrants to the province during the target period (Department of Business New Brunswick 2007). This is a very small number compared to a province like Manitoba, where the PNP offers a broad range of opportunities to attract newcomers – opportunities that may explain that province's high annual immigration figures.

With respect to rural immigration, the statistics for the New Brunswick PNP clearly do not reflect the situation in rural communities, and yet New Brunswick has very strong rural characteristics.[3] It is very difficult for a rural community in New Brunswick to take full advantage of the PNP because only two categories of immigrants are considered: applicants with a job offer and businesspersons. A number of factors account for this:

- Some regions have limited employment opportunities, which encourages young people to leave and deters others from settling in them;
- Investors are primarily attracted to the more urban regions, where market diversification is an asset and provides greater growth opportunities;
- Regional immigration is a new phenomenon in some regions and triggers fear of the unknown. In addition, many immigrants are deterred by all the procedures that have to be followed. Obviously, some employers insist on holding an in-person interview before hiring a new employee, so it would be difficult for them to offer a job to applicants in other countries;
- Based on CIR inc.'s experience, New Brunswick is losing potential applicants to other provinces. They end up applying elsewhere because other provinces may accept them on the basis of their overall potential, not just their immediate economic potential;
- Canadian missions abroad have very little knowledge of the regions;
- Canada does little to promote the regions abroad.

Immigration to New Brunswick probably needs to be reorganized. The provincial government should revise its role in order to facilitate and encourage agencies' initiatives and take greater advantage of immigration. The government has a duty to help small communities promote themselves abroad. Clearly, setting up reception services in the regions is pointless if those services do not have any clients. The result is a vicious circle that increases immigration to the major centres at the expense of the regions.

[3] According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a community is defined as "rural" if its population density is less than 150 inhabitants per km^2 and "urban" if its population density is 150 inhabitants per km^2 or more.

In that context, the federal government has decided to play its part to solve the problem, developing the Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities. The framework contains five objectives:

- Increase the number of French-speaking immigrants to give more demographic weight to Francophone minority communities;
- Improve the capacity of Francophone minority communities to receive Francophone newcomers and to strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructures;
- Ensure the economic integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into Francophone minority communities in particular;
- Ensure the social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into Francophone minority communities;
- Foster regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.

On the strength of these objectives, the federal government has established specific directions and guidelines for promoting the sustainable development of Francophone communities, including efforts to increase Francophone immigration to the regions. A number of challenges have been identified with a view to proposing a framework that reflects the situation of rural communities and the issues surrounding immigration and immigrants. We are optimistic about this initiative and the results of the Steering Committee's hard work. However, there is a need to proceed with caution in order to take full advantage of the strategic choices in the Framework.[4]

In short, it is vital for the government to listen and, where possible, to adapt policy implementation to the specific situation and characteristics of each region. Agencies like Carrefour d'immigration rurale inc. cannot achieve positive outcomes unless the government shows the openness needed to implement strategies for the regions. A broad-based partnership is crucial for setting up programs and services geared to immigrants.

Immigration to rural communities will succeed only if it is a collective initiative based on consultation and community involvement. In any case, even if communities decide to take charge of their future, immigration cannot be viewed as the magic solution or the only approach to achieving sustainable community development. It is essential for the government to consider other strategies to foster economic development and the maintenance of services within or near small communities.

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[4] The Strategic Plan proposes three major directions to guide the choice and development of the various initiatives to be implemented over the next five years:

- Improving the integration of immigrants who have already settled in the communities;
- Recruiting new immigrants;
- Integrating new immigrants into the communities, helping them become established, and retaining them.

This article examines the conditions that frame the immigration imperative in the province of New Brunswick, and the policies, procedures, and results obtained by its Population Growth Secretariat through the Provincial Nominee Program.

The Immigration Imperative in New Brunswick

ALEC BRUCE
For the Province of New Brunswick

Canada's economic, social and cultural integrity increasingly depends on immigration. In fact, the influx of newcomers from every corner of the globe is expected to drive the nation's population growth by 2026, and it will account for virtually all of the country's labour force expansion as soon as 2011 (CIC 2003). The reasons for this trend – steadily declining birth rates and its corollary, a rapidly ageing population – are less important, perhaps, than their implications. Clearly, as Canada's regions and provinces contemplate their futures, they should consider the unique challenges each face in encouraging immigration, in general, and in facilitating the growth of particular newcomer populations that manifest the skills and resources necessary to prosperous and stable social and economic development. Within this context, this article examines the conditions that frame the immigration imperative in the province of New Brunswick, and the policies, procedures, and results obtained by its Population Growth Secretariat through the Provincial Nominee Program.

The changing face of New Brunswick

New Brunswick is one of Canada's founding provinces. Its traditional ethnic and cultural mix includes Aboriginal and First Nations, English, French, Scots, Irish, German, Dutch, and United Empire Loyalists from the United States. In recent years, however, the province has attracted immigrants from all parts of the world – from Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, the Middle East, Australia, and New Zealand (New Brunswick 2007a).

Not inconsequentially, the province has crafted approaches to support its increasingly multicultural mosaic. New Brunswick's Multicultural Policy, established in the 1980s, has helped build awareness about different cultures. So too has the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism, and the Multicultural Grants Program, both of which assist New Brunswick communities in promoting awareness and in maintaining a welcoming environment for all newcomers. The Settlement and Multiculturalism Branch of the Population Growth Secretariat undertakes many of these crucial functions.

Historically, New Brunswick's economy has been powered by primary industries – namely forestry, fishing, agriculture, and mining – and heavy secondary industries – including pulp and paper, industrial equipment manufacturing, ship-building, and mineral and oil refining. Again, however, expansion and diversification have characterized the province's recent progress. Today, New Brunswick relies on a broadening scope of entrepreneurial expertise and endeavour – everything from software design and development, animation, value-added food processing, high-precision manufacturing, and back-office data service for international conglomerates, to pharmaceuticals, genomic research and development, shipping and supply-chain management, environmental consulting, and «green» construction technologies.

Girding the growing sophistication of New Brunswick's socio-economic landscape are world-class telecommunicationsinfrastructure, some of the finest universities and community

colleges anywhere in North America, and one of the most highly-skilled, motivated, and loyal workforces on the planet. The provincial labour participation rate in 2006 was 63.7%; unemployment was 8.8%; and employment hovered at 58.1%. All measures were either on par with, or ahead of, the national average (on a percentage change basis, compared with the previous year) (New Brunswick 2007c).

Currently, more than 77,000 New Brunswickers work in the goods producing sector (forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas, utilities, construction and heavy fabrication). Fully 278,000 work in service industries (trade and commerce, transportation and warehousing, finance and insurance, real estate, professional and technical trades, business, education, health care, information, culture and recreation, hospitality, and public administration) (New Brunswick 2007b).

Not surprisingly, these developments in the provincial economy have catalyzed changes in locational demographics (i.e., where people live). According to a 2006 report by the New Brunswick Department of Finance's Fiscal Policy Division (New Brunswick, 2007d):

> An urban area has a minimum population concentration of 1,000 persons and a population density of at least 400 persons per square kilometre, based on the current census population count. New Brunswick's population was more urban than rural in the early 1980s, but shifted to become more rural from the mid-80s to the mid-90s. In 1996, a transfer back to the urban areas was evident, but the majority of the population still resided in the rural regions. The urban population represented slightly more than half of New Brunswick's population in 2001 (50.4%). This urbanization continued in 2006, with the urban population representing 51.1% while the rural population was 48.9%.

In the same report, the Fiscal Policy Division concluded the following:

> Only five of 15 counties in the province reported population gains between 2001 and 2006: Westmorland, York, Albert, Kings, and Kent, although growth in Kent County was minimal (+0.2%). There were 103 municipalities (cities, towns and villages) defined in New Brunswick at the time of the 2006 census; 73 showed a decline in population from 2001, while 30 showed an increase. Of New Brunswick's eight cities, three gained population over the five-year period: Moncton (up 5.0% to 64,128), Fredericton (up 6.2% to 50,535), and Dieppe (up 24.2% to 18,565).

At the same time, it's worthwhile remembering that New Brunswick remains a predominately rural province, at least compared with most others in Canada. Not one of its urban cores hosts a population in excess of 100,000 people, and none meet the criteria established for a major Census Metropolitan Area (Statistics Canada 2002).

New Brunswick's demographic challenge

Despite the growing strength and deepening sophistication of provincial society and economy, New Brunswick faces serious demographic challenges which are already being felt. Chief among these is stagnant population growth. In a real sense, New Brunswick is Canada's proverbial "canary in a coal mine," enduring today what many other parts of the country can expect in the future. For nearly a decade, the province's population has hovered at about 723,000. The culprits for this condition are familiar: low fertility rates; declining birth rates; a declining and aging population; significant out-migration, particularly of young people, to other provinces; and a small immigrant stake, well below the national share. In specific terms, annual labour force growth in New Brunswick will be near zero by 2016. Within the next decade, for every two people retiring in the province, there will be fewer than one person to take their place (New Brunswick 2007a).

Recent statistical evaluations from the 2006 Census reinforce the points (New Brunswick 2006):

> New Brunswick's population as enumerated by the 2006 Census (on May 16, 2006) edged up slightly to 729,997, a 0.1% increase from the 2001 count of 729,498. Canada's population increased 5.4% to 31,612,897, an increase of more than 1.6 million people from 2001. This was the highest rate of population growth among G8 countries between 2001 and 2006....New Brunswick's share of the national population has fallen over time. In 1971, 2.9% of Canada's population lived in the province. By 2006, that proportion had fallen to 2.3%. Over this 35-year period, only three provinces increased their population share

New Brunswick is Canada's proverbial "canary in a coal mine," enduring today what many other parts of the country can expect in the future. For nearly a decade, the province's population has hovered at about 723,000. The culprits for this condition are familiar: low fertility rates; declining birth rates; a declining and aging population; significant out-migration, particularly of young people, to other provinces; and a small immigrant stake, well below the national share.

> of the Canadian total: Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia....The median age of New Brunswickers, which divides the population into two groups of equal size, has been rising steadily since 1966, when it was 22.2 years. In 2006, New Brunswick's median age reached 41.5 years, up 19.3 years from 1966 and an increase of 2.9 years from 2001. Nationally, the median age hit 39.5 years in 2006, up from 25.4 years in 1966 and 37.6 years in 2001.

To make matters worse – and notwithstanding the aforementioned growing diversity of emigrant source regions – only 1 in 33 people in New Brunswick is an immigrant, compared with one in five in Canada, as a whole (New Brunswick, 2007a).

For all of these reasons, the New Brunswick government, in 2006, embraced an explicit policy of rebuilding the province's core population through a combination of repatriation (bringing former residents back) and, crucially, enhanced immigration. The government's Self-Sufficiency Action Plan, which was released late last year, articulates the essence of this policy thus (New Brunswick 2007d):

> More people are required to meet the future needs of our workforce. We must reverse the out-flow of people out of the province and make New Brunswick a destination for opportunity. We will take a comprehensive approach to increasing our population, using a mix of strategies to bring new residents to our province and provide current New Brunswickers with the opportunities they need to stay and make their lives here. We will take action to recruit immigrants to our province and retain them once they are here by marketing our province to the world, promoting diversity and multiculturalism at home and assisting new Canadians in making their homes here. We will work to repatriate New Brunswickers living elsewhere by linking job opportunities here with the skills of those looking to move home. We will strive to engage our youth and support opportunities that will retain our best and brightest. We will implement and promote programs, policies and practices that will enhance our status as an attractive place to settle and raise a family. This comprehensive approach will ensure we can grow our province over time and have the people and resources we need to build a better New Brunswick.

Building a better New Brunswick

Focused on the goal of achieving self-sufficiency by 2026 and recognizing the immediate demographic challenges as well as those that lie ahead, the government of New Brunswick has taken action. The provincial government has established the Population Growth Secretariat, doubled the budget for population growth activities and is poised to release a comprehensive population strategy for the province. Tailored to the province's unique bilingual and demographic makeup, the strategy will set short- and long-term targets for population growth and map out plans for attracting and retaining more newcomers, while becoming even more "family friendly."

New Brunswick's immigration policy is central to the success of the population growth strategy and is informed by certain expectations, namely: employment opportunities in New Brunswick will expand in the near future; the unemployment rate will continue to decrease; and international competition for skilled labour will only increase. Under the circumstances, the Secretariat's mandate is clear: increase immigration; improve settlement services; repatriate former New Brunswickers; and retain more of the province's well-educated young people, while working across government to promote family-friendly policies.

To accomplish the first two planks of its mandate, the Secretariat administers New Brunswick's Provincial Nominee Program, which was established in 1999 (and renewed in 2005) under agreement with the federal government to

both facilitate immigrant application procedures and acquire the mix of foreign-born skills and resources essential to the province's social and economic progress. The nominee program's objectives involve: actively seeking people who will work or develop businesses in New Brunswick; encouraging qualified people to become New Brunswick residents to help build and diversify the economy; encouraging the retention of newcomers; building ethnocultural communities; encouraging French-speaking immigration; and encouraging the retention of international students in the province.

These are necessarily complex tasks, each requiring continuous and extensive consultations with a variety of New Brunswick stakeholders, particularly the business community, which understands the value of the program in concise terms: meet employers' needs for skilled labour; and support long-term enterprise development. To this end, program directors and officers work with employers and other government partners to determine the level and nature of skills shortages. They also pre-screen immigrant applicants for business experience, financial resources, and/or employable skills; review and evaluate applications; prepare nominations; submit complete immigration applications and Nomination Certificates to overseas visa posts; follow-up with visa posts on behalf of nominees; and conduct program evaluations.

In practical terms, the program entertains two categories of immigrant applicants: Those who have been offered a job in New Brunswick; and those who intend to start, buy, or partner in, a business.

In the case of the former, the criteria are as follows: a guaranteed offer of permanent employment by a New Brunswick-based business, in which the work is generally conducted in the province in a field of recognized skill shortages; and a guarantee (from the employer) of competitive wages and acceptable working conditions. From there, the candidate applies for a work permit from Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and then applies to the nominee program should the employer and employee wish to make the job "permanent."

In the case of business applicants, the criteria involve demonstrating experience in owning or managing a business; financial resources for business development and family settlement; active involvement in the proposed business; and a basic knowledge of English and French. As for procedure, the candidate submits a preliminary business evaluation to the program, where it is assessed. Upon approval, the candidate researches the business environment and attends an immigration interview. He or she then submits a business plan that includes details of the ideas developed during the visit to New Brunswick. Finally, the candidate applies to the program for permanent status.

Finally? Not quite. An essential component of the process is the follow-up. Successful candidates need all the help they can get to acclimate to their new environment. This is where the Settlement and Multiculturalism Branch of the Population Growth Secretariat comes in. It works closely with the Immigration Division to ensure that newcomer needs are met in a timely and efficient manner, and that individual immigrants are successfully integrated – both socially and economically – into their new home. In fact, the mandate of this branch is clear: "Ensure community capacity building is met; and build partnerships with various multicultural associations and immigrant serving agencies."

Although the application, approval and nomination procedures can appear cold and calculating, they are actually inclusive and bereft of red tape. In fact, they are designed by law to expedite the immigration process, not to further clutter it. To date, most nominated for residence status by the program in New Brunswick have been approved by the federal government.

New Brunswick's Provincial Nominee Program: Results

In an article recently carried by this publication (2007), authors Monique M. Rose and Julie Desmarais (Rural Secretariat, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada) reported the following developments in the small town of Florenceville, New Brunswick:

> Another example of immigration attraction can be found in [this] village of fewer than 800 people in 2001. The presence of McCain's world headquarters contributed to the attraction of immigrants from a wide variety of countries, and the community boasts an 80% retention rate. Immigrants represented almost 10% of Florenceville's population, compared to the provincial average of 3%, and the immigrant population is growing. There...attention was paid to important integration factors. The Multicultural Association of Carleton County

(MACC) provides immigrants settlement services and multiculturalism awareness activities in the community as well as in schools. It also provides English-as-a-second-language training and employment services for newcomers. These are often targeted to spouses of individuals employed at McCain Food.

Though Florenceville's experience may not be emblematic of immigration success in every part of the province, the nominee program has had a direct and beneficial impact on both the number of applicants and approved immigrants since its inception. In 1999, the program received 11 applications, and nominated four. During the first seven months of 2007 alone, the program received 941 applications, and nominated 307. Currently 60% of New Brunswick nominees are entrepreneurs, and 40%, skilled workers. All contribute mightily to the province's socio-economic well-being – in its small towns and hamlets, and in its urban centres. Meanwhile, the Settlement and Multiculturalism Branch of the Population Growth Secretariat continues to help newcomers succeed in their new environments.

There do, however, remain challenges. And these are for policy-makers, program administrators and municipal representatives to tackle in the months and years ahead. Attitudes about immigrant populations vary, and so do the quantity and quality of post-settlement programs and resources. To retain those we've invited to become a part of our society, we must double our efforts to provide welcome, secure environments to help them live and work and thrive. A self-sufficient New Brunswick demands nothing less.

About the author

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In a province with a population that numbers less than a million, and projections that suggest a decline, attracting new immigrants is critical; so too is keeping them. In 2005, after consulting with key groups and individuals, the Government of Nova Scotia unveiled the Province's first-ever immigration strategy. The strategy outlines key areas of focus and sets ambitious targets by which to ensure success.

Nova Scotia: Welcoming the World

MARY ANNA JOLLYMORE and ADÈLE POIRIER
Province of Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia has been welcoming people from around the world for centuries. Halifax's Pier 21, now a national historic site, was the first stop for newcomers to Canada for generations. Today, the Province is fairly successful in attracting immigrants, but it needs to attract more and it needs to keep them here. Census data from 1981 to 2001 show a steady decline in Nova Scotia's retention rate of immigrants. So, the Province has developed a five-year immigration strategy to make Nova Scotia an attractive place for immigrants to put down roots. And it's starting to show results, too, with more newcomers choosing Nova Scotia and staying here to build new lives for themselves and contribute to the province.

"Immigrants provide much-needed skills and generate market opportunities for local businesses," says Elizabeth Mills, Executive Director of the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration. "They increase our competitiveness, create opportunities for youth, and add diversity to our neighbourhoods."

The strategy was introduced in 2005 by then Immigration Minister Rodney MacDonald, now Premier. It strengthened the Province's role and voice on immigration matters. The strategy also helps focus provincial efforts on attracting more immigrants to Nova Scotia and investing more in programs that help newcomers settle and stay. The Province is investing $1.8 million – the majority of its immigration budget for 2007-2008 – in initiatives that help immigrants integrate into their communities and feel more at home in the province. The strategy helps Nova Scotia as much as it helps immigrants. With current demographic trends, the Province needs to attract and keep more people.

While the province's share of immigrants to Canada increased slightly from 0.7% in 2005 to 1% in 2006, many communities in Nova Scotia are seeing their populations dwindle. Birth rates are dropping, the number of seniors is increasing, and young people are moving elsewhere to pursue career opportunities.

Population growth projections in a report published by the Nova Scotia Department of Education are not encouraging. The *Summary of the Nova Scotia Demographic Research Report: A Demographic Analysis of Nova Scotia into 2026* states that there will be about 70% more seniors in the province by 2026. The report also states that there will be about 31% fewer primary and secondary school aged children, almost 30% fewer in the post-secondary population, and almost 13% fewer working age adults.

If these projections become reality, the consequences could include lost economic opportunities, declining communities, growing fiscal pressures and potential labour market shortages. With less than one million people, the concerns are real in Nova Scotia. "We need immigrants to ensure our population grows and thrives," says Mills.

Nova Scotia's immigration strategy, now in its third year of implementation, reflects this reality and focuses on two key targets:

- Attracting 3,600 new immigrants to the province annually by 2010;
- Increasing the province's retention rate from 40% in 2001 to 70% by the 2011 Census.

So far, Nova Scotia is on track for both. In 2006, there were 2,585 individuals who landed in the province – a 34% increase over 2005. According to preliminary data from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre, 63% of individuals who arrived in Nova Scotia between 2001 and 2006 stayed in the province. It is anticipated that the 2011 Census will confirm this success. Much of this increase can be attributed to the Nova Scotia Nominee Program. The program was established as a pilot program with the Federal Government in 2002. The program allows the Province to nominate individuals who meet Nova Scotia's economic and labour market needs.

Between 2003 and 2006, Nova Scotia welcomed 1,249 new immigrants through the program, including the spouses and children program. Since the program's inception, there has been a 75% increase in the number of total immigrant landings. Like all nominee programs in Canada, Nova Scotia's is mandated by the Federal *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. The pilot program was renewed in September 2007 when federal and provincial immigration ministers signed the first-ever *Agreement for Canada-Nova Scotia Cooperation on Immigration*.

This new agreement is aimed at increasing collaboration on overseas marketing initiatives, marrying Nova Scotia's specific skill needs with key markets and better integrating immigrants into the workforce. It also includes a new provincial nominee program.

Unlike the pilot, Nova Scotia's new Nominee Program has no limit on the number of individuals Nova Scotia may nominate annually. This element is important for a province with aggressive targets and a need to attract skilled workers and entrepreneurs. The new program also renews federal and provincial government commitments to attract more Francophone immigrants to Nova Scotia's French-speaking communities. Currently, the Nova Scotia Nominee Program has four operating streams – skilled worker, community identified, family business worker and international graduate.

The *skilled worker* stream helps employers hire and retain immigrant workers whose skills may be in limited supply in the province. The *community identified* stream is aimed at selecting individuals who have long-established connections to a Nova Scotia community. These individuals wish to live in that specific community permanently, are employable and can contribute to the community's labour market and economy. The *family business worker* and *international graduate* streams were introduced in 2006 and 2007, respectively, to meet commitments outlined in the immigration strategy. The *family business worker* stream is designed to help immigrant entrepreneurs bring in family members with needed skills for their businesses. The *international graduate* stream allows international students who have graduated from Nova Scotia post-secondary institutions and have related employment experience to apply for permanent residency in the province.

Consultations are underway for an *entrepreneur* stream, which will be implemented this spring. This stream will be designed to attract immigrants who want to start their own businesses or purchase existing ones in Nova Scotia. The implementation of this new category will honour the Province's commitment to create this stream. The *entrepreneur* stream will replace the *economic* stream, which the Office of Immigration stopped operating more than a year ago.

Other key components of Nova Scotia's approach to immigration include:

- Ongoing participation in immigration fairs abroad;
- A revamped Website with practical information on how to emigrate to the province;
- Alliances with business, industry, labour and ethno-cultural organizations to better align recruitment efforts with labour market needs.

Another critical component of the strategy is the Province's continuing work with key departments and industry regulators to ensure that internationally trained and educated immigrants have fair access to their professions. This focus is supported by the 2005 Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency research study on immigration and economic development in Nova Scotia. The study says that access to meaningful work or economic opportunities is a key factor in

an immigrant's decision to stay in the province. The strategy also reflects the importance of language training. Securing language training for new immigrants is a fundamental issue, particularly to businesses who cite newcomers' lack of language skills as the number one barrier in hiring immigrants. The issue also has serious implications for family members who may become isolated after their arrival if they are unfamiliar with the language. Almost half of the 30 settlement and integration projects and programs supported by the Province in 2007 to 2008 have a language component.

There are many tangible examples of Nova Scotia's immigration strategy at work. The labour market language program at the Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre is one. So is the La Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse capacity building program for the Acadian community. Business Advisory Services for Immigrant Entrepreneurs delivered by the Entrepreneurs' Forum is yet another.

Through these and other initiatives, Nova Scotia is continuing its success in attracting newcomers and increasing its ability to encourage them to stay, build their dreams and succeed in the province. Passenger ships no longer dock at Pier 21 bringing thousands of immigrants to a new world. But by forging ahead with its immigration strategy, Nova Scotia is succeeding in building on the diversity and skills that newcomers bring to its communities and workforce. It's a tangible approach for producing real results.

This article provides the context for an immigration strategy in Newfoundland and Labrador and gives evidence of growing diversity, particularly in St. John's. The article also features the welcoming nature of the province which is a strength on which to build as the immigration strategy is implemented.

Newfoundland and Labrador: Letting the Secret Out!

NELLIE BURKE
Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism, Newfoundland and Labrador

Historically, as in other parts of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador was populated primarily through immigration from areas such as England, Ireland, Wales, Scotland and France. Today, immigrants continue to make significant contributions to the economic, social and cultural development of the province, and are coming from a wide range of countries such as India, China, Columbia, Bulgaria, Pakistan and Bangladesh. While the average annual number of immigrants to the province is small (approximately 450), the contribution they make is considerable. Most are highly skilled professionals or have established businesses. There is a growing recognition that increased immigration to the province is essential in order to stimulate economic growth and to ensure a stable and growing population.

With an ageing and declining population and with the province poised for unprecedented economic growth, the implementation of an immigration strategy is seen as very timely. It is also seen as a much needed policy to help ensure that a skilled labour force is available to meet the needs of the growing economy and changing demographics.

Skills shortages exist primarily in the area of medical professionals, particularly in rural areas, as well as in specific sectors such as the oil and gas and academia, among others. There are also difficult-to-fill positions in a variety of sectors, particularly in remote areas of the province.

Over the past few years, the province has attracted an average of 450 immigrants annually (including approximately 155 government-assisted refugees). Census 2006 data indicate that there were 8,380 immigrants living in Newfoundland and Labrador, which shows a slight increase over the 8,030 reported in 2001. Of the current immigrant population, approximately 68% are living in the St. John's Metropolitan area.

There is a growing recognition that immigrants bring specialized skill sets, creativity, drive, ambition, and linkages to the global marketplace. Many immigrants are also willing to invest in economic development, which creates opportunities for local residents.

In the city of St. John's, the overall population is growing, as is its diversity. According to Census 2006, there are over 5,000 immigrants residing in the city. Also, there are hundreds of temporary foreign workers and over 1,100 international students from approximately 100 different countries. The number of restaurants featuring cuisine from many different countries is increasing. For example, in addition to the usual Chinese restaurants, St. John's currently has restaurants featuring Thai, Afghan, Australian, Japanese, Greek, Mexican, Indian, Italian, and Korean food. There are also multicultural food and craft fairs which are increasingly well attended and multicultural concerts featuring music from throughout the world. Contributions are also being made in the visual arts and music scene. People are commenting on the new vibrancy and dynamic atmosphere in the city and are

excited by the enrichment that diversity is bringing to our culture.

This growing awareness of the economic and cultural benefits of diversity, coupled with the recognition that the province of Newfoundland and Labrador has distinct benefits as a destination of choice for immigrants, bodes well for the successful implementation of the provincial immigration strategy.

Our strengths

We are also very much encouraged by what immigrants to our province say about their new home. In 2006, a number of immigrant entrepreneurs were featured in a publication entitled Diversity ~ Opportunity and Growth: Profiles of Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Newfoundland and Labrador. Without exception, the immigrants noted how happy they were with their decision to make their home in this province. Some of them included heart-warming quotes such as:

"Every day I listen to terrible news from all over the world and I wonder how it is that I ended up in Heaven." (Tineke Gow; country of origin: Holland).

"This province is a paradise on the earth, full of warm, compassionate and hard-working people." (Andom Gebru; country of origin: Eritrea)

"I love it here because it offers a safe and caring environment for me and my family." (Naushaba Sheikh; xountry of origin: Bangladesh)

"The people here were so friendly and welcoming; we had a lot of help and enjoyed the small city. My Newfoundland friends taught me the language and how to live here; it is the perfect place to raise a family and we love it." (Kim Le and Cham Tat; country of origin: Vietnam)

First and foremost, immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador appreciate the safe and secure environment. Most immigrants report that they find the people to be warm and welcoming, and they have little difficulty with integration into the social fabric of their communities.

Many prospective immigrants believe that it is much too cold to live in Newfoundland and Labrador, and they are very surprised to learn that St. John's is on the same latitude as Paris, France and Seattle, Washington. Many think that the province is located much further north, near Greenland.

Most immigrants who come to the province are actually surprised at how temperate the climate is, with no extreme highs and lows. Even those who do think the weather is too cold in winter have said: "We don't mind the cold weather because the people are so warm."

The greatest challenge to attracting immigrants has historically been the lack of awareness of the province as a desirable destination and the lack of employment opportunities except in specialized fields such as the medical professions, oil and gas, and academia.

With the launch of the provincial immigration strategy, there are plans to actively promote the province to prospective immigrants. Primarily this will be accomplished through participation at immigration fairs and by enhancing the provincial immigration website. We will also engage our existing immigrant population to act as informal ambassadors in spreading the word that the province of Newfoundland and Labrador is interested in attracting more immigrants.

It is helpful that the province is poised on the brink of unprecedented economic growth. There are anticipated skill shortages in a wide variety of occupations. Immigrants who choose our province will be able to find suitable employment and will have the potential to enjoy a great quality of life.

Word is getting out about this wonderful place. Once again, Newfoundland and Labrador is being discovered. A new wave of immigrants is finding a new home, many of whom first came to the province as temporary foreign workers, international students or visitors.

It is often inspiring to speak with some of the people we have nominated under the Provincial Nominee Program. Their glowing comments about the province are heartwarming. It is interesting to see your own home province through the eyes of a newcomer. Many express the sentiment that "This is THE place!" New immigrants all have their own reasons for feeling this way about their new home, and the following facts may shed some light on why they do.

This is the place where as a result of the events in New York on September 11, 2001, the residents of Newfoundland and Labrador cared for over 14,000 stranded airline passengers from all over the world, many of whom still visit the province today.

This is the place where local residents invited stranded passengers into their own homes, treated them as special guests, even lent them

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their cars. Hundreds of these thankful individuals act as ambassadors for the province and are spreading the word about the incredible hospitality shown by the people of Newfoundland and Labrador.

And this is the place where on the morning after 9-11, flowers were placed on the steps of the Mosque in St. John's.

Also, this is the place that newcomers describe with words such as paradise, oasis, or haven. One person recently described St. John's as the "poster city for humanity."

The future

The newly established Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism now has a total of 13 staff, five of which are working on the Provincial Nominee Program. The number of applications to the program is increasing, mostly from individuals already working in the province as Temporary Foreign Workers, or those who visited the Newfoundland and Labrador booth at the immigration fairs. In some cases, individuals come to the province on vacation, fall in love with the place and then take steps to relocate here by finding employment in their field.

In addition to increasing resources to attract more immigrants under the Provincial Nominee Program, the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism is also placing an emphasis on retention. Two settlement and integration consultants are being recruited to work with the local office of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the local settlement provider, the Association for New Canadians, to ensure that appropriate settlement and integration programs and services are in place to increase the likelihood of retaining immigrants.

Already, the province has funded programs such as evening classes in English as a Second Language (ESL), labour market integration programs for newcomers (particularly spouses), and cross-cultural awareness seminars. Recently, funds have been provided to the Association for New Canadians to offer ESL tutoring to provincial nominees and their spouses who are waiting for the processing of their applications for permanent residence to be completed.

As mentioned earlier, the number of international students at educational institutions in the province is increasing rapidly; as of fall 2007, over 1,200 were enrolled. Many are indicating that they would like to remain in the province upon graduation, and indeed the province sees international graduates as a pool of potential immigrants.

Many international students come from large, urban areas, but after some initial adjustment, come to love the slower pace of life, the feeling of safety and security, caring people, access to nature and open spaces, clean air and water – all of which are complemented by a high-quality education system and competitive tuition rates.

To facilitate their integration into the local labour market, the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism is in the process of conducting awareness-building seminars to educate international students and local employers about the Provincial Nominee Program.

In conclusion, we are extremely optimistic that the provincial immigration strategy will be a success. Once the secret is out that the best place in the world to live is actively recruiting immigrants, we expect to be in a position to welcome many new residents to our province.

Newfoundland and Labrador will be ready to welcome our new residents with open arms and celebrate our growing diversity together.

About the author

NELLIE BURKE has been working with the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for more than 30 years in a variety of departments and positions, including college instructor, curriculum consultant, director of federal/provincial agreements, and director of social and fiscal policy. She led the development of the provincial immigration strategy and is now the Executive Director of the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism, which will oversee the implementation of this strategy.

Immigrants in Atlantic Canada: A Socio-demographic Profile

Immigrants in Prince Edward Island

A Profile

General immigration trends

Immigrants account for 3.5% of the population of Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) compared with about one-fifth of the Canadian population. A extremely small percentage of new immigrants to Canada (about one-tenth of 1%) have traditionally come to P.E.I., but in 2006, this increased to about 0.4%.

Immigration has helped sustain population growth in P.E.I. during the 1990s and early 2000s. Without immigration between 2001 and 2006, the island's population would have decreased. Given declines in the natural population growth (births over deaths), immigrant inflows will be the only source of growth in the future. Immigrants' contribution to labour force growth has approximately doubled from 3% in the 1980s to more than 6% since 1996.

Approximately 57% of recent immigrants have arrived in the family class, followed by 24% in the refugee class, and 19% in the skilled class. Business class immigrant inflows have been very small.

Countries of origin and settlement patterns

The United States and the United Kingdom, which are two traditional sources, still rank among the top countries of origin of P.E.I. immigrants, but their combined share of immigrants has decreased over time as more countries have entered the mix. Most recently, Asian countries such as China, Korea and Taiwan have together accounted for more than the combined share of US and UK immigrants.

Roughly 70% of immigrants living in P.E.I. live in Queens County, where more than 50% of the P.E.I. population also lives; the provincial capital, Charlottetown, is in Queens County. The second most important settlement area for immigrants has been Kings County in the western part of the island.

Demographic profile

The age profile of immigrants to P.E.I. is tilted toward younger age groups. Between 35% and 50% of new permanent resident arrivals in recent years were among the 25 to 44 age group, and a further 10% to 20% were aged between 15 and 24. The number of new immigrants aged 65 years or older has traditionally been very low.

Reliance on government transfer payments and services

The proportion of government transfers in total income of recent immigrants has been much smaller than that of non-immigrants and all immigrants. For example, in 2001, recent immigrants received only 3% of their income in the form of government transfers, while non-immigrants and all immigrants received about 19% and 20%, respectively.

Labour market outcomes

Compared to non-immigrants, immigrants in P.E.I. have higher education levels, higher employment income and lower unemployment rates. Recent immigrants are even more educated, with 29% of recent immigrants having one degree or more in 2001 compared to 13% of non-immigrants. The proportion of recent immigrants with a degree has also increased steadily over time.

One concern is that the labour market outcomes of recent arrivals (those who arrived within five years of a census year) have not improved. Recent immigrants have lower labour force participation rates and higher unemployment rates compared to non-immigrants. The problems of credential

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recognition and language barriers may partly explain the lack of improvement as more immigrants now come from non-traditional source countries.

Highly skilled immigrants

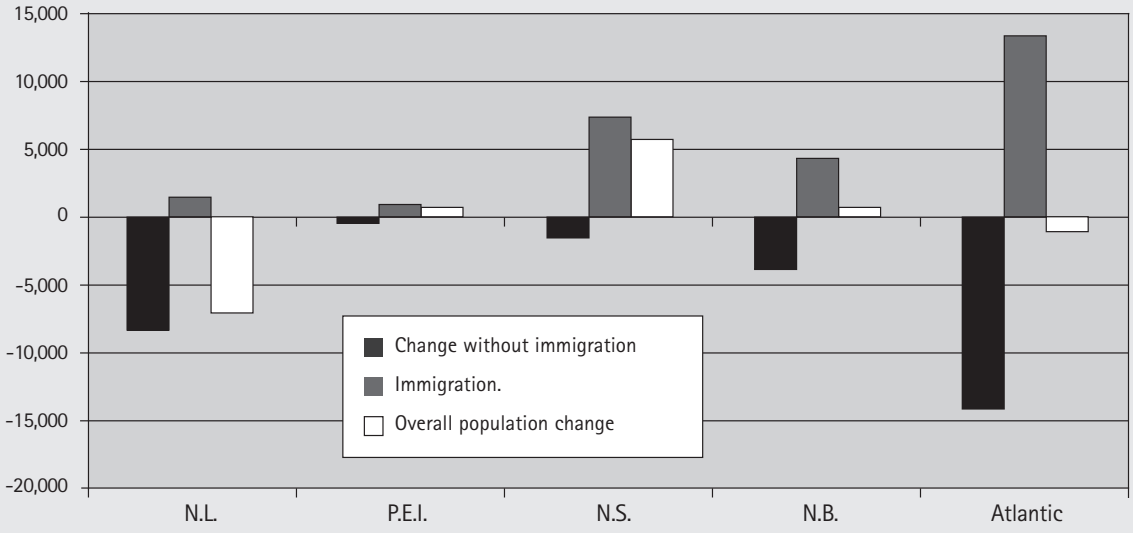
The proportion of highly skilled immigrants (managers and professionals) destined for the P.E.I. labour force has increased since 1981. In 2001, about 55% of highly skilled immigrants in P.E.I. were professionals, 32% were middle and other managers, and 13% were senior managers. Immigrant professionals and managers are overwhelmingly engaged in the service sector, which accounts for 67% of immigrant senior managers, 58% of immigrant middle managers and 100% of immigrant professionals. About 43% of immigrant middle and other managers are employed in wholesale/retail trade and in accommodation and food services. Another 14% of immigrants employed as middle or other managers are in public administration.

The proportion of professionals in P.E.I. who are immigrants is relatively small (5% in 2001) and has declined over time. The two most important industries of employment for immigrant professionals are education (50%) and health care/social assistance (25%). Overall, immigrants constitute a small but significant proportion of total professionals in P.E.I. Since 1991, the number of non-immigrants employed as professionals increased at a faster rate than the number of immigrants employed as professionals. Immigrant professionals have been a relatively small but important proportion of immigrants to P.E.I. since 1981.

Business immigration

Approximately 25% of business immigrants work in the agriculture sector, followed by "other services," manufacturing, educational services, and health and social services (each about 12%).The United States and the Netherlands each account for 31% of P.E.I"s business immigrants

FIGURE 1
Components of Population Change 2001-2006



Source: Calculated from Census data, and Citizenship and Immigration Canada data.

and are thus the top source countries for this sector. They are followed by the UK, which accounts for another 19%. P.E.I. business immigrants live mainly in Queens County.

Retention of immigrants

The retention rate of recent immigrant arrivals in P.E.I. decreased from 59% to 51% from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, then increased to 60% by 2001 before slipping back to 53.5% in 2006. A significant increase in the retention rate is necessary to realize long term benefits from immigration. This can be achieved through the policies that facilitate economic and social integration of immigrants.

International students

International students are a pool of potential immigrants who can make significant contributions towards labor market and population sustainability in P.E.I. Most are at the university level. The top source countries for foreign students in P.E.I. are the US, China, Japan, Korea, Nigeria, Germany and Australia. At present, P.E.I. also receives students in smaller numbers from several other countries. Annual inflows doubled between 1996 and 2006, and the total number of international students is now well over 300, almost all of them enrolled at the University of Prince Edward Island.


CANADIAN JOURNAL OF URBAN RESEARCH

CONTENTS

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, and suggest ways of facilitating the integration process.

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The Greater Halifax Partnership led a community approach to open doors, open borders and open opportunities. Out of that effort emerged the Halifax Region Immigration Strategy, a blueprint for enhanced attraction and retention of immigrants to the city.

Come One, Come All

Best Practices in Immigrant Retention

GREATER HALIFAX PARTNERSHIP

Halifax is rolling out the welcome mat – and more. Canadians, ex-pats, and immigrants are all being embraced by Nova Scotia's capital city, which has put in place a plan to ensure that a warm welcome is much more than two words on a carpet.

Indeed, says Dan English, Chief Administrative Officer for HRM, "Halifax Regional Municipality's primary role in immigration is to create and maintain a welcoming community. We must never forget that immigration is about people."

"In order to increase the number of individuals and families who move to our region and stay in the long term," he stresses, "we must create a welcoming environment."

In the province of a hundred thousand welcomes – Ciad Mile Failte in the traditional Gaelic – you'd think this would be easy. But as with every important message, this is one that must be reinforced, and widely shared. "We need to actively support newcomers. It's easy to take for granted that we do that already," says Sarah Young, Principal with MT&L Public Relations in Halifax.

That assumption has, however, been questioned recently. "In the last couple of years, we've heard that while we are a friendly community we are not necessarily a welcoming one," notes Young.

"Once we heard that," she adds, "we came together to change it."

That change started with the formation of the Welcoming Communities Committee, which was established by the Greater Halifax Partnership and is made up primarily of recent immigrants – individuals who understand firsthand what it's like to be a stranger in a strange city. "Our job," Jacqueline Steudler, an Art Therapist from Switzerland, "is to serve as a sounding board and to give advice. That will help make the move to Halifax easier – and the community feel like home more quickly."

The committee plays a key role in introducing newcomers to local residents, and local leaders, so there will be familiar faces in their lives, notes Stephen Dempsey, President and CEO of the Greater Halifax Partnership, which leads economic growth for the municipality. "It plans events where local residents, leaders and municipal councillors can come together to welcome newcomers and introduce themselves as neighbours."

One of those events is an annual barbecue, this year held in Fleming Park, commonly called The Dingle, located on the famous Northwest Arm. Initially, notes Graziella Grbac, Manager of Community Economic Development with the Partnership, the event drew 60 to 70 people. This summer more than 200 turned out for an afternoon of camaraderie, including Mayor Peter Kelly and senior officials from the city.

Such events are more than fun, says Dempsey, they are essential. "It is not enough to say, 'Welcome, now settle in.' We recognize that

newcomers need to be integrated into the community, and they are looking to those of us who already live here to help them."

Without such integration – without people feeling at home in the community – newcomers will leave. That exodus is a situation Halifax, like many cities in Canada, is grappling with. "Immigration is crucial to the future growth and development of Greater Halifax and Nova Scotia," notes Dempsey. "Compared to the last census period, the number of new immigrants choosing Halifax increased by 53%, but that only represents half of one percent of all immigrants that came to Canada; it is not enough. We also need to work on increasing immigrant retention."

To address the issue, the Greater Halifax Partnership led a community approach to open doors, open borders and open opportunities. Out of that effort emerged the Halifax Region Immigration Strategy, a blueprint for enhanced attraction and retention of immigrants to the city. Three components are critical to success: complementing federal and provincial initiatives in this area; more fully integrating immigrants already living in Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM); and drawing immigrants to the community who are most likely to put down roots and call Halifax home.

Halifax Regional Municipality also has an Immigration Action Plan. This plan will complement the Nova Scotia Immigration Strategy, while recognizing the municipal mandate and supporting the key components of the Halifax Region Immigration Strategy. "HRM is prepared to undertake positive changes that will allow us to more effectively serve our diverse community, says English."

A vital starting point is leadership. The Halifax Immigration Leadership Council, co-chaired by the Partnership and the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA), was established to provide that expert guidance and direction. Comprised of leaders in the field, and the community, the group is focused on attracting, retaining and integrating immigrants into HRM. "The individuals that form the Leadership Council are a unique team that help to make sure our immigration efforts are working," says Dempsey.

A best practices approach requires awareness – locally. Immigrants need to be valued, and their contributions celebrated. So the Partnership developed an award-winning ad campaign, launched last year, which focuses on enhancing perception and attitudes of the business community towards hiring an immigrant. Ads ran in the two daily metro papers and there are now plans to expand the campaign to include TV and billboards.

A more up-close-and-personal initiative is videos that feature employers who have hired immigrants and speak to the importance of these workers, as well as the need to welcome them to the community. "Employees are the backbone of any successful company, and it is important to build a team with the skills and expertise – and energy – to achieve your vision," says Greg Grice, Regional President, Atlantic provinces, RBC Royal Bank.

"We must be willing to invest in employees, and we must be willing to invest in newcomers to Atlantic Canada," he adds.

Such investment pays off – for everyone. Sometimes, of course, a helping hand is required. On March 20th, the Immigration Leadership Council, the Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre (HILC) and the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) hosted a very successful networking event aimed at promoting services that connect employers and newcomers. The Partnership led the coordination of the event attended by more than 200 individuals. Employers and newcomers learned about the programs and services available to them through Nova Scotia's most recent bridging program, "Work in Nova Scotia" (WINS). The WINS program provides a range of language and employment supports and services to prepare newcomers for working in Nova Scotia. The event was a great forum to bring both of the groups together and was a huge first step in connecting employers with newcomers looking for meaningful work.

Newcomers aren't alone in their need for a helping hand. Businesses also need to understand the benefits of hiring newcomers and the challenges inherent in that process.

To assist businesses throughout the metro area, the Partnership has added the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration to its SmartBusiness Action Team. SmartBusiness is about responding to business with real answers in real-time, and it is through the Action Team – a group of more than 25 senior business people and government officials – that the Partnership works with employers to address needs and identify opportunities that affect company growth.

"Supporting local businesses means talking face-to-face with employers and hearing first-

According to Statistics Canada, Halifax is home to the lion's share of Atlantic Canada's immigrants. Core working-age recent immigrants (those who landed between 5 and 10 years prior to 2006) in the Halifax area fared very well in the labour market, with 88.9% of them employed, higher than that of Canadian-born Haligonians (84.7%).

hand about what affects them. Armed with this information, our task becomes one of tackling obstacles and clearing the way for a vibrant and growing economy in Greater Halifax," says Dempsey.

In turn, the private sector will step up to the plate – and hit a welcoming home run. "It is crucial that we mobilize the private sector to attend events for newcomers and learn about immigration programs," adds Dempsey. "It is essential that they are actively welcoming new Nova Scotians."

First, of course, they have to find their new employees. The Partnership's Immigration Employer Support Program is helping employers by providing guidelines, information and support as they navigate through the hiring process. For those employers who have indicated recruitment challenges, the program provides information on the opportunities and benefits of hiring immigrants and how to begin.

Partnership staff is also meeting regularly with employers and discussing the different aspects involved in the immigration process, and the benefits of hiring newcomers.

Employers came together recently with potential new employees at Pier 21's Welcome Home to Canada job fair where 14 immigrants looking for work networked with approximately 70 local employers. This is the fourth time since 2006 the job fair and networking session has been held. It certainly won't be the last.

Work is one critical element of drawing immigrants to a community and keeping them involved and engaged. There are many more – and a welcoming community encompasses them all. "We know that newcomers stay in a location if they can be successful economically and are accepted into the social fabric of the community," says Grbac.

A welcoming community, she notes, does four critical things. It enhances diversity and cultural awareness in schools, workplaces and across the community. It helps to develop equitable business practices and awareness programs, and shares resource materials, tools and programs for community groups and neighbourhoods. Finally, it celebrates success.

As home to 55% of Atlantic Canadian immigrants and 80% of immigrants to Nova Scotia, HRM has a significant interest in providing the most welcoming environment possible for newcomers. "HRM's ability to maintain and build upon the immigrant population is fundamental

Halifax: Fast Facts

- Halifax is a positively magnetic city – a recent Conference Board of Canada report ranked Halifax as the 7th most economically attractive city in Canada.
  - Of the 27 cities in the survey, Halifax is the only Atlantic Canadian city to rank in the top 10.
  - Halifax ranked well in the areas of education, environment and health.
- Between 2001 and 2006, Halifax received 5,060 new immigrants, which represents 18.4% of the foreign-born population. Compared to the last census period, the number of new immigrants increased by 53%.
- In 2006, Halifax had the largest foreign-born population in the Atlantic provinces with 27,400 people. This is a 12% increase from the foreign-born population in 2001.
- Halifax is home to almost 40% of Nova Scotia's residents and more than 15% of Atlantic Canadians.
- The city is youthful. More than half the population is currently under 45 years of age.
- Halifax is Canada's Smart City with 63% of the working-age population having a university or community college education, and almost 25% of the city's labour force having a university degree.
- There are six degree-granting institutions located in Halifax. Together, they enroll more than 30,000 students.
- Halifax is Atlantic Canada's economic engine, generating 45% of Nova Scotia's GDP and 15% of GDP for all of Atlantic Canada.
- Halifax and the Halifax economy have been growing steadily and consistently over the past decade, a period during which the unemployment rate for the area has always been below the national average.

to our region's economic, social and cultural success," states English.

According to Statistics Canada, Halifax is home to the lion's share of Atlantic Canada's immigrants. Core working-age recent immigrants (those who landed between 5 and 10 years prior to 2006) in the Halifax area fared very well in the labour market, with 88.9% of them employed, higher than that of Canadian-born Haligonians (84.7%). Their employment rate ranked among the highest of the 11 CMAs included in their analysis.

HRM is not alone in its efforts. The Atlantic Immigration Conference, hosted by the Atlantic Mayor's Congress in May 2005, sought to spell out how communities across Atlantic Canada could work together and share best practices in terms of attracting, welcoming, integrating and retaining newcomers to the region.

The city has now transformed many of those ideas into action. It is working with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to hold citizenship ceremonies in community facilities and provide information on local services following the sessions. It is providing welcome letters from the mayor and councillors for all newcomers. It is enhancing the immigration section of the HRM website so that there is a wealth of information and it is easy to find. The Partnership and HRM are also working together on the development of a *Newcomers' Guide to HRM*, a printed and electronic directory of services available in the community, such as public transportation, recreation and libraries, property taxes, garbage and recycling, and a snow-removal schedule.

It is, in all respects, rolling out the welcome mat.

That includes the work the Greater Halifax Partnership is doing in support of the Nova Scotia Nominee Program. Newcomers in Greater Halifax who want to apply for Nova Scotia's "community identified" stream of the Provincial Nominee Program contact the Partnership to obtain a letter of identification as a first step. "Our role is to look at candidates' community connections and potential contributions, and support them through this initial phase in their immigration process," says Grbac.

As newcomers move through that process, or move here from elsewhere in Canada, nothing replaces a friendly face and a helping hand. "It's about what we can each do individually," says Young. "Invite someone to a barbecue; take time for coffee with a newcomer. It's easy, and we all benefit."

Indeed, says Dempsey, the best way to welcome people to the community is one at a time. "It's the old-fashioned way – and it works. If people feel welcome, others will follow."

Welcome home to Halifax.

About the Greater Halifax Partnership

The GREATER HALIFAX PARTNERSHIP leads economic growth for Greater Halifax. Our focus is our businesses, our people, our community. The Partnership brings together all three levels of government, more than 150 private-sector investors and many different community groups to drive the economic growth of our region.

Community leaders recognize that immigration could help solve the problem of an ageing workforce, but Colchester County has attracted few immigrants in the past, and even fewer in recent years.

Recent Immigrants in a Rural Nova Scotia County

A Tentative Typology

DAVID J. FLINT
Saint Mary's University

Colchester County, Nova Scotia, is located just north of Halifax County and stretches from Cobequid Bay in the southwest to the Northumberland Strait in the north. Almost half the county's 49,305 residents are concentrated in the Truro-Bible Hill area. The rest are scattered widely in many small villages and rural areas. The landscape ranges from rolling agricultural land in the south to forested mountains and seashore in the north. The manufacturing sector is the largest employer in the region, followed by retail sales and health and social welfare occupations. Only about 6% of the workforce is employed in the traditional rural occupations of farming, forestry and fishing.

Colchester County's population has grown slightly in the last decade, but it has also aged. The birth rate is declining, and the number of younger working aged people is falling in both relative and absolute terms. Community leaders recognize that immigration could help solve the problem of an ageing workforce, but Colchester County has attracted few immigrants in the past, and even fewer in recent years. Immigrants make up only 3.3% of the total population and only about 15% (240) of these newcomers arrived between 1991 and 2001.

About the respondents

This report is based on open-ended interviews conducted in 2005 with 30 immigrants (16 women and 14 men) who had moved to Colchester County after 1991. They were born in 15 different countries, but 11 of the respondents had immigrated to Canada from countries other than their country of birth. Nine respondents had relocated to Colchester County from other parts of Canada. They were generally well educated and represented a wide range of occupations. Nine respondents had come as business-class immigrants, eight as skilled workers or professionals, eight as family-class immigrants, three as provincial nominees and two as refugees.

A summary of findings

- Almost half (14) of the respondents were self-employed. Nine others were employed as professionals, while four had relatively low-paying entry-level jobs. Two were looking for work and one was a full-time homemaker.
- Many of the professionals had difficulty finding work elsewhere in Canada due to non-recognition of credentials. Some relocated to Colchester County because employers there were willing to recognize their credentials.
- Only nine respondents looked for work *after* they arrived in Colchester County. The rest were either self-employed or had secured employment before they arrived. All but one of those who looked for work spoke English as a second language and/or was a member of a "visible minority." Most respondents reported these factors as barriers to employment.
- Married women from non-English speaking

countries with perceptible ethnic or racial differences had the greatest difficulty finding work. If these women found jobs at all, they usually found entry-level positions that did not reflect their educational or work experiences. About half of these women had immigrated with their husbands to Canada and had located in Colchester County because their husbands had found work there. Most of the rest had married Canadians who already lived in the area.

- About half the respondents felt they had really been "welcomed" into the community. These were typically white Anglophones who had settled in rural areas and were self-employed. Those who felt less welcomed tended to be those with greater cultural differences. Most of the respondents qualified their responses by saying that Colchester County residents had certainly been "friendly" but not really "welcoming." For immigrants who are unfamiliar with North American culture and who may have language difficulties, making friends with local people is not enough. The region's political, economic, legal, educational and religious institutions must be welcoming as well.
- Only eight respondents said they had made "many friends" in their new community. All eight had immigrated from northern Europe or North America and lived in rural areas. Seven were self-employed. The rest of the respondents said they had not made many friends, though some made a careful distinction between "real friends" and "acquaintances." Respondents who claimed "many friends" were typically engaged in multiple social, business and religious networks and voluntary organizations.
- The majority of the respondents (16) said they were "very satisfied" with their new life. Ten others were "content" with life in Colchester County, and only four were clearly "not satisfied." When asked what they liked most, all but one praised the county's rural aspects. The most common response was that Colchester County gave them the feeling of being surrounded by open space without being completely isolated from the amenities of civilization. Respondents also stressed the advantages of living in a village or small-town community. There was less crime, less pollution, and life could be lived at a slower pace.
- Twenty-eight of the 30 respondents became aware of Colchester County because they had a close personal connection with at least one county resident before they arrived. Eighteen had a family connection with the region.
- All but two respondents said that people from their home country would be attracted to Colchester County. Thirteen said that relatives, close friends or former business associates had expressed a serious interest in coming to join them in the region.

A typology of rural immigrants

If we wish to recruit immigrants who are likely to *remain* in rural areas, attention should be paid to the characteristics of those immigrants who have chosen to stay, as well as to the problems that have led to the departure of others. Immigrants who have adapted well to life in one of Canada's rural areas have special characteristics and motivations that suit them to this life, but not all immigrants have the *same* characteristics and motivations. To highlight the differences I present a tentative typology of rural immigrants based on characteristics of the people I interviewed.

The "Visionaries": Realizing the dream (14 respondents)

The "visionaries" came to Colchester County to realize a dream. Most of the people I talked to were hoping to realize one dream or another, but the visionaries came to this area primarily because it seemed the best place in the world to do this. They were idealistic but practical. They had searched carefully for the ideal spot and had planned their lives and saved their money in order to make their dream come true. Almost half of the respondents were primarily visionaries.

The visionaries believed they had found a relatively unspoiled rural or small-town environment surrounded by natural beauty and a small population of local residents with the traditional rural values of the work ethic, self-sufficiency, thrift and community spirit. They were prepared – and often eager – to sacrifice luxury and convenience for a simpler life. The visionaries I talked to were all from northern Europe or the United States. The lifestyle they envisioned would at one time have been possible for them in their native countries, but increasing land costs and cultural changes in these countries had led them to look for a less-developed region that bore some resemblance to their own country

If we wish to recruit immigrants who are likely to remain *in rural areas, attention should be paid to the characteristics of those immigrants who have chosen to stay, as well as to the problems that have led to the departure of others.*

in previous times. Nearly all of the visionaries had integrated comfortably into their adopted communities, though it was more difficult for those who spoke English as a second language. All were small businesspersons, farmers or professionals and were viewed by the local residents as contributors to the local economy.

The "Relatives": Family ties
(8 respondents)

The majority of the respondents (18) had family ties in the region. Some had relatives living in or near Colchester County, while others had come to join fiancés. The respondents had learned about the area from their relatives and would probably not have discovered the area otherwise. But for eight respondents (seven women and one man), their *primary* reason for coming was to be with a family member; in all but one case the family member was a fiancé, spouse or partner. As a rule, these immigrants had difficulty finding a place for themselves in the community. They felt isolated, had difficulty finding work or forming close friendships and their social circle was often limited to the friends of the person they had come to join. All eight had the additional problem of English as a second language.

The "Professionals": Professional opportunities
(5 respondents)

Six of the respondents were employed as professionals: two physicians, two engineers and two academics. Five had settled in Colchester County primarily because of an employment opportunity, though none had originally planned to live in Nova Scotia when they immigrated. In each case they had searched across Canada for work in their field and had found the best opportunity in Truro. Typically this was because employers here faced a shortage of professionals and were more open to hiring people with minimal Canadian experience. Unlike the "visionaries," the professionals had not come to the area specifically for the natural or social environment, but they liked the rural setting and the slower pace of life. While their social networks were smaller than those of the visionaries, they had made connections through associations with professional colleagues. The wives of male professionals experienced greater social isolation. They had difficulty finding work themselves, and the work they did find was typically "entry level" and did not reflect their prior training or experience. Without a job, and speaking English as a second language, they found it hard to forge friendships in their new community.

The "Entrepreneurs": Business opportunities
(1 respondent)

Nearly half (14) of the respondents were self-employed and could be regarded as "entrepreneurs," but only one had chosen to locate in the area specifically because it offered the most attractive entrepreneurial opportunity. An experienced businessman, he had decided to come to Nova Scotia because some of his relatives were already settled in the Halifax area. After searching throughout the province for a retail business he could afford to buy, he found the best opportunity in one of Colchester County's small villages. He expressed satisfaction with life in his new community but said he would readily move if a better business opportunity came up elsewhere in the future.

Skilled workers
(no respondents)

Aside from the professionals and farmers, ten of the immigrants I talked to could be regarded as "skilled workers," people with training and experience in office work, the trades or service occupations. All were women, and all but one was married. However, since none had come to the region specifically to find work in their area of expertise, I did not place them in the "skilled workers" category. It is significant that none of the people I talked to (aside from the professionals and one farmer) had been given permanent resident status on the basis of their skills, especially considering the great need for skilled workers in Colchester County. It is also significant that only two of these women were able to find employment commensurate with their training and experience.

Refugees
(2 respondents)

Very few refugees find their way to Colchester County, and I was able to locate only one refugee couple to interview. They had left an extremely difficult and dangerous situation in their home country and were grateful to be in a place where their lives were not in danger, with a roof over their heads and food to eat. Yet despite support from the Canadian Government and a local church sponsor, they found life in Colchester County difficult. There were no other people from their home country in the area. Cultural and language differences and lack of appropriate skills and recognized credentials made it difficult for them to find work that paid a living wage.

Conclusions

The typology reflects immigrant motivations. Immigrants who came to Canada to realize visions or to pursue professional careers had the easiest time adapting to conditions in Colchester County and were most strongly committed to staying in the region. The ease with which they adapted is related to the fact that the livelihoods they chose and the lifestyles they pursued connected them with multiple social networks. Those immigrants coming primarily to join family members or as refugees had the most difficulty adapting. Most of them were skilled workers, but because of language difficulties and ethnic discrimination, they had difficulty finding work that reflected their skills. These individuals had limited access to social networks and felt isolated from the community.

The problem for immigration facilitators is twofold: how to recruit the types of immigrants most likely to adapt to conditions in the region and how to alleviate the problems that immigrants encounter once they have arrived. In terms of recruitment, the typology provides a means of assessing the adaptability of immigrants to existing conditions in Colchester County based on the immigrants' reasons for coming. A most important finding is that virtually all the respondents learned about and were attracted to Colchester County through relationships with friends or family members already living in the region. This finding suggests that immigrants themselves may be a valuable resource for recruiting future immigrants, an idea that is supported by the fact that almost half the people I talked to mentioned relatives or friends who were interested in coming to the area. My research also indicates that while skilled, non-professional workers are needed in Colchester County, this type of immigrant has not been attracted to the region. It appears that skilled workers could be recruited readily through contacts with the county's existing immigrant community, provided that employment was offered and work visas were made available.

In terms of retention, different types of immigrants have different needs that must be met if they are to adapt to conditions in Colchester County. Visionaries, professionals and entrepreneurs had the easiest time adapting. This is likely because they had greater financial resources, their livelihood activities involved them in more social networks and they were perceived to contribute economically and socially and provide valuable skill sets to the community. The main obstacles were bureaucratic. The visionaries and entrepreneurs had taken substantial financial risks to set up businesses, and while they were welcomed by their communities, at times they felt they were regarded with suspicion and that the contributions they were making were not appreciated. Immigrating professionals had problems establishing credentials in Canada. This difficulty worked to the advantage of Colchester County employers, who were able to recruit these professionals from Canada's urban centres by recognizing their credentials.

Persons with English language deficiencies or marked ethnic or racial differences and refugees, skilled non-professional workers and women encountered different problems and had a harder time adapting to life in Colchester County. These people had problems finding work commensurate with their skills and experience, engaging with social networks and adjusting to cultural differences. These problems underline Colchester County's need to become a more "welcoming community," a community that is not only friendly but also equipped to be *helpful*. A local "switchboard" could be established where immigrants could call for referrals to agencies, organizations or individuals who could help them solve these problems. A local employment counselling and referral service specifically designed for immigrants could match them with appropriate jobs and provide references for employers. In addition to providing English-language instruction, an excellent ESL program in Truro introduces immigrants to a social network and provides practical and emotional support, but its resources are very limited.

Greater efforts could be made to reach out to immigrant women, particularly those in more remote areas of the county. The value of immigrants as consultants and advisors to the immigration and settlement processes could be recognized and utilized more effectively.

Colchester County is justly renowned for developing progressive policies and programs to attract immigrants and assist them in adjusting to rural and small-town life in Nova Scotia, and my recommendations are meant as suggestions for the further expansion and enhancement of these policies and programs rather than as a critique.

This article explores the values of Sharing Our Cultures – À la découverte de nos cultures, a student-focused community action and public education project, as a model for intercultural involvement among students who are new to Canada and their mainstream peers in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Canadian Heritage in the Atlantic Region: Engagement with the Multicultural Community

From Research to Practice: Immigrant and Refugee Children's Need to Belong

LLOYDETTA QUAICOE
Sharing Our Cultures – À la découverte de nos cultures

The yearly statistical reports on immigration confirm that the demographic composition of Canada is changing. In 2006, over 70% of the 251,649 permanent residents to Canada were from Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific, of which approximately 25% were children between the ages of 5 and 19 years (Statistics Canada 2008). Schools are the first institution that these children encounter on a regular basis; there they are expected to learn about their new society (Adams and Kirova 2006, Wilkinson 2002).

In Immigrant Youth in Canada, a Canadian Council on Social Development study, 50 immigrant youth aged 15 to 24 years explained that school was the focal point of their lives. The majority indicated that their first year in Canada was very difficult and school was often traumatic, a place where they felt homesick and socially isolated (2000: 10). Hébert's (2001) critical review of the literature identified gaps in Canadian research on systematic and comprehensive ways to explore how youth negotiate, participate, relate, oppose, resist, and engage as part of belonging to, and becoming part of, Canadian society. One policy consideration that emerged from The Learning Partnership pan-Canadian consultations was how to "maximize the opportunities for students from different backgrounds to learn from one another [and] help them understand that multiculturalism is a positive value, fundamental to Canadian society" (2006: 9).

In this article, I explore the values of Sharing Our Cultures – À la découverte de nos cultures, a student-focused community action and public education project, as a model for intercultural involvement among students who are new to Canada and their mainstream peers in Newfoundland and Labrador. I briefly conceptualize and contextualize the framework for belonging and highlight my study, *The Psychosocial Needs of Immigrant and Refugee School Children,*[1] which was the impetus for the project. I then describe the project and discuss how it reflects Canada's multiculturalism goals and contributes to improving psychosocial development outcomes for immigrant children and youth. I conclude by demonstrating that this project provides some solutions to the

[1] This study was funded by the Department of Canadian Heritage through its Multiculturalism Program. The project receives financial contributions from the Department of Canadian Heritage and Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

challenges posed by The Learning Partnership study and propose that this project can be used as a model for assisting immigrant students in experiencing a sense of belonging to their new socio-cultural environment.

In the contemporary discourses on multiculturalism, national identity, and citizenship, there has been an obvious shift towards the politics of belonging. In 1996, the Canadian government adopted a new mandate for its Multiculturalism Program which aimed at "strengthening Canada by fostering an inclusive society in which people of all backgrounds, whose identities are recognized as vital to an evolving Canadian identity, *feel a sense of belonging* and attachment to [the] country and participate fully in Canadian society" (*Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act – 2003-2004* 2005: 3, my emphasis). In a press release entitled "Canada, we all Belong," the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada urged Canadians to reflect on their "rights and responsibilities as citizens and the principles of respect, liberty, peace and belonging" (October 2005).

A sense of belonging at school is defined as the extent to which students feel accepted, respected, included, and supported in the school social environment (Goodenow and Grady 1993, Kember, Lee and Li 2006). School belonging is "a socially-grounded experience, derived from interpersonal relationships with members of the school community" (Hamm and Faircloth 2005: 61-62). Hamm and Faircloth argue that belonging to a school community involves more than just fitting in because there is an emotional attachment to, and security in, the setting that comes from feeling valued by and valuing of the community. Their study showed that high school students experienced essential conditions within their friendship community that undergirded "a sense of psychological belonging and developed feelings of security, acceptance, and value" (76).

Building a sense of belonging in a new environment was an important goal for refugee and minority children aged 11 to 16 years living in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands (*Forging New Identities* 1998). The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) investigated 15-year-old students across several countries on their participation and the need for belonging for student engagement. This research tool was based on responses to six descriptors of students' personal feelings of being accepted by their peers and feelings of loneliness, of seeming "like an outsider" or "out of place." The results demonstrated that students born outside the country were more likely than other students to have a poor sense of belonging (Willms 2003: 18, 48).

Anthias asserted that it is increasingly important to consider a sense of belonging in terms of preconditions for quality of life and not solely in terms of cultural initiation or cultural identity; belonging "involves an important affective dimension relating to social bonds and ties":

> There is the dimension of how we feel about our location in the social world. This is generated partly through experiences of exclusion rather than being about inclusion per se; a sense of, or concern with, belonging becomes activated most strongly when there is a sense of exclusion. The relational nature of belonging is important here. (2006: 21)

Thus belonging is both relational and affective. According to Heath and McLaughlin (1993), many young people emphasized that "achieving a sense of belonging and of knowing that they could do something and be someone in the eyes of others had to come first" (cited in Olwig 2003: 232). In his discussion on belonging as a key component of integration in Europe, Australia, and North America, Crowley suggested that belonging is distinguished from formal membership or citizenship in that "it involves reciprocal relations between members, with commitment, loyalty, and common purpose" (1999:18). This reciprocal nature of belonging is particularly important for new immigrant children who are immersed in a dominant culture in small urban and rural areas in Canada. Belonging is of greater importance for these children who are usually the minority, both numerically and visibly.

Highlights of the study

In Newfoundland and Labrador, new immigrant and refugee children who arrive during the school year are enrolled in school soon after their arrival. Some of these children are not proficient in the language of instruction in their schools and others have never been in a formal school setting. Children who have lived in refugee camps may come to Canada with gaps in their academic knowledge. The pre-immigration experiences of

As English language learners…students felt inadequate and lacked confidence in using English; thus, they did not initiate conversations with their mainstream peers. This lack of interaction had an impact on their social and emotional well-being.

immigrant children may differ from those of their refugee peers; nonetheless, researchers have shown that both immigrant and refugee families face numerous challenges when they arrive in a new country (Hyman et al. 2000, McBrien 2005). Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001) insisted that immigration can be traumatic for children who are thrown into an environment where they do not know the language or stand out as visibly different and incompetent.

The purpose of my qualitative and empirical study conducted from January to June 1999 was to identify the psychosocial needs of immigrant and refugee children aged 9 to 19 years in order to examine whether those needs were being met in public Anglophone schools and if educators were sensitive to those needs. The sample comprised 118 participants, of whom 57 were immigrant and refugee children who had arrived in Canada when they were of school age and had been residing in St. John's for six years or less. The remainder was comprised of 61 educators – 45 teachers, 9 principals, and 7 guidance counsellors.

A critical analysis of the data identified three major themes and indicators of the children's psychosocial needs: social interaction, school orientation, and socialization. As English language learners, these students felt inadequate and lacked confidence in using English; thus, they did not initiate conversations with their mainstream peers. This lack of interaction had an impact on their social and emotional well-being which these students expressed as: "I feel like a stranger in class" or "It seems like [mainstream peers] don't like us." These participants' experiences were congruent with those in the *Immigrant Youth in Canada* study, in which orientation to school was described as "being thrust into a sink or swim situation – having to learn the language and make friends quickly" (2000: 14).

At the conclusion of each face-to-face interview, the children were asked what they thought would help new children when they came to St. John's. Their overwhelming response demonstrated the need for social interaction and belonging to their new school community. They suggested that newcomer students be introduced to mainstream peers with similar extra-curricular interests, such as sports, music, and art. The majority of these students wished that mainstream peers would invite them for shopping or to concerts and other out-of-school activities because they were left out of those informal social times critical for developing friendships. One key recommendation was that schools provide opportunities for newcomer and mainstream children "to share each other's cultures which will make it easier for mainstream students to accept and interact with them" (Quaicoe 2000: 55).

Description of the project

Sharing Our Cultures – À la découverte de nos cultures was established on March 21, 2000 with the release of the findings of the above-mentioned study. These findings set the stage for an educational workshop in recognition of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This workshop provided another forum for newcomer students to express their feelings about adjusting to life in Canada, to share with their mainstream peers, to generate ideas that would form the basis of a drama production and a resource book for educators, to develop strategies to cope with their needs at school, and to begin a process of healing their pain, hurt, guilt, and fears through self-expression, peer support, and social interaction.

Sixty-one students aged 15 to 19 years from both mainstream and immigrant populations participated in small group discussions on ways to build and nurture friendships with students new to Canada. Each of these groups from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds presented their ideas to the larger group. One group mimed a scenario of social exclusion and inclusion. They deliberately isolated one student in their group by making paper crowns for the rest of the group and ignoring this student. It was an effective illustration of the hierarchical power imbalance sometimes evident between new immigrant and mainstream students. These group

Since its inception, Sharing Our Cultures – À la découverte de nos cultures has involved over 700 school children and youth from 35 ethnocultural communities who have shared and interacted with more than 10,000 mainstream students.

members, looking superior with their crowns, physically formed a circle excluding this student. After interacting among themselves, the group then made a crown and invited the excluded student to be part of their group. Mime as a medium of expression crystallized exclusion, isolation, and marginalization often experienced by minority students and English language learners. Additionally, it depicted this student's transition from an outsider to an accepted group member.

The ideas generated from this workshop became the foundation of a drama production on March 21, 2001. Visiting teachers and mainstream students indicated an interest in interacting with immigrant students. As a result, this project has evolved into its current cultural showcase/display format in which immigrant students host interactive cultural activities with mainstream peers. Government departments, academic institutions, and community-based organizations also staff information booths. This project fulfills the four goals of the Department of Canadian Heritage's Multiculturalism Program.

Goal 1: Combatting racism and discrimination

This project is held every year in recognition of the United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and Canada's "Racism. Stop It!" Campaign (March 21). For six months prior to these events, approximately 80 immigrant students participate in weekly meetings and work group sessions to prepare these culture-sharing activities. They organize cultural/country profiles with pertinent information and visuals around themes of global citizenship, peace, celebrations, handicrafts and games played around the world. This process provides numerous opportunities for them to develop a sense of belonging and camaraderie. As new students arrive, they join in the meetings and share in the interactions while preparing their displays.

By focusing on the value of cultural diversity, this project creates awareness of the issues associated with racism and discrimination and increases the possibilities for immigrant students to work with their mainstream peers towards a common goal of sharing their cultures. This rationale is based on the premise that if friendships are nurtured, these students are less likely to engage in racially motivated practices.

Goal 2: Ensuring that Canadian institutions reflect Canadian diversity

Public school as a state institution is where students who are new to Canada are expected to learn about life in Canada and to build social networks. School also poses challenges, particularly for those students who are learning English, who have missed years of schooling, or who may never have been in a formal school setting.

By inviting all provincial schools to participate, the project ensures that teachers integrate these bilingual and multicultural events into their teaching, within the subject matters of the curriculum deemed most appropriate – Canadian Issues, Social Studies, and Religious Education. Through qualitative evaluation processes teachers and students acknowledge the value of such interactions in teaching cultural diversity and contributing to curriculum outcomes.

This project is guided by an advisory committee of representatives from federal and provincial government departments, academic institutions, and non-governmental organizations. The continued participation of these representatives demonstrates the value they place on cultural diversity.

Goal 3: Promoting shared citizenship

Shared citizenship is attained when all Canadians feel part of and can participate in the economic, cultural, and social life of Canada. The students who participate in these events are full and active participants in the process of shared citizenship. Validating and legitimizing students' cultural heritage in a public forum sends a powerful message that stimulates their sense of belonging. Mainstream students working alongside their immigrant peers learn the importance of Canada's cultural diversity.

Goal 4: Fostering cross-cultural understanding
Students from Newfoundland and Labrador visit the events in St. John's, and in 2004 the project expanded its reach by hosting events in rural communities. This further encouraged province-wide intercultural exchange among children of diverse cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. In 2006, one of the families of the children in St. John's hosted a Newfoundland family from the rural community who had billeted their children and both families shared their respective cultures.

This project fosters an understanding of, and appreciation for, Canada's diversity through the involvement of over 500 members of the general public who attend the official opening ceremonies at the urban and rural events. These attendees interact with immigrant students and their families and engage in informed dialogue on issues related to multiculturalism and racism. During these events, families new to Canada learn about resources in their communities and develop social networks. During the 2007 event, Citizenship and Immigration Canada hosted a citizenship ceremony which reflected the diversity of cultures represented by new Canadians and acknowledged the contributions of immigrants to Canada.

Since its inception, Sharing Our Cultures – À la découverte de nos cultures has involved over 700 school children and youth from 35 ethnocultural communities who have shared and interacted with more than 10,000 mainstream students. As the project approaches its tenth year, it continues to maximize the opportunities for students from diverse backgrounds to learn from one another as they share together – creating spaces for their multiple voices, cultures, histories, talents, and experiences.

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Atlantic Canada is no different from any other part of the country in that it has its own set of needs and challenges. Factors such as labour market conditions, demographics, social conditions over-laid on a vast geographic area require an approach from immigration that is tailored to the region.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada in the Atlantic Region

CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA, ATLANTIC REGION

Immigration to Atlantic Canada

A rocky, often storm-bound coastline with winters that can discourage even the most intrepid of individuals may not seem to be the most attractive place to choose as a home. However, every year hundreds of immigrants do exactly that in Atlantic Canada. In making this choice they contribute not only to their own future, but to the economic and social future of the Atlantic region.

Atlantic Canada is no different from any other part of the country in that it has its own set of needs and challenges. Factors such as labour market conditions, demographics, social conditions over-laid on a vast geographic area require an approach from immigration that is tailored to the region.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) in the Atlantic regions has in the past responded effectively and efficiently to a range of situations. For example in 1999, Canada agreed to accept thousands of refugees from Kosovo. Families and individuals were flown into the region and provided with temporary accommodations and support services. Staff of the Atlantic region joined by others from across the country worked around the clock to ensure safe and efficient processing of this mass arrival.

In September 2001, the region was also called upon to respond to the sudden diversion and grounding of dozens of aircraft following the terrorist attacks of September 11. Again, staff moved quickly and worked collaboratively with other agencies to ensure a smooth and efficient processing of the thousands of stranded travellers.

In the current situation, CIC is also being called upon to respond to a challenge. The region is now facing a need to attract and retain newcomers to help sustain economic and social development. No other part of Canada is feeling the effects of the western Canadian economic boom as is the East coast. Large numbers of young people are responding to the draw of the West, and small rural communities are becoming even smaller.

Immigration and demographic trends

Atlantic Canada's Francophone culture is also at risk of becoming depleted. Attracting and retaining Francophone immigrants, particularly in Canada's only bilingual province, New Brunswick, has become a major preoccupation, especially in rural areas where many of the Francophone communities have roots stretching back more than four centuries.

All communities in Atlantic Canada are feeling the effects of out-migration. Were it not for immigration, populations in all four provinces would be static or in decline. In fact, Newfoundland and Labrador is already seeing a downward trend in the number of residents.

Smaller centres are those feeling the most acute impact of out-migration, as downward trends immediately affect the ability to deliver programs and services.

One encouraging factor is that the number of foreign students coming to the region's 17 degree-granting institutions has grown by about 8.5% since 2002. The greatest increase has been in Newfoundland and Labrador which has gone from 246 students in 2002 to 404 in 2006.

Prince Edward Island has also grown from 231 students in 2002 to 326 in 2006. The 2006 statistics show Nova Scotia with 1,788 foreign students and New Brunswick with 938.

Overall there seems to be a growing interest in Atlantic Canada as a destination for immigrants. Since 2000, the number of immigrants coming to Atlantic Canada has risen from 2,973 to 5,307, with a higher percentage of the national distribution of immigrants, rising from 1.3% to 2.1%. Even with this increase, however, provincial governments and their federal partners recognize that even higher numbers are required to ensure long-term sustainability.

CIC, along with all the provincial governments and federal partners such as the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency recognize the need for cooperation and collaboration in addressing the immigration needs of Atlantic Canada. A forum called the Atlantic Population Table brings key stakeholders together to collaborate on bringing their individual strengths to bear on the issue.

CIC in the Atlantic

CIC has established a full regional presence, with offices in St. John's, Halifax, Charlottetown and Fredericton. Offices are also located in Moncton and Saint John. The regional office in Halifax is co-located with the Halifax Citizenship and Immigration Centre. The total staff complement for all these offices is less than 70, but nevertheless the full suite of CIC programs and services is delivered here. This region-wide footprint enables CIC to be a key contributor and facilitator for discussions on immigration to Atlantic Canada.

An example of a common service provided to all provinces is the opening of a new temporary foreign-worker unit, which responds to the needs of employers in the region. The Moncton-based unit works closely with all provincial partners and employers to respond more effectively to regional needs.

The regional office in Halifax provides program and advisory support to the Atlantic organization. CIC is co-located with the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration, providing clientele with a common location for both federal and provincial immigration and citizenship services as well as developing ongoing collaborations which benefit both organizations.

CIC's suite of programs is being employed as both strategic and tactical tools in the region to address specific needs. The variety of programs aimed at helping immigrants settle in this country include Language Instruction for New Canadians (LINC), Enhanced Language Training (ELT), Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), the HOST program, which matches new immigrants to volunteer families, and the Refugee Assistance Program. Funding is also available through the Official Languages Action Plan.

The financial investment by CIC in the region through these program streams has grown substantially, especially in the last three years. Funding has increased from about $12.8 million to more than $15.5 million, or roughly 21%.

Virtually all of these programs are developed in collaboration with provinces, and through partnership with non-government organizations. By fostering and supporting these relationships, the delivery of settlement programs becomes very much a community-based venture engaging not only the staff components of the organizations themselves, but significant numbers of volunteers.

Program and service provision and immigration strategies

Just as the provinces and the federal agencies recognize the importance of collaboration and information sharing, service provision organizations in the region also have a common forum, the Atlantic Region Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (ARAISA). CIC sponsors an annual meeting of organizations funded to provide immigrant settlement services. Currently ARAISA has approximately 12 members.

As a locally-tailored tool for immigration, provinces benefit from the Provincial Nominee Program. This is a collaborative arrangement between the Government of Canada and the provinces to enable them to select the immigrants best suited to that particular province's circumstances. The objectives of the program include: increased business and economic development, increased supply of skilled workers, increased population, and achievement of provincial demographic, social and cultural objectives.

In addition to the Provincial Nominee Agreements, Nova Scotia has signed a cooperation agreement with the Government of Canada which establishes the shared responsibilities between the two levels of government and extends in perpetuity

the Provincial Nominee Program. Also, there is no limit to the number of nominees named in this agreement.

Prince Edward Island will soon be renewing a similar cooperation agreement with a perpetual nominee program without limits on the number of nominees.

Newfoundland and Labrador and New Brunswick also have Provincial Nominee Programs. These two provinces have not as yet developed cooperation agreements, but are well on their way to developing sound population development strategies.

Last year, Newfoundland and Labrador launched their provincial immigration strategy, which among other initiatives established the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism within the Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment.

New Brunswick launched its population growth strategy this February. This strategy established four key objectives: increasing and targeting immigration, increasing settlement and promoting multiculturalism, retaining youth and repatriating former New Brunswickers, and adopting family-friendly policies.

Nova Scotia's and Prince Edward Island's immigration programs are well established, and are continuing to expand their efforts to attract and retain new residents.

Citizenship is the final objective of many new Canadians. Taking the oath of citizenship marks the final step on a journey which, for many of the new inhabitants of the Atlantic provinces, has been a long one.

CIC in the Atlantic region takes great pride in making the ceremony a true milestone. Most citizenship swearing-in ceremonies in the region are hosted by a variety of community groups. This direct offering of hospitality from the community is essential in creating a sense of becoming part of Canada.

The Atlantic region is proud to help host the 10th annual National Metropolis Conference (April 3 to 6, 2008), organized by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre of Halifax and Moncton, as it is the first of its kind to take place in the Atlantic region. With this gathering right in the centre of Atlantic Canada of key players in Canada's strategic planning of immigration, the conference's outcomes will no doubt have a direct benefit to the long-term outlook for Atlantic Canada.

Immigrants in Atlantic Canada: A Socio-demographic Profile

Immigrants in Newfoundland and Labrador

A Profile

General immigration trends

Unlike provinces such as Ontario, Newfoundland and Labrador is immigrant scarce. Immigrant inflows rarely exceed 500 individuals per year. With a population of just over 500,000, Newfoundland and Labrador accounts for 1.6% of the Canadian population. In 2006, immigrants represented a very small proportion of the provincial population, about 1.5%. This proportion has been remarkably constant since 1981. The province's population has gone down sharply since the mid-1990s, by 11% or 63,000 people since 1991. Although immigration has not reversed these losses, it has ameliorated them slightly.

Countries of origin, settlement patterns and economic immigrants

While the United States and the United Kingdom remain among the major source countries of immigrants destined for Newfoundland and Labrador, China has been the dominant origin of immigrants to the province since the mid-1990s. India has also emerged as a major immigrant source. Most immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador settle in the Avalon Peninsula. About three-quarters are in St John's, the provincial capital.

Demographic profile and immigrant categories

About half of immigrants in 2006 were aged between 25 and 44 years, a proportion that has been relatively constant in recent years, and which is almost twice the level of this age group in the population as a whole. Immigrants as a whole in Newfoundland and Labrador, therefore, are younger than the average population. Family class immigrants, refugees, and skilled workers have been the most numerous immigrants to the province. There have been hardly any business class immigrants.

Reliance on government transfer payments and health care services

Since 1981, immigrants have relied far less on income from government transfers than has the native-born population. For instance, in 2001, government transfers were less than 11% of total income for immigrants, compared to more than 22% of total income for non-immigrants. In a sense, these numbers are not surprising. If immigrants are younger at the time of arrival, they do not receive such age-related transfers as Canada Pension Plan and Old Age Security payments and also do not become eligible for other transfers, such as employment insurance, until they start working and paying employment insurance premiums

Labour market outcomes

In terms of labour market outcomes, compared to non-immigrants, immigrants in Newfoundland and Labrador have higher education levels, earn higher employment income, and have lower unemployment rates. Immigrants who were classified as professionals, are mostly engaged in the knowledge economy and have unemployment rates and employment income comparable to those of the native born in that sector. There are, however, two concerns. Firstly, labour market outcomes of recent arrivals (those who arrived within five years of a census year) have worsened since 1981. Secondly, the inflow of skilled immigrants has declined since the mid-1990s.

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Highly skilled immigrants

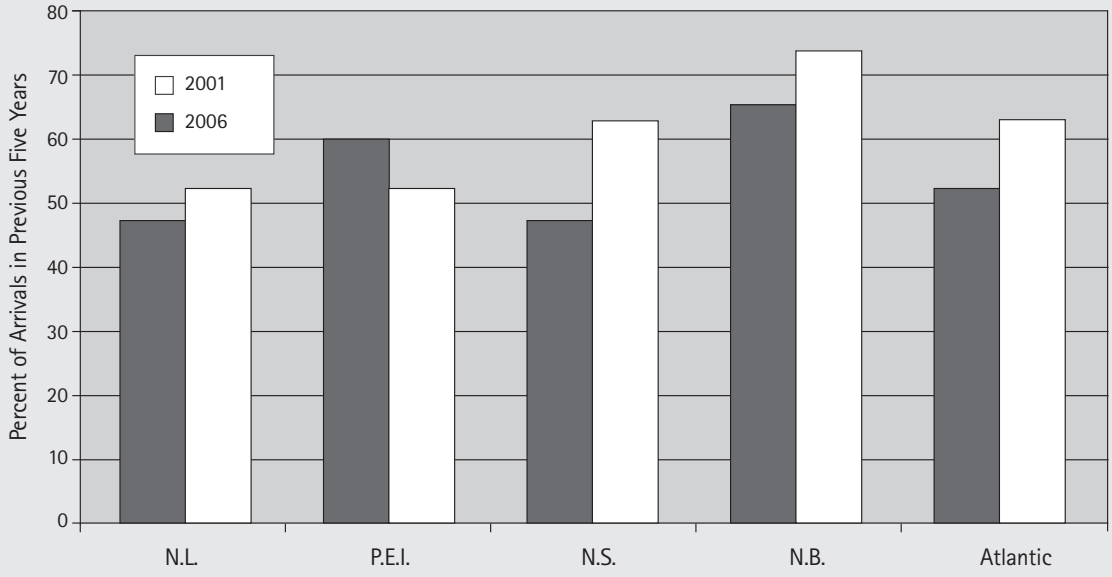
From 1981 to 2006, highly skilled immigrants (managers and professionals) comprised a significant proportion of immigrants destined for the labour force in Newfoundland and Labrador. While their percentages peaked in the early 1990s and have been declining since, their inflows still exceed those of medium- and low-skilled immigrants, whose numbers have also been declining. Most notable is the absence of immigrants in senior management positions across many sectors of the provincial economy. The unemployment rates of immigrant managers below the senior level were almost five times higher than those of non-immigrant managers.

Approximately 87% of all highly skilled immigrants are employed in he service sector, where they are concentrated in four or five sub-sectors. The majority are professionals in health care and social services, education and professional, scientific and technical sectors. Immigrant professionals increased significantly in many fields over the 1990s. There was significant growth among scientists, engineers, legal professionals, and musicians and singers. However, the number of immigrant professionals in business and finance, other health care professionals and computer and information systems has declined since the mid-1990s.

Business immigration

Business immigration is a potential source of economic growth as it brings entrepreneurship, capital, innovation and expertise into the provincial economy. However, given the limited size of this group, the economic returns from business immigration are relatively small in Newfoundland and Labrador. Immigrant business investments in the entrepreneurial class have been extremely small and sporadic over the years. A large number of self-employed immigrants are in the service sector, with health

FIGURE 1
Immigration retention, Atlantic provinces, 2001-2006



Source: Calculated from Census and Citizenship and Immigration Canada data.

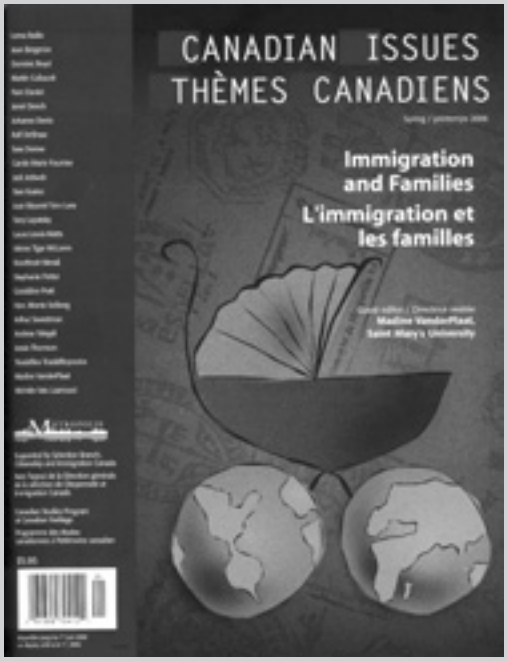
and social services, business services, and manufacturing the top three types of enterprise. Most self-employed immigrants are from Europe (77%) and have settled in urban areas of the province. There is also a significant gender disparity among business immigrants, with males outnumbering females by a factor of 2.6 to 1.

Retention of immigrants

Increasing immigration without adequately retaining immigrants means that the gains from immigration do not last. Retention rates in Newfoundland and Labrador shrunk from about 56% in the early 1980s to 48% in the late 1990s. It has since rebounded slightly to 52.5% in the five years to 2006. To increase this further will require policies and programs that facilitate the economic and social integration of immigrants. Such policies should focus on the quality of settlement services, language training, and on expediting the process of foreign credential recognition.

International students

International students are an important source of human capital for both the provincial and national economies. Facing the reality of a declining population, Memorial University has been very successful recruiting both students from the rest of Canada and international students. Since 1996, the annual inflow of students has gone up from about 200 to almost 400, and the total international student population in the province is now almost 1,000. China was the largest source country of students studying in Newfoundland and Labrador in 2005, with the United States and Bangladesh ranking second and third, respectively.



Immigration and Families

Special issue of
Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens

Metropolis has continued its successful partnership with the Association for Canadian Studies and produced special issues of the magazine *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* on immigration and diversity topics. This issue (spring 2006) focuses on immigration and the families. 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

Despite the significant influx of Chinese and Korean immigrants into P.E.I. during the past few years, these numbers are still not sufficiently addressing population decline and labour market shortages. However, the P.E.I. government is currently in the process of developing its own immigration strategy and plans which will hopefully address the need for many more skilled workers and entrepreneur category immigrants in the future.

Immigration and Settlement on P.E.I.

KEVIN J. ARSENAULT
Prince Edward Island Association for Newcomers to Canada

Prince Edward Island has been experiencing unprecedented growth in the number of Immigrants coming to the Island in recent years. The statistics speak for themselves:

TABLE 1
Number of immigrants to Prince Edward Island, 2003–2007

2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
153	310	355	565	987

This may not seem like a large number of people to some readers; however, considering the entire province of P.E.I. has just 138,300 people, this rate of immigrant increase is significant. Although official statistics on the number of immigrants arriving in P.E.I. in 2007 are not available as I write this piece, the quarterly demographic estimates are revealing: in the 3rd quarter of 2007, P.E.I. had, for the first time ever, the highest immigration rate in Canada (12.1 per thousand).

All new clients coming to the Prince Edward Island Association for Newcomers to Canada (PEI-ANC) go through an intake and orientation process, so we have been able to accurately track the impact of increasing numbers of clients on settlement services and programs. In 2007, 951 new clients seeking settlement services registered with the PEI-ANC. Of this number, 814 clients were permanent residents. Service agreements with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) allow us to provide settlement assistance only to permanent residents. In 2007 we were also able to assist 61 temporary visitors, 30 temporary workers and 46 international students with funding from the P.E.I. government.

From where are these new settlers coming? The largest source countries were China (356), Korea (195), Taiwan (72) and Iran (42), with much fewer numbers originating from 51 other countries. Most residents came through the Provincial Nominee Program (662), under one of four categories:

- Immigrant investor: A principal applicant who proposes to make an investment in an existing P.E.I. company and to take an active role in that company as a director or senior manager;
- Immigrant entrepreneur: A principal applicant who proposes to establish a viable, new business in P.E.I.;
- Skilled worker: A principal applicant with specialized skills and experience who fills a labour market need in P.E.I.;
- Immigrant connections: A principal applicant suggested by a P.E.I.-based "champion" who meets settlement and employability criteria.

Of all PNP clients coming to the PEI-ANC in 2007, the breakdown by category was as follows: immigrant partner (543), immigrant entrepreneurs (16), skilled workers (39) and immigrant connections (64). There were 987 permanent residents to P.E.I. in 2007; 814 of those individuals registered with PEI-ANC. It is possible that most of the 173 permanent residents not coming to PEI-ANC for settlement

services speak English and moved directly into full-time job offers through the skilled worker stream of the PNP program.

Of concern however, is that not all principal applicants approved by the provincial government come to live in P.E.I. Some PNP applicants simply chose to forfeit their "goodwill" and "language" deposits and take up residence in another province. Most PNP applicants who do take up residence in P.E.I. have little or no English, and require Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) training for at least a couple of years. Day-to-day life for these newcomers is extremely difficult and frustrating since they have virtually no ability to communicate in English, and there is little or no capacity within either the private or public sectors of P.E.I. society to communicate with these new residents in their own language.

Despite the significant influx of Chinese and Korean immigrants into P.E.I. during the past few years, these numbers are still not sufficiently addressing population decline and labour market shortages. However, the P.E.I. government is currently in the process of developing its own immigration strategy and plans which will hopefully address the need for many more skilled workers and entrepreneur category immigrants in the future.

For example, in the fall of 2006, school principals started calling the PEI-ANC with concerns about so many new students not speaking English. News stories and additional pressure on the Department of Education from schools and school boards brought a decisive and positive response from the P.E.I. government. New "itinerant" English as Additional Language (EAL) teachers were soon hired to provide assessments and tutoring to immigrants in the public school system, and a new Language and Learning Assessment Unit was put in place for the 2007-2008 school year. The province then purchased 150 seats in adult language schools to provide English instruction to the adults.

Nasim Amiri volunteer training at Trius Tours.

The impact of increased immigration on the PEI-ANC

The PEI-ANC has also been struggling to stay ahead of the demand. Because settlement funding has to be sought in annual applications to both federal and provincial government departments, once amounts are approved for the coming year, it is difficult to find additional funds to cope with unanticipated growth. With respect to CIC funding, an archaic and illogical formula is in place which uses a three-year rolling average of total immigrant intake rather than actual data. As a result, whereas the PEI-ANC is anticipating over 1,000 new immigrants for the 2008-2009 fiscal year, the number of immigrants actually used by CIC to determine funding for the coming year was less than half that number (465).

The PEI Association for Newcomers (PEI-ANC) was founded in 1993, and for the first 15 years of operation, four part-time staff offered settlement services to roughly 100 newcomers to P.E.I. each year. Most of these clients (65% to 75%) were government-assisted refugees (GARs) receiving services through core programs funded by CIC, including: the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation (ISAP) program, Language Eligibility Determination (LED) and the Host program. The PEI-ANC also offered an Employment Assistance Service (EAS) program funded by Service Canada.

A staff of 21 employees now delivers expanded versions of the programs listed above, as well as many new programs and services. Below is a snapshot of some recent program development, using data from the 2007 calendar year.[1]

[1] A comprehensive overview of all programs and services can be found in the 2006-2007 Annual Report at www.peianc.com.

Our Multicultural Education Program began in the fall of 2005 and has proved to be key in preparing for the influx of new residents to P.E.I. There has been a lot of talk at immigration conferences about creating "welcoming communities;" however, this is one program that actually facilitates a more understanding and open society.

Immigrant Settlement Adaptation Program
This CIC-funded program offers a broad range of services to all classes of immigrants. Each new client participates in a thorough intake process and receives assistance in registering for P.E.I. Health Services, Family Doctor Registry, GST Credit, Child-Tax Credit, social insurance numbers, etc. If there are school-age children, the family is referred to our Immigrant Student Liaison team, where they are provided with an orientation on the P.E.I. school system and assistance in registering their children in school, busing schedules, etc.

Employment Program
The EAS Program worked with 215 clients in 2007, up from 140 the previous contract year. The number of clients who found work also increased last year, with 175 clients employed in either full-time or part-time employment. This increase is partly because of a growing number of case-managed clients, but also results from increased efforts made by the EAS Program staff to do more community outreach and develop relationships with employers. With the assistance of P.E.I. sector councils, the PEI-ANC conducted a very successful online survey of employers in the fall of 2007. 144 employers responded, the majority being small private businesses from Queens County. Respondents also represented medium and large businesses, organizations, government institutions and non-profit organizations from various sectors and locations. The results of the survey determined that 68.6% of island organizations surveyed currently do not hire newcomers. Language level and communication barriers were the largest concerns employers have regarding hiring newcomers. The majority of island businesses surveyed reported that they do not have diversity or employment equity policies in place. Slightly more than half of respondents said they were interested in diversity training, and would be able to commit four hours to such training. Respondents also indicated they would like training or information on hiring and integrating newcomers to Canada, cultural awareness training for managers and cultural awareness training for employees. Based on this feedback, ANC staff is committed to increasing networking opportunities such as giving presentations, attending business mixers, making direct contact with employers and advocating on behalf of clients.

Multicultural Education Program
This program began in the fall of 2005 and has proved to be key in preparing for the influx of new residents to the P.E.I. There has been a lot of talk at immigration conferences about creating "welcoming communities," however, this is one program that actually facilitates a more understanding and open society. Although hard to quantify, the PEI-ANC staff has seen an amazing transformation of attitudes among the general population. Hundreds of presentations have been delivered to school-aged children, community organizations, government workers, and classes at University of Prince Edward Island and Holland College. New training modules have been developed, including "The Business Case for Diversity" and "Multicultural Sensitivity Training for Service Providers," and will be offered as professional development group sessions in the coming year.

Francophone Liaison Program
One full-time staff person works in partnership with Francophone and Acadian organizations and schools on P.E.I. to ensure that immigrants wishing to make French their first language also receive the settlement and integration services they require. This francophone settlement worker translates and delivers presentations in French that were first developed in English, provides French interpreting to other ANC staff, and responds to French-speaking clients contacting the Association.

Host Program
This settlement program's success lies in the fact that it enlists volunteers from the community to

TABLE 2
Number of participants in the PEI–ANC Immigrant Student Liaison Program

	June 2006	September 2006	June 2007	September 2007	February 2008
Number of clients	57	115	167	266	350
Number of schools	6	6	7	13	13

become a "match" with recent immigrants. The expectation is that a host match will spend a few hours each week with the newcomer, for a minimum of 6 to 12 months. In the spring of 2007, the PEI-ANC held a volunteer appreciation night to pay tribute to more than 140 volunteers, many of whom were Host Program matches. In 2006, the PEI-ANC Host Program initiated a new Holiday Host component which has become a model of best practice for similar host programs in other jurisdictions. Recently-arrived immigrants and refugees who are not "matched" with a permanent host family or individual are offered a temporary match over the Christmas holidays so they will not spend the holiday season alone. Host families are solicited from the community through advertisements and media stories. Twenty-six holiday matches were arranged in 2006 and 13 in 2007. In many cases, host families and immigrants mutually decide to make these temporary matches permanent.

Summer camp outing to Green Gables.

Volunteer Tutoring Program

A partnership between the PEI-ANC and the Provincial Library was formed in 2007 which initiated a new volunteer-based ESL Tutoring Program for newcomer clients. Through this program, 75 volunteers have each received 16 hours of training on tutoring English as a Second Language (ESL). More than 100 clients have benefitted from this program to date, and interest from both community volunteers and clients remains high with this program, with a waiting list for more training to be offered in the spring of 2008.

Immigrant Student Liaison (ISL) Program

Four ANC staff currently work with 323 immigrant students in 13 Charlottetown schools. As can be seen in Table 2, the growth rate with this program is expected to have increased eight-fold in the two year period between June 2006 and June 2008.

In September, 2007 the PEI-ANC began collecting information from new clients coming through our intake process in order to expedite the school registration and orientation process. We also began collecting immunization records and other health-related information required by the P.E.I. Department of Health's Public Health Division. The ISL Program has also formed a partnership with KidSport P.E.I. which allows us to assist financially-struggling newcomer families to access KidSport funding and participate in various sport programs. For the past several summers, the PEI-ANC has been offering an Immigrant Summer Program, again, with steadily increasing numbers of participants.

Internationally Educated Health Professionals (IEHP) Project

The PEI-ANC initiated a new IEHP Project in January, 2007 with funding from Health Canada. It was first expected that perhaps 15 to 20 immigrants would participate in this new program. Again, the interest and participation in this program has been phenomenal. There are currently 48 IEHP clients receiving targeted EAL classes using medical workplace curriculum, and

receiving one-on-one employment counselling and assistance for the recognition of their foreign-acquired credentials. The PEI-ANC has recently received funding for an additional demonstration project that will research and develop an appropriate microcredit framework and model over the next couple of years. The aim is to provide IEHPs with a means of overcoming the high cost involved in writing exams, paying association fees, etc. (especially IEHPs coming to Canada as refugees). An amazing and unforeseen spin-off benefit from this IEHP initiative is that IEHPs have recently formed their own support group to share information and support.

Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)

This CIC-funded program is designed to provide settlement and integration services to refugees coming to P.E.I.. 75 GARs were served at the PEI-ANC in 2007. Since the *Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act* came into effect in June 28, 2002, the Canadian government has been accepting refugees from "protracted situations," often in "group processing." These refugees have sometimes lived for ten or more years in refugee camps, and have had little medical treatment, education or experience with the amenities of life such as home appliances essential to life in Canada. As a result, recent refugees coming to P.E.I. have significantly increased settlement and integration needs over the past few years. A new Canadian Life Skills Program has been initiated within the past year to provide more one-on-one assistance with adjusting to apartment living, using the public transit system, accessing health services, etc.

What's coming next?

It would seem that the majority of newcomers who take up residence in P.E.I. plan to stay, at least for the short-term. Whether they will decide to out-migrate to other Canadian destinations after meeting the requirements to have their deposits returned is yet to be determined. Much will hinge on the quality of their lives for the time they are living here. Many comment that they want their children to learn English, and if they move to Toronto or Vancouver, this may not happen so quickly, as they blend into much larger communities speaking their first languages. Both Chinese and Korean newcomers have recently formed their own P.E.I. associations and websites. The Chinese community has even established a Saturday school to ensure their children preserve language and culture. The language barrier remains, however, a formidable challenge to coping with the day-to-day requirements of life on P.E.I.

The Ghiz Liberal government has shown decisive leadership in addressing urgent needs of new immigrants; however, this has been largely a reactionary response to a situation inherited from the previous provincial Conservative government's immigrant investor program rather than a well-planned immigration and settlement strategy. If reactionary responses are any indication of this government's sincerity in accepting increased immigration and its resolve to address the settlement needs of new immigrants, then things would seem to bode well for the future efforts of the current administration.

With more than 80% of permanent residents to P.E.I. coming as investor class PNP clients living in Charlottetown, the P.E.I. government needs to put a new plan in place that will stimulate economic development with Immigrant Entrepreneurs, and fill labour market shortages in small- and medium-sized businesses across P.E.I. with immigrants who are skilled workers.

Given P.E.I.'s relatively small size and population, it should be possible for the government to launch a well-coordinated and comprehensive strategy with concrete ways to involve local businesses and municipalities in welcoming immigrants and refugees across P.E.I.; a strategy that will address labour market shortages, stimulate new economic development and create a vibrant multicultural social life in Canada's smallest province.

About the author

KEVIN J. ARSENAULT has been Executive Director of the PEI-ANC and a member of the Board of the Atlantic Region Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (ARAISA) for the past nine years. He holds a Ph.D. in Social Ethics and Theology from McGill University.

Most are from China and South Korea. In fact, for the first time in our history, these two groups have reached a critical mass whereby there are less at risk of loosing their own identity.

Saint John YMCA-YWCA

Our Work with Newcomers

RICHARD CAMPBELL
Saint John YMCA-YWCA – New Brunswick

Saint John was settled by refugees. They began arriving in 1783, fleeing the persecution of the American Revolution. These settlers, called Loyalists because of their allegiance to the British crown, were instrumental in establishing the city as a major trading port of the Atlantic Seaboard. Among these early arrivals was Benedict Arnold, a traitor in American history books who established a mercantile business. Today the city remains a bastion of Loyalist heritage. The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada continues to exist with membership open to descendants of the original Loyalist refugee settlers.

In the past three years, immigration has become one of Saint John's primary concerns. As the Provincial Nominee Program attracts largest number of newcomers, many are choosing this city as their destination. Most are from China and South Korea. In fact, for the first time in our history, these two groups have reached a critical mass whereby there are less at risk of loosing their own identity. In the past, small groups of Somalis, Liberians, and Congolese have settled but have never successfully built upon the original core groups. Now most have disappeared, having migrated to Toronto, Ottawa and Calgary. During the mid to late 1990s many refugees from the former Yugoslavia settled in the city. Today there remain only a few families from this group, yet these have become an integral part of the larger community, having integrated into our daily life. It is a sad irony, however, that their children, having graduated from local schools, often leave the Maritimes for post-secondary education elsewhere. This is a reflection of a broader, ongoing concern in the Atlantic region in general – we continue to lose our youth to central and western Canada.

Settlement in New Brunswick is unique with respect to the other Atlantic provinces. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Islands all have one destination point for most of their immigrants. Settlement programs are offered in each of their capital cities. New Brunswick is different. Settlement programs funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) are offered in Fredericton and Moncton, as well as here in Saint John, which means that the economic pie is split in three. As a result, the number of government-sponsored refugees destined for the province is divided into three parts and results in lesser financial resources available to better settle them into each community. Saint John faces an additional disadvantage in that, unlike Fredericton and Moncton, it has not been able to develop a strong multicultural association; instead, powerful cultural groups are developing independently. Attempts have been made to re-establish a unified association but the lesson learned is that this must be achieved through organic growth, coming from within. As a result, advocacy, which works best with a united front, is more difficult to achieve. Common consensus is forever a moving target.

The Saint John YMCA-YWCA continues to be the central focus of immigration and settlement in the Saint John region. Our clientele include all

A pilot project initiative, the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada Triage, was completed and is now part of our mainstream programming. Triage was originally designed to minimize class wait lists. It serves as a four to six week multi-level temporary class focusing primarily on listening and speaking skill development as well as orientation to Saint John. It is the first such class in the Maritimes.

landed immigrant categories, such as family class members, government sponsored refugees and provincial nominee immigrants. Our Settlement programs include LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada), RAP (Resettlement Assistance Program), designed for the settlement of government sponsored refugees, Life Skills, designed to assist targeted clients with local orientation, ISAP (Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program), for landed immigrants, as well as the HOST Program which matches newcomers with local members of the community. We also have a school liaison coordinator. These programs are all funded through CIC.

Our LINC Program (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) includes several levels of instruction: Pre-LINC (Literacy), LINC 1, LINC 2, LINC 3, and a combined LINC 4/5. These programs employ six instructors. A pilot project initiative (LINC Triage) was completed and is now part of our mainstream programming. Triage was originally designed to minimize class wait lists. It serves as a four to six week multi-level temporary class focusing primarily on listening and speaking skill development as well as orientation to Saint John. It is the first such class in the Maritimes. The instructor holds a Master's degree in Experiential Education and uses this knowledge to develop specialized field trip opportunities. Because Triage is flexible, we have recently used this class to accommodate one large extended refugee family who wanted to access our language program. Triage was broken into morning and afternoon components, each designed for family members based upon assessed language skills. We have recently developed a specialized Orientation package for newcomers to the region and this is used in our Triage program.

For many years, language assessments in Saint John were contracted to an agency based outside the city. This resulted in a slow response time for assessing LINC applicants. The Saint John YMCA-YWCA now has a certified Canadian Language Benchmarks Assessment and Literacy Assessment (CLBA-CLBLA) language assessor on-site. This accelerates entry into our LINC classes and allows for ready collaboration between the assessor and the LINC instructor.

We have just completed an Enhanced Language Training program; ten students are functioning with high-level English skills. The ELT program, co-funded by CIC and the Province of New Brunswick, featured employment training skills, computer training, and a work placement opportunity. One of the student highlights was a mock interview day. It was an opportunity for ELT students to participate in – and be critiqued on – their interview skills. Professional interviewers conducted the sessions. At our class graduation ceremony, Saint John Mayor Norm McFarlane attended, and provincial media ensured coverage of the event.

Several ESL evening conversation classes have been organized across the city. This is a response to the growing influx of newcomers to the region. We have assisted volunteer groups in setting up these classes. In addition, at the request of a language student who wanted additional speaking practice, the "Y" set up its own informal conversation class. A retired school teacher, recruited in 2005, has developed learning modules that emphasize listening and speaking. Classes are held in the evening so that individuals who are not able to access our regular programs can take advantage of this opportunity instead.

In what may prove to be the most significant development this year, a new outreach program initiative was launched in January. We have long recognized the need for a language program in a community located an hour's drive west of Saint John. Large fish processing plants dominate the region and attract many immigrants with ready employment. Over the years many of our newcomer clients have opted to work there and have therefore not been able to pursue their English instruction. We approached a major employer in that region and they were very

interested in working with us to develop a language class for staff members who required it. Our instructor, who is from the area, is a trained LINC teacher and is helping to develop a multi-level curriculum that will focus on workplace language. In cooperation with the fish processing industry, she is designing learning modules that will include health and safety issues. The class will be run out of an access centre in a nearby high school during the evening. This is a pilot project that is expected to be the first step in a wider immigration mandate in that part of the province.

There was a recent serendipitous moment when a job foreman at one of these fish processing plants visited the Human Resources Office to relay a special request from several of his newcomer employees. *We want language training.* Serendipitous because the human resources officer was able to say that there would in fact be such a class starting within the week. Build an ESL program and they will come.

If there is a weak link in our service chain, it might be with employment counseling. Funding remains an issue. Currently our employment contract is linked to other contractual obligations. There is a need for additional employment counseling in Saint John and efforts are underway to correct this delivery gap.

Acceptance and diversity are important aspects of a welcoming environment. As such, the Saint John YMCA-YWCA reflects the international "Y" core values of *Caring, Responsibility, Honesty* and *Respect.* Our settlement programs enhance these principles by living by them everyday.

Professionalism in the settlement sector has always been a national issue. Counselors work in an intensive, demanding environment with ever-changing needs waiting to be addressed. Workers not only must be knowledgeable about the community in which they live, but must also display strong counseling skills demanding empathy, the ability to listen, to understand, and to act. These come with experience and through professional development opportunities. Professionalism can also be reflected in the manner of personnel recruitment. Our staff members hold university degrees. Four are at the Master's level. Some employees have strong private-sector experience. One staff member was a practicing lawyer in her home country and is considering the legal profession in Canada. We have recognized that the level of education is important to newcomers. Our staff members are better able to command respect in this way.

One of the undervalued components of professionalism is counseling. Settlement workers are seen as para-counselors with a primary emphasis on dealing with homesick clients with money problems. This has never been good enough. Our settlement workers are called settlement counselors because they have all been trained in basic counseling skills: the ability to listen (this develops the client's thinking process), to be non-judgmental (the client feels safe and respected), to pay attention (the clients knows that you care), to accept the client's feelings (so that the client will not feel judged), and to understand what the client is going through (being with them). Our settlement counselors do not pretend to be social workers but they do need to be aware of red flag issues for appropriate referral.

One of the best ways of enhancing professional development is by working in alliance with like-minded agencies. The Saint John YMCA-YWCA is a member of the Atlantic Region Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (ARAISA). This is a four-province umbrella organization that advocates on behalf of its members and clients. Each year there is a major regional conference where training opportunities are embraced by our staff members. This year's conference will be held in Moncton.

Saint John continues to grapple with immigration. Three years ago a major commissioned study inventoried all immigration related work being done in the city. It formulated a long-term strategy that resulted in the creation of an Immigration Board comprised of key community players. Unfortunately, there was a lack of municipal and provincial will and sustainable funding could not be obtained; the initiative was therefore left to die. The long-term vision was for the Saint John YMCA-YWCA to become that service location for all immigration-related needs.

In January 2007 the provincial government granted the city $5,000 in seed money to conduct a survey of all immigration-related work being done in the city – a reminder that history does repeat itself. They will again find that the Saint John YMCA-YWCA is the only Service Provider Organization (SPO) in the city with official standing in ARAISA. They will again discover that the Saint John YMCA-YWCA is the only SPO in the region offering a complete

package of settlement services to newcomers to Canada. No one else in the city offers federally-funded immigration services to immigrants. Once again they will discover that the Saint John YMCA-YWCA remains the best local option.

About the author

RICHARD CAMPBELL is Director of Settlement Services at the Saint John YMCA-YWCA. Active in settlement work since 1992, he obtained a Master's degree in Adult Education and is also a certified CLB Assessor.

Our Diverse Cities

Our Diverse Cities / Nos diverses cités **is a special Metropolis series that examines issues related to diversity, integration and immigration in cities. It has also been assigned as course reading in university classes across the country. Earlier issues included articles by Atlantic researchers:**

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- Hélène Destrempes (Université de Moncton) "Moncton: Linguistic and Cultural Crossroads"
- Ather H. Akbari (Saint Mary's University) "Economics at the Atlantic Metropolis Atlantique"
- Susan Tirone (Dalhousie University) and David Legg (Mount Royal College) "Diversity and the Municipal Recreation Delivery System"

Volume 2, summer 2006

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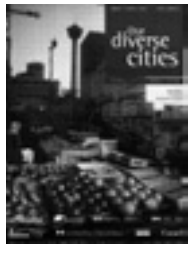

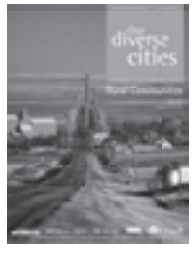

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Lending institutions in Canada generally do not recognize international credit history, making it difficult for immigrants, even those with years of stable banking practices in their own country, to access financing.

The Mystery of Credit History

Recognition of Credit History for New Immigrants

LJILJANA CONNELLAN
Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association

It's no news that immigrants face barriers when trying to settle in a new country. One of the issues confronting immigrants is a new financial concept of buying, selling, and borrowing. What system determines a loan approval, or a successful credit card application? In Canada, having financial information about individuals centrally collected and released by credit bureaus might be unknown, and in some cases a mystery for immigrants in their initial settling years.

A person's credit history is a list of facts, gathered from financial institutions, utility companies, retailers and other lenders, about how they have handled credit in the past. Canada's credit bureaus keep track of how individuals borrow money and repay debt, and then create a score reflected in a credit history document. A good credit score is proof to lenders that the person can be relied upon to make timely payments and deal with debt responsibly. When an individual applies to obtain a business loan or a mortgage, the institution will use their credit history information as a main tool for risk management. If the credit score is not present or satisfactory, the approval will most likely be deferred or refused.[1]

Lending institutions in Canada generally do not recognize international credit history, making it difficult for immigrants, even those with years of stable banking practices in their own country, to access financing.

Collecting the evidence: Tackling the problem

Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA), a non-profit immigrant settlement organization in Halifax, Nova Scotia and its Immigrant Business Development Services (IBDS),[2] provides business counseling and training for immigrants who want to start or grow businesses in the province. During business counseling sessions, IBDS clients have often reported problems with access to capital, for business and personal purposes. Since starting or growing a business often requires considerable amounts of investment, it is not a surprise that this issue was first brought to light by immigrant entrepreneurs, often anecdotally:

> "I couldn't get an Interac machine in my business because I didn't have a credit history."
>
> "I bought a house with cash."
>
> "I couldn't get a cell phone plan without credit history."
>
> "It took me three years after I established my business to get a credit card, believe it or not!"
>
> "I had to leave Nova Scotia and move to Toronto because I couldn't rent an apartment here (because of the credit history report)."

[1] Paragraph based on information found on the Royal Bank of Canada, Welcome to Canada, Financial Services website, www.rbc.com/canada/financial/index.html, accessed December 5, 2007.

[2] Unit formed in 1992, presently funded by Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and Nova Scotia Office of Immigration (OOI).

As the number of reports increased, the need for comprehensive study that would confirm the issue and suggest efficient remedies arose. In the summer of 2005, MISA-IBDS, in partnership with the Atlantic Metropolis Centre (Economics Domain), conducted a study titled *Recognition of Credit History for New Immigrants*[3] to further investigate the following linkages:

- The impact of lack of recognition of international credit history on access to *personal credit* for immigrants in Nova Scotia;
- The impact of lack of recognition of international credit history on access to *business credit* for immigrants in Nova Scotia.

The literature overview revealed many studies that analyzed the financial problems immigrants face in Canada, but there is very little information available on credit history specifically. This overview also uncovered Canadian and American media reports, community-based organizations' papers and financing institutions' papers which point to the credit history issue as being a major problem. Literature has further shown that this issue might have significant impact on Canadian immigration because of the stress on economic categories. Furthermore, there are numerous concerns regarding standards, credibility and equity.

Credit history on trial: Research and findings

The research included responses from 68 randomly chosen and surveyed clients and a focus group of seven individuals. Two thirds of the respondents currently own a business, and they are mostly males (93%). The focus was on three areas of research: 1) general, country of origin, date of arrival etc.; 2) business, sources of financing, availability of the loans in Canada, reasons for rejection etc.; 3) personal, starting of credit history in Canada, loan applications, challenges, etc.

The results of the research demonstrated that the majority of immigrants were unhappy with the financing process in Canada and experienced difficulties building a credit rating. Most of them were also unaware of Canadian credit history prior to their coming to Nova Scotia and learned very little about it initially, with additional awareness gained after being rejected by financial institutions. Without Canadian credit history or local financing, immigrant entrepreneurs used personal finances for start-up capital.

Summary of the findings

Information

- The majority had no information on credit history or on how to obtain loans before landing;
- Some did not seek information, for fear of being rejected as immigrants;
- Most didn't receive the information on landing or soon thereafter;
- Some who expected the issue to arise didn't understand the extent of its impact.

Experience

- Most immigrants applied for business or personal loans and most of them were rejected due to a lack of credit history in Canada;
- Start-up financing was mostly provided by entrepreneurs themselves.

Recognition of credit history in general

- Lack of recognition of credit history is an immigrant-specific issue;
- Lack of credit history prevents immigrants from accessing personal and business credits. This limited purchasing-power further detracts from Nova Scotia's economy;
- Immigrant entrepreneurs finance their businesses on their own, with help from family, friends and foreign banks;
- Canadian community-based organizations and some financial institutions have started to introduce immigrant-specific programs to address the problem;
- Ethnic communities are not involved in small centres (co-signing).

Consequences

- Personal finances were not affected because of loan rejections;
- Credit history is an essential part of the loan approval process; not having one leads to rejection from lending institutions;

[3] Funded by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre, Economics Domain.

- This situation can possibly affect standards and the credibility of individuals in comparison to the mainstream population (mortgages, business loans and other debt-based purchases);
- No access to credit negatively affects general buying power,
- Frustration and embarrassment;
- The undocumented impact might be greater – immigrant retention rates in Nova Scotia have shrunk to 37% between 1997 and 2001; [4]
- Respondents are self-selected (issue is very personal for immigrants and might not have been reported in the full scope).

The immediate action

As a practical application of the study, in collaboration with financial institutions in Nova Scotia,[5] in 2006, IBDS has produced a brochure [6] titled *Credit History: Why is it important for newcomers to Canada?*

The brochure targets newly arrived immigrants by providing them an overview of the importance of credit history in Canada. It also describes practical ways of building a Canadian credit history in a few simple steps such as applying for a secured credit card [7] and making timely and full payments on purchases. In 2007, MISA-Settlement Unit translated the brochure into Arabic, French, Farsi and Russian. The material has been distributed through lending institutions, government, organizations dealing with immigrants and local business service agencies.

Presentations on credit history have become an integral part of MISA's programming for immigrants, which also includes basic settlement orientation sessions [8] as well as more specific information for entrepreneurs through IBDS training.[9] The information is also available on various websites [10] and in the Connections guide [11] which are targeted to immigrants upon their arrival.

Credit for all: Conclusion and recommendations

Academically, the goal of the study was to "scratch the surface" and introduce the issue, but more research must be done to further clarify and expand on this important question. This study has been included in various presentations and lectures targeting academia, financial institutions and organizations with an interest in immigrants.

Furthermore, financial institutions, government, research bodies and community-based organizations must strategize and collaborate to remove the barrier and prevent the larger long-term societal consequences. The recommendations highlighted below (Table 1) provide a starting action point and merit further research.

[4] *Socio-economic and demographic profiles of immigrants in Nova Scotia*, Akbari and Dar, 2005, p. vii.

[5] Royal Bank of Canada and Credit Union Atlantic, respectively.

[6] Available at www.misa.ns.ca.

[7] This credit product is based on the consumer's' own financial deposit, which makes it "secure" for the financial institution by limiting the credit to the amount that has been deposited; in other words, this is a form of borrowing from oneself.

[8] Offered to all newly arrived immigrants through MISA's Settlement Unit as a part of its Orientation Program, this series of ongoing orientation sessions to newcomers explores relevant information which helps them understand and settle into the new culture.

[9] Offered to IBDS clients through Business Orientation Seminars and Exploring Business Ideas Workshops.

[10] Including but not limited to websites of the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration, the Canada/Nova Scotia Business Service Centre and the Royal Bank of Canada.

[11] *Connections, An immigrant's guide to starting a business in Nova Scotia*, MISA and Canada/Nova Scotia Business Service Centre, 2006., Section 1. p. 8.

TABLE 1
Recommendations

Strategies	Outcomes
Financial institutions	
• Educate staff, especially marketing and loan processing, to understand immigrant markets	• Lenders' marketing materials more effectively reach the immigrant community • Loan processing staff, equipped with culture and circumstances, can make informed decisions on immigrants' applications
• Provide cultural sensitivity training to staff	• Staff are more sensitive to newcomers' culture and language and can better serve them
• Introduce deposit and loan product enhancements	• Immigrants' access to personal and business financing in Canada is increased • Financial institutions better meet the financing needs of immigrants
• Expand alternative credit measurements and underwriting guidelines	• Immigrants' access to personal and business financing in Canada is increased
• Develop partnerships with community- based organizations and private organizations to conduct financial literacy programs such as Introduction to Financial Services and How to Create a Credit History	• Newcomers to Canada become knowledgeable banking consumers
Government and research bodies	
• Conduct policy-oriented research on the issue of credit history	• Formulated policy that can address the issue directly
• Provide potential immigrants with literature and online information on the Canadian financial system	• Immigrants become familiar with the Canadian financial system and are better prepared prior to their arrival in Canada
• Educate financial institutions on the opportunities surrounding the immigrant market	• Financial institutions strive to attract immigrant consumers
Community-based and economic development organizations	
• Develop partnerships with financial institutions and private organizations to conduct financial literacy programs such as Introduction to Financial Services and How to Create a Credit History	• Newcomers to Canada become knowledgeable banking consumers
• Conduct policy-oriented research on the issue of credit history	• Relevant research to assist policy-makers and decision-makers formulate policy

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Attracting immigrants to smaller centres requires a collaborative approach and creative strategies. This article looks at a settlement service provider organization in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, its role in the community, in service provision, and in strategies to attract and retain immigrants.

Perspectives of an Atlantic Settlement Service Provider

BRIDGET FOSTER
Association for New Canadians

Over the past number of years, the face of immigration has changed considerably in Atlantic Canada. In fact, in twenty-five years of involvement in the settlement sector, first as a volunteer, then as Executive Director of the Association for New Canadians, I have witnessed significant growth and a renewed interest in the sector.

Historically, immigration has been the responsibility of the federal government; however, in more recent years there has been a significant move to involve both the provinces and municipalities. In fact, the commitment from provincial and municipal partners, and the genuine interest of the community and other stakeholders, is remarkable. There is obvious momentum in the Atlantic region as each of the provinces moves forward to establish inclusive policies, programs and practices to make Atlantic Canada a viable resettlement destination.

In March 2007, as part of the Newfoundland and Labrador Immigration Strategy, it was announced that the province would commit six million dollars over three years and establish the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism. The strategy outlines 18 goals with identified activities and initiatives to assist in implementation. More importantly, the government hopes to attract between 1,200 and 1,500 immigrants annually.

While the federal and provincial governments have key roles to play in any strategy designed to attract and retain immigrants, so too do immigrant settlement agencies. As the first point of contact, settlement service provider organizations (SPO) such as the Association for New Canadians have a vital role to play in facilitating inclusion, integration and retention. I cannot underscore the importance of settlement services in creating a positive and supportive first experience for immigrants. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the Association for New Canadians is funded to provide these key settlement programs and services.

Who we are

The Association for New Canadians was established in 1979, with a mandate to empower immigrants with the skills, knowledge and information necessary to become independent, contributing members of the community. On an annual basis, the Association provides services to approximately 300 immigrants and refugees and, given the established infrastructure, has ample capacity to serve many more. In fact, smaller provinces like Newfoundland and Labrador have a competitive advantage in that there are minimal wait list times for access to settlement and English as a second language (ESL) programs and services.

The Association's services range from the provision of immediate settlement support to those that support integration. Immediate settlement support includes meeting families at the airport and finding temporary accommodation, dealing with health concerns, community orientation and so on, while integration support includes delivery of the Host friendship program, ESL and Enhanced

As the only federally-funded SPO in Newfoundland and Labrador, the Association attempts to provide outreach to those who reside in other parts of the province. This, however, is a significant challenge as there are no permanent settlement services outside the Metro area.

Language Training (ELT) programs, and career services programs.

The organization also works extensively in the area of public education in order to promote the value of immigration, increase cross-cultural awareness, and overcome access barriers. In this regard, the Association has undertaken a number of projects ranging from research to investigate youth attitudes towards immigration, to the development of Diversity and Organizational Change Training. The Association has also received support from partners in order to develop a series of training modules on the topics of respect, inclusion, human rights, discrimination and accommodation in the workplace. All of these projects are undertaken with the goal of facilitating immigrant inclusion and integration.

As the only federally-funded SPO in Newfoundland and Labrador, the Association attempts to provide outreach to those who reside in other parts of the province. This, however, is a significant challenge as there are no permanent settlement services outside the Metro area. If immigration is to help address the rural question, then we must expand services throughout the province. While municipal governments do not have a voice in immigration policy, they certainly have a vested interest in retaining newcomers in their communities. This is especially true regarding the attraction and retention of immigrant physicians to rural areas of the province. Government and service providers need to work with municipalities and other stakeholders in order to implement strategies that attract and retain immigrants.

In order to better serve newcomers who settle outside the St. John's Central Metropolitan Area, the Association recently commissioned a study to determine the settlement and ESL needs of immigrants living in rural communities. The study identifies issues and challenges as well as potential strategies and recommendations for future programming and partnerships. While the Association provides outreach ESL services to newcomers in rural areas, this is done on an ad hoc basis, as requests for language services are received. In an effort to expand ESL programming to other parts of the province, the Association has hired a consulting firm to conduct research on alternative delivery models for an ESL training program. The purpose of this research is to determine the most beneficial and economically feasible method of providing province-wide accessibility to ESL instruction. The Association anticipates that this will be through online, distance, videoconferencing, or some combination thereof. The provision of an alternative delivery model for ESL/ELT instruction will help address accessibility issues, as clients from across the province will have the opportunity to avail themselves of higher levels of language training essential to successful academic and career transitions.

There is no doubt that the key to immigrant retention is gainful employment. In this regard, the Association has placed significant emphasis on addressing issues related to labour market attachment. The organization has developed a very comprehensive career services program, which offers an array of employment services designed to meet the unique needs of newcomers. Ranging from mentoring opportunities, work placements, ELT with a labour market focus, to Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) preparation and university preparedness seminars, these services are all designed to facilitate career transitions and labour market attachment. In addition, the organization received funding from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada to conduct a study onthe integration of immigrants in the Newfoundland and Labrador workforce, focusing on foreign credential recognition. The final report summarizes key themes that emerge regarding immigrant retention, integration and employment, and identifies potential barriers to employment and effective incentives for hiring immigrants.

Establishing truly welcoming communities is also very important for the successful integration and retention of immigrants. Newcomers bring expertise, innovative ideas and diverse skill sets to our communities and country. Hence, the Association for New Canadians has increased its efforts on a number of levels in order to promote immigration, build capacity, and strengthen partnerships.

One of the ways the organization has done this is through collaboration. In 1998, the Association established the Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration (CCNI). Currently, the committee counts among its membership senior-level officials from the federal, provincial and municipal governments, as well as from Memorial University. This committee has taken a leadership role in engaging partners to address immigration, inclusion and integration policies, issues and practices. Indeed, it was this committee who addressed three provincial cabinet ministers in September 2004 regarding the need for a provincial immigration strategy.

Conclusion

While there has been an increased interest in attracting and retaining immigrants in the Atlantic region, significant challenges remain. Out-migration, the shortage of skilled workers and declining birth rates are all key demographic concerns for the Atlantic provinces. While immigration can be a potential solution, there are still concerns that need to be addressed.

The issues surrounding foreign credential recognition and labour market attachment have long been significant barriers for immigrants and can contribute to unemployment and underemployment for newcomers to Canada. Fortunately, these issues are garnering increased attention and action from all levels of government. Given the degree of skills shortages in the Atlantic region and the untapped resource represented by foreign trained professionals and tradespersons, this situation must be rectified in order to allow us to prosper as a province, as a region and as a country.

In my 30 years involved with the immigrant settlement sector, I have seen, first hand, the benefits of immigration. The many immigrants and refugees that I have worked with over the years are creating new opportunities, employing Newfoundland and Labrador residents, diversifying the labour market, and adding immeasurably to the cultural life of the region. Given the current level of commitment and cooperation among stakeholders, I am truly optimistic about the future of immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador.

About the author

BRIDGET FOSTER is the Executive Director of the Association for New Canadians, an immigrant settlement agency based in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. Bridget has led the organization for nearly 30 years and her steadfast commitment to the field of immigrant and refugee settlement and integration has been instrumental in creating the broad array of activities, programs and partnerships that exist today.

Bridget regularly contributes to provincial, regional and national committees and working groups dealing with immigration policy and other related issues. She was also a founding member of the Atlantic Region Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (ARAISA), the Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration (CCNI) and serves as one of the Atlantic Representatives on the Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance (CISSA).

For many years Bridget served as an NGO representative on the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's Board of Governors. In the past, Bridget has participated in national and international Metropolis conferences and most recently, she participated in a presentation on small centre strategies at the 2007 International Metropolis Conference, which was held in Australia.

Profiles of Immigrant Communities in Atlantic Canada: The Role of Networks in Attracting, Retaining and Integrating Immigrant Men and Women in Atlantic Canada

How Social Networks Help to Attract, Integrate and Retain Immigrants

A Multidimensional Research Initiative

NICOLE GALLANT
Université de Moncton, Institut national de la recherche scientifique

Who do immigrant men and women in Atlantic Canada know when they first come to the region? Once arrived, who do they turn to when seeking employment? Do they turn to the same people for advice when facing health issues? Do they send their children to cultural schools? Do they attend places of worship? Who are their friends? Do they have family in the Atlantic region and are they in contact with them? Do they engage in civic participation, and with whom? What language(s) do they speak with all these people? Is their network gender-specific?

The Cross Domain Initiative (CDI) project seeks to answer all these questions while attempting to understand the role of social networks in attracting, integrating and retaining immigrant men and women in the Atlantic provinces.

This section of *Our Diverse Cities* is dedicated to a project called Profiles of Immigrant Communities in Atlantic Canada: The role of networks in attracting, retaining and integrating immigrant men and women in Atlantic Canada, commonly known as the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's Cross Domain Initiative (CDI). This project is unique because it brings together the work of researchers representing seven different perspectives in a single research project – a multiple case study focusing on social networks in four immigrant communities. Using structural network analysis theory, we seek to map out the existing social networks in each of seven dimensions of human life: economics; education; citizenship and justice; culture and language; gender; health and well-being; values and attitudes.

Research design

The CDI project focuses on two major theoretical themes: 1) the *types of existing networks* in immigrant communities and 2) the ways in which these networks help to *anchor (attract, retain and integrate) immigrants within the Atlantic provinces.*

Types of existing networks

Delineating immigrant communities

The definitions of "community" within the literature are manifold. From among this plethora, we have chosen a somewhat technical definition of "community." This definition will then allow us to explore whether this community is meaningful for the individuals within it. Thus, for the purposes of this project, immigrant communities are defined according to two

By allowing for open discussions and interaction between six to nine respondents, the focus groups provided us with overviews of the different layers of networks within each community and brought out the dynamics of the existing social networks, including both their strengths and their weaknesses (problems, internal conflicts, etc.).

"given," readily identifiable characteristics: 1) geography (being located in a specific area, such as Halifax or Charlottetown) and 2) ethnocultural status (being from a specific area of origin, such as sub-Saharan Africa or the Indian subcontinent).

This concept of community as a spatial-demographic group (independent of whether the members actually feel a part of this community) is consistent with the literature: "Any group of people who are somehow engaged in doing an activity in which they all have a part (even if some of the parts seem passive, such as merely observing what is happening) constitutes a social group, and, with the development of a history (regardless of how brief), they constitute a community" (Bloome 1989: 55).

Once these technical boundaries of "community" are set, we then interview and survey these people to see whether they indeed form a community in other more meaningful ways, i.e. in their own view (self-definition) and in practice (their actual relations and networks).

Layers of networks

Our study will allow us to look at the most important issues or needs that social relations entail because it builds on expertise in several fields of social and human activity. Thus, we will be able to look at several layers of network relations within the same set of people with the objective of mapping out the different flows of relationships, according to type of social relation. Indeed, research on social networks typically focuses on only one type of social network (support network, friend network or health care network, for instance). What is particular about our approach to social networks is that we recognize that they are multidimensional and this multidimensionality is at the heart of the CDI project.

Types of networks

Drawing on structural network analysis theory, we then attempt to *characterize* these networks, mainly according to size, density (degree of connectedness), centralization, tie strength, etc. (Marsden 1990). This will indicate whether they form a close-knit, but very interdependent group of people or whether individual immigrants have more diffuse relationship ties, perhaps more integrated into the mainstream society; or else, if they form a set of isolated people, with few connections.

Anchoring immigrants

Then, we analyse the effects of the networks in terms of attraction, retention and integration of immigrants in Atlantic Canada. Thus, we attempt to see how networks foster the overall goals of promoting immigrant interest in Atlantic Canada, immigrant satisfaction and immigrant inclusion within Atlantic Canada. These outcomes are mostly measured through self-appreciation by the immigrants themselves (including desire to stay in the Atlantic provinces).

Finally, once we identify which types of networks tend to foster these three-fold desired outcomes, we will attempt to show how policy may foster the types of networks that tend to produce these outcomes and how policy may enhance the capacity of these types of network for performing this role.

Methodology

Multiple case study

To perform this complex and in-depth research, we have opted for a comparative multiple case study design because it facilitates the most comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, in all its complexity (Yin 1989: 14). The four cases were chosen to reflect the diversity of situations within Atlantic Canada: different areas of origin, one case from each province, including one francophone community. This case selection by no means constitute a representative sample in the statistical sense; the project is shaped as a "most different systems design" (Mahler 1992: 8), where the same aspect (here, immigrant

networks) is studied in cases which are deliberately chosen to be different in their context, in order to bring out the similarities in processes and yet show the specificities of the dynamics of each case.

CASE 1: LEBANESE IMMIGRANTS IN HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Nova Scotia has been home to people of Middle Eastern origin for more than 100 years. More recently, the Middle East has become one of the top sources of immigrants in Nova Scotia. Great diversity exists within the Middle Eastern community of Arab immigrants. As a result, we have selected one specific subgroup – immigrants of Lebanese origin – that, at 1,200 people in Halifax, constitutes the largest statistical category.

CASE 2: FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRANTS FROM SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IN MONCTON, NEW BRUNSWICK

Francophone sub-Saharan presence in Moncton draws from two sources. First, there are families that have installed here gradually since the 1960s as New Brunswick developed links with the international Francophonie (cooperation with specific sub-Saharan countries in the 1980s, Sommet de la Francophonie in Moncton in 1999). Second, Université de Moncton has recently played a leading role in attracting foreign African students, some of whom then acquire Canadian permanent resident status.

CASE 3: IMMIGRANTS OF DIVERSE ORIGINS IN CHARLOTTETOWN, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

In Prince Edward Island, there is no significant immigrant community outside of Charlottetown, where there is a growing, albeit comparatively small, immigrant population. Yet, even the most significant groups are too in small number to constitute the focus of a single profile. We have, thus, chosen to include immigrants of all origins as the focus of the profile. Indeed, this is characteristic of many rural areas in the Atlantic, where immigrants are often not concentrated in sufficient groups from a common area of origin to constitute an ethnic community.

CASE 4: IMMIGRANTS FROM THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

The Indian subcontinent community has been part of Newfoundland and Labrador for approximately 50 years. There are about 150 families who are well established here and very active in the larger community. This community has made significant economic and cultural contributions to the province, which has earned it a place in the cultural landscape of Newfoundland and Labrador, especially in the various academic, medical and business establishments.

Data collection

In each case, the research is performed in five steps. After doing a literature review of existing knowledge about these four communities, we did one focus group in each community (summer 2006) followed by 16 individual interviews with men and women of different age groups (ongoing, 2007-2008). Then we will distribute a written survey to 100 to 300 people per community (2008). We shall close with a final focus group (2009).

All the instruments for each step of the research are being devised collectively by the research team, which brings together seven researchers and an NGO representative. Once data has been collected for a given step, each researcher receives integral copies of the material (for instance sound files and transcripts). This allows us to study social networks in all the major dimensions of human life.

In the following pages, you will read about results from the first phase of the project, consisting of focus groups performed in each of the four communities.[1] There is, partly by design, considerable variation in structuring of the focus groups in terms of sociological composition (age, gender, occupation, migration experience and length of time in Canada), group cohesiveness and official language ability. Focus groups provide an entry point for identifying complex and multi-layered issues.

To identify participants, we proceeded in three complementary ways. First, in some cases, people on the research team or the student fieldworker already knew members from the community, so they were invited to recommend potential participants who fit the criteria, and to put us in contact with them. Second, we directly solicited potential participants in public places associated with the group under study: specialty stores, religious venues, cultural gatherings, etc. Finally, we asked community organizations, either those from the community (ethnic or

[1] These focus groups were performed by local student assistants: Duyen Nguyen in Saint John's, Olivia Bornik in Halifax, Isabelle Violette in Moncton and Andrea Bird in Charlottetown.

multiethnic organisations) or those in contact with the community (service providers for immigrants), to distribute our invitation.

By allowing for open discussions and interaction between six to nine respondents, the focus groups provided us with overviews of the different layers of networks within each community and brought out the dynamics of the existing social networks, including both their strengths and their weaknesses (problems, internal conflicts, etc.).

The focus groups began with a section pertaining to the notion of "community" and a discussion on whether the case under study constituted a community in the participants' views. Then, we proceeded to explore the layers of networks, hoping to get an initial mapping of each layer of the network instead of only an overall picture. For instance, we addressed social and friendship ties (who they associate with), economics (business, employment), health (formal and informal), education (school, child care, cultural heritage transmission), civic participation (political participation, community development work), religious ties (religious affiliation and practice), gender-specific networks (are the networks different for men and women?), kinship ties, age groups (are the networks different for youth, adults and seniors?), language (what language do they speak most of the time with each of these people?) and several more. The focus groups then closed with an overall appreciation of the community's networks (size, internal conflicts or closeness, etc.).

This provided an impressive richness of information. The following articles each address one network layer (education, gender, health, economics or citizenship) as it appears in the four communities.

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Immigrant parents of school-aged children and youth who were English language learners upon arrival to Canada indicate that their children advanced quicker than their parents in speaking the language and thus developed friendships in school. Some parents raised concerns about difficulties junior high students have in forming friendships during their first few weeks at school.

The Role of Education in Developing and Maintaining Social Networks of Immigrants

LLOYDETTA QUAICOE
Atlantic Metropolis Centre

The Atlantic Metropolis Education Domain which was part of Phase II of the Metropolis Project, seeks to identify the community networks of immigrants by exploring the past and present educational experiences of immigrants with regard to social practices within a network of family, friends, teachers and members of their ethnocultural groups. The overarching goal of this Domain is to examine the educational practices and discourses of the four immigrant communities in the Cross Domain Initiative (CDI) study and their social networks in order to understand the impact of these networks on attracting, retaining and integrating immigrants in the Atlantic provinces.

A preliminary analysis of the data from the study demonstrates that formal and informal educational processes contribute to how newly arrived and established immigrants create and strengthen their social networks in Atlantic Canada. Academic institutions, federal and provincial government departments, non-governmental and community organizations, and ethnocultural associations are avenues for attracting, retaining and integrating immigrants. Although these sectors provide education for immigrants in socially and culturally supportive environments, the integration and retention of immigrants is linked to immigrants learning Canada's official languages, pursuing higher education, and obtaining suitable and satisfactory employment. This article focuses on the role of formal and informal education on the social networks reported by immigrants in this study.

The role of NGOs and community-based organizations

Newly arrived immigrant adults who require English or French language training find that community-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and settlement agencies are their first point of contact in building relationships and developing social networks. At these sites, immigrants connect with other learners from diverse linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds, including some from the same country of origin. One respondent describes these students as coming from all over the world, which would contribute to immigrants feeling a sense of belonging to their language school. Not only do these organizations provide language instruction, but, as respondents acknowledged, their employees also liaise between the respondents and schools on issues of their children's education.

An immigrant father recalls that his children had problems at school when the family first arrived, but "the association for newcomers [has] special people for these education problems" (P.E.I.). Another respondent says that the school

Another respondent said that he sent his children to their home country for two months to learn their language because the children would not speak their language at home (N.L.). For these immigrants, their countries of origin are an integral part of their social networks, just as the places where they congregate for social activities and religious observances.

calls the association when it needs him to discuss issues about his children in school and a staff worker usually accompanies him to the school. These are the early social relationships that new immigrants develop that help them navigate the formal public school system with their children.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada's core settlement programming consists of the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and the Host Program, which match newcomers with Canadian volunteers (CIC 2007: 33-34). These programs and frontline staff provide newly arrived immigrants with the much-needed social connections to educational institutions and larger mainstream communities.

The role of ethnocultural associations

Immigrants develop and maintain social networks through informal educational programs offered by religious and/or ethnocultural organizations and associations. These programs are available in churches, temples and school buildings where children learn their home languages and relevant aspects of their cultural heritage. Both newly arrived and well-established immigrant families build social networks around a common culture and language. Meeting together regularly helps to maintain and strengthen such relationships.

While immigrant families who attend cultural and religious activities value the opportunities to nurture and reinforce their linguistic and sociocultural values with their children, they also place a high value on formal public school and post-secondary education. Maintenance of their home language across generations is important for one respondent, who says, "My granddaughters are both educated – they also went to the temple – they can both speak Sanskrit. What I am saying is that the temple was the main focus for them to learn Sanskrit" (N.L.). In the process of learning their home languages, immigrants are also developing social and emotional connections with their ethnocultural communities.

Well-established immigrants, for example those in the Lebanese and Indian communities, mention culture-specific language schools and associations that have been providing language training for several years (N.S. and N.L.). Some immigrants participate in these ethnocultural associations to assist them in maintaining their sociocultural ties and improving their home language prior to visiting their country of origin; as one respondent recounts, "I wanted to make sure I could read the signs. I didn't want to go [there] and be literally illiterate" (N.S.). Another respondent said that he sent his children to their home country for two months to learn their language because the children would not speak their language at home (N.L.). For these immigrants, their countries of origin are an integral part of their social networks, just as the places where they congregate for social activities and religious observances.

The role of academic institutions

Immigrant parents of school-aged children and youth who were English language learners upon arrival to Canada indicate that their children advanced quicker than their parents in speaking the language and thus developed friendships in school. Some parents raised concerns about difficulties junior high students have in forming friendships during their first few weeks at school. Students who come to Canada for post-secondary education are perceived as having an easier time developing social networks because university students tend to be more open to learning about new cultures. One respondent explains, "I have a Canadian friend and in my free time I sometimes go and visit him at his apartment and practice English and watch a movie and talk to him about culture in Canada" (P.E.I.). Such informal language learning through social networks assists newcomers in the process of integrating and feeling at home in their new country.

Respondents from the Indian subcontinent attribute their successful integration into mainstream society to the connections they developed with Memorial University over the years. These relationships and social networks

for both students and professionals continue to thrive. A founding member of the local Indian association describes what happened in 1965 and 1966: "We started to associate in a group so we [preserved] some of the cultural values we came with....We were cognizant of what we needed for the second generation" (N.L.). The formation of this ethno-specific group created the structure that would maintain strong and lasting familial and cultural ties. During the focus group conversations, one youth refers to the significance of an already established ethnocultural community organization:

> When I arrived here, a lot of the institutions he [the founding member] spoke of were already in place. There was a temple and there were South Asian community organizations. I know that was a great comfort to my parents when they first moved here. And it was an opportunity for me as well to meet youth of my age, and I still keep in contact with them. Like at the Sunday temple sessions or Indian gala events. We appropriated baseball fields and made it cricket pitches at times. (N.L.)

Some barriers to retaining and integrating immigrants

Lack of proficiency in English or French and the long process of learning the language are cited as barriers to full integration into mainstream society. Language learners say their teachers are patient and helpful during their class time of learning English, but when the learners are outside of school, local Canadians sometimes do not understand them. They request that, as part of their learning process, guest speakers come and talk to them so that they have an opportunity to practice English in the real world (P.E.I.). They feel that their lack of English language skills hinders them from communicating, which, in turn, affects how well they establish social networks with the local mainstream population.

It is evident from this preliminary data that both formal and informal education have an impact on how immigrants create, develop, nurture and maintain social networks in the Atlantic provinces. The rest of the data will contribute to a more comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the ways in which networks influence the attraction, retention and integration of newly arrived and well-established immigrants in the four communities participating in this study.

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Women's networks involved most often family and friends from ethno-cultural communities. Such networks were multiple and dense, as illustrated by the types of services (psychological, social and economic) they provided to their members.

Women, Gender and Networks

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In analyzing the focus group data of the Cross Domain Initiative project in Atlantic Canada, a couple of provisos are in order. First, the focus groups represent only one phase of a multi-pronged research project. Therefore, the data, at this early stage in the project, can only offer highly preliminary, suggestive insights. Second, when focusing on women and gender, a methodological limitation soon becomes apparent in the composition of the focus groups. In hindsight we have realized that because male focus group participants tended to dominate in the discussions, thereby silencing women's voices, the female participants needed to be, at the very least, equally, and better still, over-represented in the focus groups to compensate for the dynamics that emerged. A research design more sensitive to these gendered patterns would have provided a more conducive environment for women's input, and, in turn, would have likely resulted in data that reflected even more prominent gender differences.

Nevertheless, these methodological constraints aside, the four focus groups still suggest that networks are gendered in the sense that women's networks are distinctive from men's. At the same time, the focus group data revealed that gender intersected with class and race, among other bases of identity. Moreover, these axes of identity often played out differently, with different emphases, in different locales. For example, significant class distinctions were quite evident in the discussions among focus group participants from the Lebanese community in Halifax, whereas the interconnections between gender, race, class and language were highly apparent in the Moncton focus group. However, given the preliminary nature of this report, and given space constraints, we will primarily highlight the gendered dimensions at play vis-à-vis women, and briefly consider three interrelated questions: 1) Why are networks gendered? 2) What kinds of gendered networks exist? 3) What are the gendered networks' implications for integration?

Why networks are gendered

The presence of gendered networks can be attributed to various factors. Not surprisingly, women's networks take on a different cast given their culturally assigned care-giving roles. The women in the focus groups tended to take more responsibility for child care and other "care"-related activities. One woman explained this in light of the fact that in her country of origin, "cooking, cleaning house, is all for the woman and care for children is all woman" (P.E.I.). This, in turn, has an impact on women's networks and sites of interaction outside of the home. For instance, immigrant women were compelled to interact with officials in their children's schools, even when there were challenging cultural and language barriers involved (P.E.I.). Furthermore, women's networks expanded in and through schools, and other activities related to being more closely involved in their children's upbringing.

Beyond women's responsibility for unpaid work in the home and activities related to social reproduction, immigrant women's experience of de-skilling in the paid work realm also has a major impact on the kinds of networks women forge. Many female focus group participants referred to qualifications they had, or work experience they had had in their countries of origin, and then went on to reveal that these

* The names of the two co-authors appear in alphabetical order.

were not commensurate with their employment experiences in Canada. As a result, the women in the focus groups did not discuss developing professional networks, nor did they describe their activism in traditional political – i.e. partisan – networks, for example.

Instead, women referred to their work in the voluntary sector. As one female respondent disclosed, "I was a volunteer for newcomers. I was teaching Spanish" (P.E.I.). Women's work for church auxiliaries is also apparent in the focus groups and will be discussed in more detail below. For now, however, the larger point is that volunteer work provided more than interpersonal connection and the chance to get acquainted with Canadian civil society. For immigrant women, work in the voluntary sector also offered training opportunities and opened up their networks in their search for permanent employment. Other research has shown that volunteer activity is particularly relevant when it comes to immigrant women's labour market integration in Atlantic Canada, especially in the context of their experiences of de-skilling (Topen 2007).

Overall, however, the focus groups reveal that women's networks stemmed primarily from their work in traditional, highly gendered areas, i.e., from care-giving and food-related activities to activities based on their involvement in faith-based institutions. In other words, female-specific networks were typically connected to family households, food, schools and religious institutions (churches, mosques and temples). In these realms, women's social-ethnic networks appeared denser than men's.

Types of gendered networks

Women's networks involved most often family and friends from ethno-cultural communities. Such networks were multiple and dense, as illustrated by the types of services (psychological, social and economic) they provided to their members. We elaborate more on this aspect of gendered networks below.

It is important to point out that women's familial and friendship networks were not only dense, but also broad. For instance, women in the focus groups often referred to their efforts to maintain cross-national and transnational kinship and friendship ties. Here the use of new technology was noteworthy as the women increasingly relied on the telephone (given access to more affordable long distance rates) (P.E.I.) and email contact. For instance, in the St. John's focus group there was animated discussion about how the "communication system has changed so much," and one female focus group participant added, "Now we come here and I talk to my friends back home everyday for half an hour....If something is on your mind you can talk to them. If there is something that you want that nobody here would know, you can email" (N.L.). While the focus groups do not provide enough grounds to ascertain whether this is a function of class and educational background, other studies (Panagakos 2008) do indicate the existence of a gender dimension (along with class, generation and age) in accessing electronic telecommunications technology.

The fact that most focus groups alluded to food, in some way, is interesting. While so-called "ethnic cuisine" is a common symbol of difference, one that is often dismissed as an insignificant marker of diversity and one that highlights the superficiality of multiculturalism (e.g., Fleras and Elliott 1992), here we see the broader significance of food – how it is used as a networking tool by women and as a means of social integration of various kinds. Granted, both men and women talked about food, but male focus group participants referred to networks based on "language and sports and religion and friends," while the women in the focus groups emphasized the centrality of families and food: "Just families we meet quite often and eat quite often" (N.L.). Although it would clearly be an overstatement to suggest that only women are involved in food preparation, women do disproportionately take on this responsibility, and the focus groups suggest that for women, food involves more than sustenance: it facilitates their networking.

The importance of food as a networking device also extends beyond single communities. For example, at a child's birthday party in Halifax, a classmate disparagingly asked whether the partygoers would be served "Lebanese cake," and the child's mother turned the negativity around by providing food vouchers to all the children present, so that they could take them home to their parents in order that their families, families of various origins, could partake in Lebanese food at the city's Lebanese festival. In yet another example, a Lebanese food store is identified as a place to advertise community services.

Finally, religious institutions provide a notable locus of activity for women involved in the

The two main Lebanese churches within Halifax were described as key pillars in the Lebanese community. The church not only brought people together and served as the glue for the community, but also helped with communication and fostered relationships in other spheres.

focus groups. Through church-related women's auxiliaries, for example, women increased significantly the scope of their social networks and thus increased their families' resources to achieve successful integration.

Across the focus groups, women stressed the pivotal nature of faith-based institutions. To illustrate, the two main Lebanese churches within Halifax were described as key pillars in the Lebanese community. The church not only brought people together and served as the glue for the community, but also helped with communication and fostered relationships in other spheres. Similarly, one of the female focus group participants in Newfoundland remarked on the members of the Pakistani community meeting one another quite often through the mosque (N.L.). Indeed, the female focus participant commented:

> Being in Pakistan I only knew people from Pakistan, but after coming here, in mosque, we have so many people we are friends with, so many people from India, from Bangladesh, from Turkey, from Egypt....And, you get to know them pretty closely. (N.L.).

In the absence of a religious institution geared toward a particular community, such as Charlottetown, one female focus group participant notably mentioned that she attended (Korean) service via Internet (P.E.I.).

Implications for integration

Let us consider the implications of gendered networks more carefully. First of all, the four focus groups confirm what the broader literature has shown (e.g., Miedema and Tastsoglou 2003), that gendered networks of women facilitate women's social integration. The focus group data underscore how the networks of family and friends are very important in immigrant women's lives, in terms of breaking the isolation and "otherness" created by migration to Canada. These networks are often sustained through women's relationships with other women. In breaking the isolation and providing support to women, friends and families increase the chances for successful adaptation to Canada and secure a measure of integration.

Second, women's networks of friends and families transcend seeking personal advice or providing orientation. Women's social-ethnic networks extend to the economic realm in such matters as finding a job or providing information about job availability. For example, Karpathakis' study among the Greek community in New York City has shown that women often do social-ethnic networking in order to facilitate male family member's job searches (2008). Similarly, one Halifax focus group participant explains:

> You do have Lebanese who aren't involved, who have no families, who are on welfare or struggling and they're not involved in the community. But if they were, they're not going to see an 18-year-old boy, you know this is so-and-so's son, they're gonna make sure he's working, or refer him, or hey he needs a job... so it's sort of, you know, it builds. (N.S.).

Third, through their involvement with children's issues at school and other child-related activities, immigrant women develop insights into the social relationships of their children and, thus, learn "Canadian ways," as well as how to negotiate cross-cultural differences in order to preserve and nurture their relationships with their children.

Fourth, women's social-ethnic networks provide other kinds of support related to the challenges of economic integration, as is the case when, for example, a highly skilled spouse is unemployed or under-employed and this has produced extra tension in the family. Although the data in this study are inconclusive, it appears that women's denser social-ethnic networks allow for a wide range of support, from providing a sounding board to offering useful information about jobs for family members.

In short, immigrant women's gendered networks facilitate not only psychological support and learning about Canadian culture, but also social and economic integration for women and other family members.

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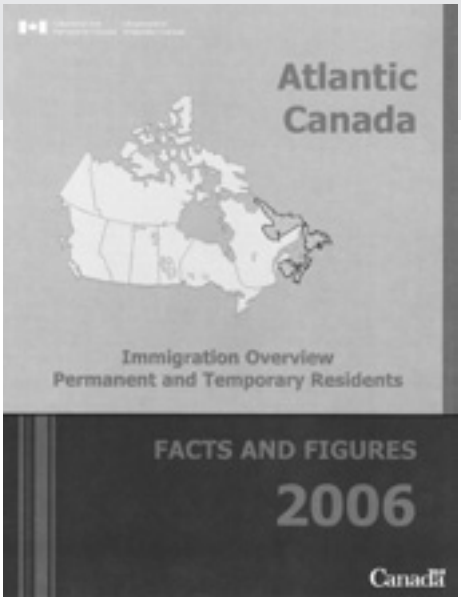
Facts and Figures 2006: Immigration Overview for Atlantic Canada—Permanent and Temporary Residents



Facts and Figures 2006: Immigration Overview for Atlantic Canada—Permanent and Temporary Residents presents immigration statistics for the provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The report provides the annual intake of permanent residents by category of immigration and of temporary residents by primary status from 1980 to 2006 as well as the annual December 1st stock of temporary residents during the same period. The main body of the publication consists of a series of statistical tables and charts covering the ten-year period from 1997 to 2006. The publication is divided into two separate sections, each depicting selected characteristics for the permanent resident population or the temporary resident population during this ten-year period.

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Geography-based health networks generally provide support to sick individuals living in the local neighbourhoods and are a part of much larger provincial and national networks....Relationship-based networks are comprised of informal networks at the familial level, and formal networks based at ethnic and religious organizations, educational institutions and workplaces.

Social Networks of Health and Well-being

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Background

Health literature refers to social networks as communities from which individuals can draw support during the time of a health crisis. The Canadian population health framework recognizes social networks as an integral part of one's social environment, which can determine good health, and healthy living practices (PHAC 2004). The recent paradigm shifts within the Canadian community health care regimes that move toward an investment in maintaining good health for an entire population emphasize the vitality of social networks. There are two types of social networks: those based on geographic proximity and those based on relationships. The geography-based health networks generally provide support to sick individuals living in the local neighbourhoods and are a part of much larger provincial and national networks. The relationship-based networks are comprised of informal networks at the familial level, and formal networks based at ethnic and religious organizations, educational institutions and workplaces. Dossa (2002) reiterated these two types of networks and their effects: "Well-being is essentially grounded in spaces and places where we live, work and engage in social interactions." Familial relationships can lead to negative or positive (mental and physical) health outcomes depending on gender, culture and age variations (Grewal et al. 2005, Choudry 2001, Sword et al. 2006). This short communication briefly summarizes the type of social networks, their support on immigrants' health based on Canadian literature and the preliminary findings of the focus group data gathered from an interdisciplinary collaborative research project, the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's Cross Domain Initiative (CDI).

Overview of social networks of immigrant health

The health networks for Canadian immigrants are comprised of members of the nuclear and extended family and communities designated by the three socio-demographic characteristics: race/ethnicity, religion and language (mother tongue). Immigrants build their social networks mostly through places of worship and ethnic clubs, in addition to the occasions that they create to bring people together from their ethnic community (Choudry 2001). Hyman and Dussault (2000) noted acculturation as a factor influencing ability to make social ties among immigrants. In addition, Lai and Hui (2007) found that family structure and pattern of friendships are two of the guiding factors of immigrants' social networks, which provided visitations and help during sick times.

Our focus group data gathered from the Halifax ethnic community indicated that coming from a Westernized ethnic culture – that is, the ability to speak English fluently and practicing Christian-based religions – make community integration faster. "Because we're in the Canadian society and our culture is so westernized and those that are

coming here, 99% of them know somebody who will quickly integrate them into the society." One way of building networks within the same ethnic community is via ethnic society listings, as one such ethnic community leader indicated, "I received literally over 100 phone calls in the last week because of the situation [ethnic violence] back home." Ethnic community functions and religious places were noted as playing key roles in building networks. "Because we're Christians, you can't really tell us apart from the Canadians, you know." People tend to rely on ethnic community networks in finding family doctors and dentists. "My dentist is xxxxx(referred to the race), my doctor is xxxxx and my lawyer is xxxxx. In our generation a lot of xxxxx doctors, nurses and dentists were migrating. So it is not hard to find one within the community." (N.S.)

Impact on physical and overall health

There are both detrimental and beneficial familial and external network effects noted in the literature for female immigrants. Negative effects related to familial networks are due mostly to loss of extended family support and domestic help while continuing women's gender role obligations. Hyman and Dussault (2000) noted that immigrant women lack familial networks to share their worries and problems during pregnancy, and Sword et al. (2006) noted that they are relatively less likely to get household help or reassurance from their nuclear family for postpartum health compared with Canadian-born women. According to Grewal (2005), culture-induced expectations, obligations, gender roles and responsibilities imposed upon South Asian women by nuclear family members produced detrimental health effects. Even the women who live with nuclear families noted social isolation, indicating that they have limited social ties outside of their family (Grewal 2005). The loss of informal family support traditionally available in their home country was noted for both men and women (Sword et al. 2006).

Immigrant Punjabi women were found to be hesitant to discuss their cancer diagnosis and related ill health outside their familial networks (Howard et al. 2007), possibly due to the taboos attached to cancer. In contrast, Loiselle (2001) noted that new immigrant mothers tend to receive breast feeding support from their ethnic community more than Canadian born mothers do. An analysis of Canadian national population health survey data indicated a strong connection to community ties affected immigrants' weight and obesity in such a way that those immigrants with strong ties to communities with above average weight tend to have greater incidence of excess body weight (McDonald and Kennedy 2005). Nevertheless, large ethnic neighbourhoods tend to lessen the likelihood of immigrants being overweight. Hyman and Dussault (2000) reported high levels of acculturation, resulting from strong ties to mainstream networks, are associated with dieting-related negative health outcomes during pregnancy.

Impact on mental health

All forms of social networks support – informal, formal and familial – have significantly enhanced immigrants' mental health and emotional well-being. However, lack of social support is found to be a stress-inducing factor for adult South Asian women (Ahmed 2004), and immigration-related changes that conflict with traditional norms have created additional stress for these women (Grewal 2005). Elderly South Asian immigrants tend to become more vulnerable to emotional distress in the absence of pre-migratory buffering effects that they were accustomed to receiving from the extensive social networks and their interactions (Choudry 2001). Interestingly, interdependence valued in the Indian culture brought emotional rewards to seniors. Choudry (2001) further noted that social networks created in conjunction with religious places and senior clubs helped the seniors of Indian origin to maintain their ethnic identity and cultural continuity. It also strengthened their sense of belonging, acculturation and adjustment to Canada. Distress and mental illness among Chinese women were reported to have increased postmigration and the lack of social support received outside the family was not an associate (Cohen and Wills 1985, Thoits 1995). Those women who migrated with their family members indicated familial relationship had a positive impact on their mental health. Korean immigrants who received informal ethnic network support during the time of arrival have shown long-lasting positive mental health effects (Noah 1992). Even adolescents found the support received from family and friends boosts the self-esteem (Khanlou 2004).

Impact on access to health care

Informal and formal social networks facilitate immigrants' access to health care by providing information about availability and eligibility

Our focus group discussions indicated another positive community network support to be the provision of informal interpretation services to immigrants who have English language difficulties in some Atlantic provinces where no formal language interpretation services exist.

(Lynam 1985, Neufeld 2002) and assisting them to acculturate to the health care system (Salant 2003). Lai and Hui (2007) found that dental care usage increased by 16 to19% with high levels of social support among Chinese immigrants. Through social networks made up of relatives, friends, religious groups and professionals, the immigrant women are able to access services such as speech therapy, respite care for an elder, school for special needs children or home care for an elder or child (Neufeld et al. 2002). According to Deri (2005), immigrants' health care utilization increases when there are more doctors in the community who speak the same language. Other positive aspects of the immigrant networks uncovered by Deri (2005) include: providing information about the health care institutions and locating an appropriate health care provider.

Our focus group discussions indicated another positive community network support to be the provision of informal interpretation services to immigrants who have English language difficulties in some Atlantic provinces where no formal language interpretation services exist. Religious networks and family friends were prominent in helping many immigrants find a doctor in the Atlantic region. One P.E.I. woman revealed, "He was the doctor for my sister-in-law in New Brunswick, and then I asked him to take me." Another P.E.I. woman explained that her current physician was "my brother's doctor and my sister-in-law asked...him and he agreed and accepted me." It was noted that only 60% of newcomers in Prince Edward Island are able to find a family doctor in the first year. Atlantic immigrants tend to lean on health care workers from the same ethnic community for help, as noted by a Halifax participant: "I work in the health care system and people always call me when they have an emergency because I work there. Like they ask, 'Can you do something?'"

Conclusion

Canadian literature that explores social networks and their health effects on immigrants is limited to women and a few ethnic communities. Numbers of immigrants in the national surveys were far too small to be able to make regional or provincial comparisons. Comparison of the CDI focus group data across multiple disciplines of interest revealed that the participants put less emphasis on health in relation to social networks. Even the limited CDI focus group data revealed that ethno-racial, language and religious networks provided extended support for Atlantic immigrants in navigating the health care system, and no gender differences were found in the types of health social networks. There was very little research-based evidence on the influence of spatial or geographical networks on immigrants' health. Overall, evidence supported familial, ethno-racial, religious and language networks positively enhancing immigrants' mental and physical health and increasing their health care utilizations. More in-depth research data and comparative analyses are needed to explore geographical- and relationship-based networks and their effects across genders and life stages.

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Regardless of the reason for immigration, economic integration in the country of destination is essential to the migrant. A secure economic status plays an important role in social integration of an immigrant. It improves the immigrant's sense of pride and enhances his or her motivation to do well in the country of choice.

The Role of Networks in Economic Integration of New Arrivals

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According to *Global Issues*, there are about 191 million people in the world today who are not living in their country of birth.[1] People leave their country of birth to live in a new country for many reasons. These reasons could include religious, ethnic and gender persecutions in the country of origin; lack of individual freedom; or simply the desire to improve their current economic conditions. Regardless of the reason for immigration, economic integration in the country of destination is essential to the migrant. A secure economic status plays an important role in social integration of an immigrant. It improves the immigrant's sense of pride and enhances his or her motivation to do well in the country of choice. At the same time, the host country also benefits from economic assimilation of new arrivals. By participating in the labour force, immigrants add to the diversity of the labour force, help meet skill shortages and contribute financially to the provision for such public goods as research and development, arts and culture, developmental infrastructure, national defence, etc.

Past experience shows immigrant groups tend to have a spatial distribution in their host countries that differs sharply from that of the native born. Bartel (1989) identifies three important features of an area that immigrants consider while making their destination choice in the host country. The first is "ports" of entry, near seaports in the past, near airports nowadays. The second is where family and friends (co-ethnics) from earlier migrations live. The third is where the jobs are, that is, where the immigrants are most able to gain employment that makes best use of their skills, or lack thereof. In the present research we argue that the second and third reasons are connected since family and friends could play an important role in economic integration of new arrivals. With the passage of time "ports of entry" and "family and friends" may become less central in deciding where to live in the host country, and immigrants may disperse, to some extent, in the host country.

The obvious questions are: Why do immigrants look for areas where co-ethnics from earlier migration live and what role do co-ethnics play in their settlement? According to Chiswick (2004), when a new immigrant group initially arrives in the new country the members of the group may be indifferent to alternative regions of the destination country that are equally attractive in terms of job opportunities and ports of entry. The initial settlers would tend to be immigrants with a lower demand for what are called "ethnic goods."[2] Subsequent immigrants from this ethnic group will not be indifferent to the alternative destinations as ethnic goods will be cheaper where their co-ethnics have already settled. If an ethnic community is already established, immigrants

[1] www.globalissues.org/HumanRights/racism/immigration.asp.

[2] Chiswick (2004) defines ethnic goods as the consumption characteristics of an immigrant/ethnic group not shared with the host population, broadly defined to include market and non-market goods and services, including social interactions for themselves and their children with people of their same origin.

By participating in the labour force, immigrants add to the diversity of the labour force, help meet skill shortages and contribute financially to the provision for such public goods as research and development, arts and culture, developmental infrastructure, national defence, etc.

with a higher demand for ethnic goods would find immigration that much more attractive.

Another important role of immigrant/ethnic concentrations, according to Chiswick (2004), is that they provide information networks that can be very valuable in social interaction, consumption and employment activities. Original residents of an area possess location-specific human capital, which includes information obtained directly and indirectly through established networks. "Not being connected to host country information networks when they arrive, immigrants have an incentive to create or 'import' information networks by living in geographic concentrations with other new and longer term immigrants of the same origin."

Empirical research has confirmed the important role of immigrant communities in attracting immigrants to the region where they live (for example, Akbari and Harrington (2007) for Canada and Zavodny (1999) for the United States).

The purpose of this research is to investigate how important ethnic networks are in the economic integration of new arrivals of "co-ethnic" in smaller regions of Canada, with a focus on Atlantic Canada.[3] The research is important because of: 1) the recent interest among immigration policymakers to obtain wider spatial distribution of new arrivals, 2) an increased interest among smaller communities of Atlantic Canada to attract more immigrants and to retain them, and 3) the important role of potential rapid economic integration in an immigrant's location choice. The research is being conducted in different phases.

The first phase analysis is preliminary and is based on a focus group whose details have been provided in the inserts of other domains. New arrivals in the African-Francophone community of Moncton do not appear to be closely connected to original residents of the community. These new arrivals felt that the local Anglophone community was more welcoming toward them. They also thought that the resident Acadians considered their knowledge of the French language superior. University students arriving from African countries do not feel welcome in the African-Francophone community. On the other hand, there is a greater interaction of new arrivals from Lebanon with members of the resident Lebanese community of Halifax. This could be possibly because the Lebanese community has been present in the region for more than 100 years and is well established. Their modes of interaction include churches, the Denham association, the Canadian Lebanon Society and honorary consuls. New arrivals also establish their own personal networks. For those involved within the community, the community provides a lot of support if it is needed – particularly financial. Community members help them find a job. As well, the churches have helped some people out – and that is kept very private. Some also believe that the community would come through to help an individual in need if it were something that very much needed, such as surgery, and this is done on an impersonal basis.

The immigrant community of Charlottetown is very small.[4] Hence, it is difficult to find a particular immigrant community within this population. Our focus group included people from Columbia, Congo, Indonesia and Korea. None of them felt as if they had a community in the town, either because they were all newcomers or because there were no families from their country of origin. Individuals in the group were either professionals or had a business. Based on the responses, it can be implied that these individuals did not achieve their present economic status due to community networks, but through their own individual efforts.

Finally, the Indian community of Newfoundland also appears to have similar characteristics, as does the Lebanese community

[3] Previous sections of this article provide a list of ethnic communities that are being studied.

[4] According to the 2006 Census, only 4,785 immigrants live in Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.), more than half of them in Queen's county.

of Halifax, in interacting with new arrivals from the Indian subcontinent. This community appears to be more mobile and provides more exposure to its youth. University students from the subcontinent find it easier to interact with the community.

In summary, results of our focus group indicate that while greater opportunities for economic integration exist in the region through community networks for immigrants arriving from Lebanon and the Indian subcontinent, those arriving from African-Francophone countries lack this advantage. Reasons for this disadvantage need to be explored; the next two phases of the CDI project may shed light on the same. The immigrant community of Charlottetown appears to be too new to provide a network connection to new arrivals. It remains to be explored how immigrants in that city perform relative to those in larger cities with established networks (such as Halifax or Moncton).

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In St. John's, Halifax, Moncton and, to a lesser extent, Charlottetown, the ethnic community of reference incorporates people from countries and different cultural groups with some common features, such as geographic proximity and colonial history for French-speaking Africans and groups from the Indian subcontinent.

Citizenship, Justice and Security*

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Some history on these research themes seems necessary. The Citizenship, Justice and Security Domain was a feature of the second phase of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre. It was a unique Domain in the national context combining, somewhat awkwardly, two areas of research interest, each of which deserved full attention. This distinction was acknowledged in the third phase of the project (funded in 2007). Separate national Domains were established for Citizenship and Social, Cultural and Civic Integration, and for Justice, Policing, and Security, in accord with federal policy research priorities. However, the CDI productively links citizenship and security.

Citizenship is broadly defined as extending beyond formal legal and juridical processes and civic participation to include questions of social and cultural membership, belonging, identity and commitments (to kin, communities and social and cultural institutions). Theoretical guidance came from existing research on citizenship, transnationalism and multiculturalism (Kavisto and Faist 2007)[1] as well as new discussions of the "securitization" of immigration (see Dobrowolsky 2007). Questions addressed what citizenship means to immigrants in terms of "lived experience" and from a transnational point of view. Transnationalism acknowledges the multiple attachments retained by immigrants, attachments to people, places and citizenship in countries of origin sometimes extending over several generations (Barber 2003). These attachments complicate how immigrants experience citizenship both in Canada and in the countries they identify with and/or remain connected to. Transnational networks play an important role in immigrant decision-making, for example, in considerations about which communities to settle in. This raises interesting comparative questions about whether transnational networks change over time in accord with developments in Atlantic Canadian communities, and how such networks feature in attraction and retention dynamics. The issue of security was addressed in focus group discussions in a more cursory fashion by linking it to issues of personal security.

Citizenship, community and multiculturalism

Becoming and being Canadian tends to be positively regarded but takes on a different complexion in each context. In the case of P.E.I., the relatively small number of immigrants limits the possibilities for national, cultural or ethnically specific local networks. This might suggest greater possibilities for immigrant social integration, but issues associated with learning English are identified as one factor restricting social contacts. Indeed, there is a sense of predominantly small local social networks with primary interactions occurring between members of immediate families. The Association for Newcomers to Canada (PEI-ANC), schools, workplaces and churches are also referenced as important sites of social contact and knowledge about Canada. In this vein, some reference was explicitly made to citizenship training courses and instruction on acceptable forms of conduct,

* Christina Holmes, a doctoral student in Social Anthropology at Dalhousie, completed the initial data review for this domain. Her excellent work is foundational for this analysis.

[1] These issues are discussed in length in *Canadian Diversity/ Diversité canadienne*, particularly in volume 2, 12 (spring 2003) and volume 4, 1 (winter 2005).

Perhaps by default, the more isolated immigrants in Charlottetown and the more transient international students in Moncton look to local institutions (settlement agencies, universities, churches) and officially sponsored multicultural events to enable them to communicate selected features of their histories, and national and cultural identities both to non-immigrants, each other, and, importantly, to themselves and their children.

including the fact that it is unacceptable to physically discipline children, as well as what constitutes domestic violence in Canada. In general, Charlottetown is represented as friendly and welcoming but with several qualifications regarding labour market discrimination toward immigrants. Racism was identified as a contributing factor to problems in immigrant retention. Someone said, "I like it here. I like Canada." But because of discrimination by employers, disguised through talk of immigrants not being sufficiently competent in English, "Many, many Black people don't like to stay here" (P.E.I.).[2] In this person's experience, regardless of language abilities and skill, non-Black people were preferred employees, a seemingly intractable pattern confirmed by other Canadian studies (Reitz and Banerjee 2007). Clearly, there are implications for intensified ESL training, as well as further public discussion about immigrants' contributions. One optimistic scenario is that given attraction and retention needs, such efforts might counter discrimination.

Whereas the focus groups suggested relative social isolation is characteristic for Moncton - tied sometimes to nationality and/or ethnicity and/or linguistic and racial discrimination, or as with Charlottetown, to smaller social circles - this seems less true in St. John's and Halifax. City size, the depth of immigration histories extending through several generations and reportedly successful economic and social integration are clearly important to immigrants' sense of belonging in these two cities. But here again, a strong connection is drawn between language and identity linked explicitly and implicitly to multiple citizenships, albeit it for different and changing reasons. One person in St. John's indicated language was one vehicle for the expression of community, defined as ethnic affiliation: "The community together represents the language" (N.L.). This comment was set against the idea that ethnic community is only one component of a wider community that includes non-immigrant friends. Another person spoke of the plurality of their identity: "Being Indian is certainly a part of me, and being Hindu as well, but I don't identify myself as such – for the rest of my life" (N.L.). Here we see the expression of an important tension between being and identifying as Canadian and retaining a distinctive identity drawn from the country of origin. Some theorists, Gilroy (2005) for example, refer to this as a "double consciousness." This issue will be further discussed under transnationalism, below.

The idea of "community," however, is actually quite fluid and subject to change over time, which confirms that idea needs deeper interrogation as an entry point for understanding the complexities of citizenship. In St. John's, Halifax, Moncton and, to a lesser extent, Charlottetown, the ethnic community of reference incorporates people from countries and different cultural groups with some common features, such as geographic proximity and colonial history for French-speaking Africans and groups from the Indian subcontinent. While common religion enables a distinctive community (for example, focused on church or mosque), religious difference might also be overlooked in forging shared national or regionally based ethnic identities. This was expressed not only in the Halifax group's affirmation of being Lebanese despite different church affiliations, but also in St. John's where there was talk of India as a subcontinent allowing historical and cultural commonalities despite religious differences. In contrast, reference was also made in St. John's to the idea that a shared British colonial history linked Newfoundland and the Indian

[2] Racism was similarly important in Moncton where tensions between social exclusion and integration loom large. One person summed this up by noting that, to the degree there exists a "community of Blacks," it is forged through exclusion and separation.

subcontinent: "Some of us would say that India was badly used by British colonials – so we have sympathy with Newfoundland culture, in a way…" (N.L.). Here, notions of community and belonging are crafted in a relative way through historical comparisons. Interestingly, this last comment provoked further discussion about provincial versus national loyalties in Canada.

Perhaps by default, the more isolated immigrants in Charlottetown and the more transient international students in Moncton look to local institutions (settlement agencies, universities, churches) and officially sponsored multicultural events to enable them to communicate selected features of their histories, and national and cultural identities both to non-immigrants, each other, and, importantly, to themselves and their children. Whether a function of the structuring of focus group questions, there is evidence from each site that staged multicultural presentations are widely perceived as a validating experience, even if superficially so. Concern is also expressed in St. John's that cultural exchange should be reciprocal with immigrants learning about Newfoundland customs (flipper pie being a food-based example).

Transnational citizenships

"Here" and "there" comparisons are constant but particularly so in Halifax and St. John's. Those in a position to travel do so regularly, ensuring their children have exposure to language and culture. One person in St. John's identified a transnational paradox experienced by many immigrants concerned about their children's acquisition of the home country language, cultural knowledge and such: "When we are here, we always try to think about our culture, language and stuff like that. When you go back home, they always try to make them talk in English….It's the complete opposite" (N.L.). Others recognized through travel that circumstances in their home countries were rapidly changing, both culturally and politically. In Halifax, political events unfolding in Lebanon gave cause for concern. New communication technologies, for Lebanese and others, enabled greater ease of communication with dispersed family members within Canada and elsewhere.

Whereas contentious aspects of Lebanese politics and the shifting nature of Lebanon's foreign policy held the potential to cause rifts between different community factions, Canadian politics were also mildly contentious. Only in Halifax were issues of civic engagement and Canadian politics discussed with any substance. One view granted more support from the Lebanese community for Liberal party politics because of a perception that the party was more supportive of immigrants. This was challenged with a counter notion that since many Lebanese own businesses, conservative policies might better support needs. Here we see the possibility of political diversity tied to immigration histories and social class differences - Liberal support being a more clear-cut feature of political loyalties in the past (40 years was mentioned). The existence of variations in opinion, even in such a small sample, cautions against generalizing about immigrant communities, not only because of the risk of obscuring gender differences, but also in terms of class, religion (noted above) and age (particularly relative to immigration histories). And, even in focus group discussions, we can see how views shift over time in accord with events on the global stage and within Canada.

Perhaps the most compelling feature of Lebanese transnationalism is summed up by comments such as "Love Halifax but miss Lebanon" and "I've travelled in Lebanon every year since I was 11. And I love it there and I love it here." Halifax is represented as a key location in the Canadian Lebanese diaspora (used here in the sense of dispersed community maintaining ties to a homeland, see Cohen 1997). Reflecting on a perceived shift to a more cosmopolitan and multicultural Halifax, one person summed up this idea that, with the passing of time, it has become "cool" to be Lebanese in Halifax. This example of a double consciousness is remarkable in its suggestion that Canadian multiculturalism enables pride in attachment both to Lebanon and to Halifax and Canada. Further there is a suggestion that this pride motivates efforts to utilize transnational networks to attract more Lebanese to immigrate to Halifax. Multiculturalism in this reading allows for a successful accommodation of transnational citizenships (see also Ley 2007). Reference to the ideal size of Halifax enabling casual encounters with other immigrants also deserves further attention from researchers.

Conclusion: Security and securing immigrants

To conclude, it seems appropriate to address immigrant perceptions of personal security. The

Moncton group expressed the most unease in their urban environment, a feature of their lives they related to being Black and a sense of mutual distrust between the White and African-born populations. By contrast, St. John's and Charlottetown were talked about as extremely safe environments. The predominant response to security, though, was to connect it to economic well-being. Problems of economic security, or rather insecurity, were particularly important to participants in Moncton and Charlottetown. In St. John's and Halifax, notions of economic security became bound up with concepts of community, informal networks of support and normative notions about providing support for others both locally, perhaps through facilitating employment, and abroad, as in the case of contributions to tsunami disaster relief. Of course these are preliminary findings. Nonetheless, the linking of economic well-being and security is compelling for immigrant attraction and retention scenarios.

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As new immigrant religious communities settle in the city, they go through recognizable stages with regard to the physical spaces they occupy.... When they reach the point of community ownership, they both shape the urban streetscapes in their own way and their sacred spaces reflect their appropriation of the architectural styles and materials of their new environment.

Shaping and Re-shaping Urban Landscapes in Halifax

The Recent Contributions of Immigrant Religious Communities*

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The Harbour Hopper is one of the tourist attractions that few visitors to Halifax miss. This amphibious bus travels by water around the peninsula starting at Historic Properties to explore the Bedford Basin and the Northwest Arm. Back on land, it drives down Barrington and Spring Garden streets past the innumerable historic sites on its route.

On their tour, visitors quickly realize that one of the most important historic contributions of ordinary colonists and citizens was the building of churches. While governors built Province House (1819) or City Hall (1888), Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics and Lutherans were defining the cityscape and very much of its social fabric in a patchwork of spires and crosses, altars and pulpits, and stained glass windows set in buildings of hand-hewn stone, brick or wood.

Whether one was rich and upper class or a foot soldier or crew in the colonial army or navy, there was a church for Sundays or weekday meetings. Just a short list of some of the oldest downtown churches gives a visitor a glimpse of how colonists and, after the incorporation of Halifax in 1841, immigrant citizens defined Halifax as their community by working together to finance and build their sacred spaces, their churches. Visitors on Barrington see St. Paul's Anglican Church (1749) directly facing city hall on the Grand Parade, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Basilica, which traces its roots to St. Peter's church established in 1784, and St. Matthew's United Church, which traces its roots to Mather's Church established in 1749. Just a short way from downtown is the mother church of the Black Loyalists, Cornwallis United Baptist Church, established in 1832.

These, and many more historic churches, are witnesses to the community-building priorities of French Acadians, English, Scots, Irish, Germans, and liberated African slaves from the United States that marked the history of Halifax. It should therefore come as no surprise that the immigrant peoples who have arrived since the 1960s have made creating places of worship and assembly one of their primary contributions to community building in their new city.

Strangely, telephone books still organize this new religious diversity under "churches," not "religious organizations." Even so, the listings reflect the changing face of immigration to the

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city. Christians now have Greek and Lebanese Orthodox churches, as well as Egyptian Coptic, Korean and Chinese Christian churches. Hindus and Sikhs have built their sacred spaces. Muslims have established schools and mosques. Buddhists from China, the United States and locally meet in urban centres, rural retreats, office buildings and homes. The streetscapes occupied by sacred spaces are clearly diverse in a new way when compared to the historical patterns. What is dramatically continuous with the history of the city and the region is that women and men express their most fundamental convictions about who they are and what is important to them in the building of religious institutions and sacred spaces.

As new immigrant religious communities settle in the city, they go through recognizable stages with regard to the physical spaces they occupy. Frequently the communities begin to gather in homes; they then use rented spaces before purchasing or building a sacred space of their own. When they reach the point of community ownership, they shape the urban streetscapes in their own way and their sacred spaces reflect their appropriation of the architectural styles and materials of their new environment.

St. George's Greek Orthodox Church.

We have identified four different patterns of transformation: the adaptation of existing spaces of worship for the use of a new religious community, the transformation of existing structures built for other purposes altogether, new construction that substitutes conventional urban architecture for traditional patterns from the country of origin, and new construction that adapts traditional models to the new urban landscape. Some new religious traditions seem to have incorporated all or most of these patterns over the course of their history in Halifax.

The Greek Orthodox Church in Halifax[1] traces its roots to immigrants who arrived in Halifax in the 1930s. For special ritual events like weddings they initially arranged for priests to come from the United States to preside until they were able to finance a priest to serve the Maritime region on a continuing basis. Once they were incorporated by provincial legislation they rented facilities for worship and finally purchased St. Luke's Anglican in 1941 near the city centre (the building is now condominiums). From this base there grew a vibrant Greek Orthodox Church and community which hosted Greek seamen during the war years and built strong economic and social ties to the life of the city. As the church membership grew through the 1970s, the dream of building their own church incorporating some of the unique "Orthodox" features became a reality. St. George's on Purcell's Cove Road incorporates the typical domes characteristic of Orthodox churches in Greece, while resembling the brick churches like St. Luke's from which they moved in 1982. In June, the city celebrates with the Greek community an annual rite of "spring," an annual Greekfest with food, cultural events and tours of the church. On such visits, the doors open, welcoming worshipper and visitor alike to a transcendent world of beautiful traditional icons painted on ceilings and walls which were completed in 1999.

The Maritime Sikh Society was formally established in 1968 (Tiwana 2002). Initially when the number of families was very small, they met in homes. As their numbers grew they used Duc D'Anville School gymnasium before renting the Masonic Hall in Clayton Park. In rental situations the space shifts through multiple uses by user groups. Preparations for ritual use of the space included thorough cleaning and ritual purification for every communal use. Within three years the Sikh community had grown sufficiently that they began exploring more permanent locations, settling finally on the purchase of a vacant suburban property on Parkhill Drive, above the Northwest Arm in Halifax. In November of 1978, as part of the celebration of Guru Nanak's birthday, the gurdwara was formally opened. It was a remarkable achievement for approximately fifty Sikh families. Since the

[1] For a more detailed discussion of the Greek community in Halifax, see Thomas (2002).

opening the Maritime Sikh Society has purchased an adjacent property permitting additions to the gurdwara and parking space for the daily and weekly gatherings. It remains the only gurdwara east of Montreal and serves Sikh families across the Maritimes.

The first newly constructed Hindu temple built in Canada, according to Pandit Ravi D. Dogra (2002) was in Auld's Cove by the Hindu Sanstha of Nova Scotia. The temple officially opened at the Diwali festival in 1972. The temple has served Hindus from Cape Breton and northeastern Nova Scotia ever since. In Halifax, The Vedanta Ashram Society bought and renovated a conventional, home-like building on Cork Street in 1973. The community rather quickly outgrew the space available and decided to tear down the building and construct a new temple, opened in 1985. "The 'Murtis' were installed with proper invocation prayers and the whole atmosphere was charged with devotion, happiness and spiritual upliftment. A lasting monument has been erected to honour Hindu dharma in Nova Scotia. The temple fulfills not only our spiritual needs, but has become a part of the social fabric of our community." (Ibid.: 92)

The Hindu temple.

The stories of the construction of the Greek Orthodox, Sikh and Hindu sacred spaces on residential streets in Halifax illustrate the interaction of the Nova Scotian setting and the aspiration of religious communities in the construction of their sacred spaces. In each case the colour and texture of brick and mortar define the external appearance. The Greek Orthodox Church, adorned with fiberglass domes and skylights, is recognizable for its architectural shape as a church in that tradition, although its brick exterior appropriates local building material. The Sikh Gurdwara and Vedanta Ashram Temple, on the other hand, bear little resemblance to the temples and gurdwaras of India. Indeed, from the outside, these multi-storied flat-roofed buildings of similar size and shape resemble one of the dominant housing styles in Halifax. They blend into their neighbourhoods. It is when you enter these buildings that conventional materials and shapes are transformed by colour, objects, sounds and fragrances. The ceilings of St. George's are filled with magnificent icons created in the traditional manner. On a slightly elevated platform on the third floor of the Vedanta Ashram, Rama, Sita, Krishna and Ganesha receive the offerings of food and flowers from devotees. In the simply adorned second floor hall the Sikh community gathers to sing before the Guru Granth Sahib and hear the sacred scriptures of the Sikh tradition.

Another pattern of adaptation for religious groups is to purchase a church and adapt it for a new religious use. Not unexpectedly, worship buildings are often reinhabited by closely related traditions. Like St. George's before them, the Halifax Korean Presbyterian church turned to a Christian denomination with which they shared a certain commonality (and in their case actual historic ties) to first rent, then purchase, a space to gather and worship. The Halifax Korean Presbyterian Church was founded in 1993 and until 2000 they worshiped in the St. Columba chapel at Atlantic School of Theology on the Northwest Arm. Although the Korean Christian community is among the most recent immigrant religious groups in Halifax, Korean Christians already had a long relationship with the city due to religious and medical missionaries who had gone to Korea from Halifax. On its first anniversary the church celebrated this connection between these two communities by honouring Dr. Ian Stewart Robb (1916-2004). He was an elder in the Fort Massey United Church who had been invited to return to Korea (where he had been born to missionary parents) in 1953 to help rebuild the country's medical services. His contributions have been recognized by the Korean government (Koonan and Wills 2004). In 2000 the Halifax Korean Presbyterian Church rented space in the Bethany United Church in Armdale. By 2005 they needed to move again and were hoping for more permanent quarters. The congregation of Oxford Street United

Church had dwindled and merged with Edgewood United Church, and the Korean Church first rented the Oxford Street United Church, then bought the building in July 2006.

Worship spaces are not always transferred between groups of closely related traditions, however. Perhaps the most striking and invisible of this type of transformation is the Ji Jing Si (Solemn Silence Temple) on Windsor Street in Halifax. Formerly a Wesleyan Methodist church made of frame and wood siding, the building had a bell tower and a peaked roof. Its architecture and appearance resembles St. Antionio's Antiochian Orthodox Church, which serves the Lebanese community in Halifax, just two blocks north, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Resurrection two blocks south on Windsor Street.

The Ji Jing Si temple.

The exterior transformation of Ji Jing Si is limited to two traditional temple guardian lions outside the front door of the temple. There is no exterior sign to identify the building and there is an eight-foot fence to the south of the main doors which hides a Zen rock garden. Inside the temple doors, writes Matthews (2006), "a delicate screen, huge temple bell, Wei-t'o and another guardian figure divide a foyer from the meditation and worship hall. A towering, finely crafted golden Shakyamuni image dominates the temple's sanctuary." The temple combines both the Pure Land and Chinese Ch'an or Zen teachings with Sunday and Tuesday services including both chanting of Pure Land sutras and Zen meditation.

The final, and perhaps most intriguing, pattern we have discovered is the reinvigoration of old and sometimes surplus buildings that were not originally constructed for worship or religious gatherings. Three examples of this kind of activity are the Shambhala Centre on Tower Road, the Chinese Christian Church on lower Barrington Street, and the Chebucto Road mosque.

In 1986 a group of primarily American Buddhists, followers of Tibetan teacher Chögyam Trungpa, moved the headquarters of their community, Vajradhatu, from Boulder Colorado to Halifax at Trungpa's request. Although their leader died a year after the immigration, the community has survived, thrived, and added new dimensions in many areas of the arts, commerce, education, health and community service, and religious diversity to the city. Now known as Shambhala International, the headquarters in Halifax connects a large web of organizations and locations around the world. The building itself still retains the appearance of a dwelling similar to the stately traditional homes in its South End location. Except for the orange doors, the Shambhala and provincial flags that flank them, and the sign over them, nothing would seem the least unusual. But after one enters through the reception area and a short hallway, the doors to the shrine room open to an unexpected explosion of space and colours – orange, bright blue, and gold – as if one has entered a different world indeed.

Not far away from the Shambhala headquarters on Tower Road is one of two Halifax church communities formed by immigrants from China. Throughout its history, the Chinese Christian Church has moved from the vestry of the Central Baptist church, to a storefront church space along a commercial stretch of Barrington, and finally to a beautiful stone building at the southern tip of Barrington Street. The site itself has quite a storied history. At one time it was the location of Halifax's first film company, Canadian Bioscope. The company's signature piece and Canada's first commercially-produced feature-length film, *Evangéline*, dramatized Longfellow's tragic tale based on the expulsion of the Acadians from colonial Nova Scotia, the story of a brutal

rejection of a community under suspicion in part because of religious difference. Now the church located on that site actively assists visiting Chinese students and other newcomers to the province. The building the Chinese Christian Church purchased in 2004, however, is not the original studio but a foundry. Chinese characters written alongside a large simple cross along the north wall, plainly visible as one approaches its location on a dead-end street, signify its newfound purpose.

Similarly, a surplus public school in the centre of the peninsula of Halifax has modest signs erected to signal the change within its brick Edwardian walls. Its story begins, though, across the harbour. The oldest mosque or masjid in the Halifax Regional Municipality is in a residential area of Dartmouth. It looks like a conventional suburban house with a number of additions, totally indistinguishable from its neighbours. Its founders created an association in 1966. As the community outgrew the capacity of members' homes as meeting places, they rented churches and community halls. In 1969, they acquired the property on 42 Leaman Drive and originally intended to build a classic mosque, complete with a dome and minaret, along with a community hall. The cost of that project, however, was well beyond the community's ability to self-finance, and since Islamic law prevents the giving or taking of interest, it was not possible to finance the building commercially. So a scaled-down structure was built that functioned in the multi-faceted way of a masjid – community centre, worship space and school. The school continued to expand, and even though several additions to the building were made, more space was needed. This led to the development of both a school and Nova Scotia's largest masjid on Chebucto Road in Halifax.

From the basement of the Dartmouth masjid the school moved to a leased building on Chebucto Road beginning in 1996. It was one of three buildings on a larger property that used to be a sectarian school when Halifax had separate public schools (Ali 2002).

The buildings and property that comprise the school, now the Maritime Muslim Academy, and the masjid were purchased in February 2000 as a result of a donation to the Halifax Muslim community by a wealthy Saudi family in memory of their son, a Saudi prince, who perished in the Swissair flight 111 tragedy on September 2, 1998. Regular Friday prayers take place in the basement of the smallest of the old school buildings, but can still hold between four and five hundred worshippers. It is still an adapted space, however, and the Muslim community dreams that they, like the Greek Orthodox community and previous immigrant religious communities, will one day be able to build a building that reflects their traditional architecture in the Halifax area. Their story continues to unfold, and perhaps the landscape of Halifax will one day include a minaret.

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Understanding the attraction, integration and retention of these immigrants might help local policy-makers better understand the ways and means of facilitating successful immigrations in the future. The Buddhist community is a religious community, but this pilot study focused more on the general community as a successful immigration story that may be expanded or repeated to help Nova Scotia develop a more successful immigration record in the future.

The Shambhala Buddhist Immigrants

A Nova Scotia Success Story?

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Are some immigrant communities more "successful" than others? If the focus is on retention, integration and contributing to the community, then one could easily argue that the Shambhala Buddhist community in Nova Scotia offers an example of an immigrant community displaying significant success.

To examine this question, my research study surveyed the Halifax Shambhala Buddhist community and issues of their immigration, largely from the United States, to Halifax. Because the community is non-native born and began as an entirely immigrant population, it presents a unique and useful site for examining the layers of immigrant policy and practice in the province of Nova Scotia.

Understanding the attraction, integration and retention of these immigrants might help local policy-makers better understand the ways and means of facilitating successful immigrations in the future. The Buddhist community is a religious community, but this pilot study focused more on the general community as a successful immigration story that may be expanded or repeated to help Nova Scotia develop a more successful immigration record in the future. In the end, while their religious background and beliefs are what unite them as a community, other issues arose as equally important in their long-term welfare in Nova Scotia.

The results of the study show that the Shambhala community presence in Halifax and throughout Nova Scotia has helped encourage and hold on to hundreds of additional immigrants over the last 20 years. Community ties enabled many to find housing, work and a social outlet quickly upon arriving in the province. In addition, the integration of many Shambhala members into the Halifax education, business and social sectors means that newcomers find broad and deep connections more quickly than if they were attempting to navigate the waters on their own, or if the community was more insular and did not have the level of integration the Shambhala community exhibits.

Research methods

Individual interviews and literature analysis make up the bulk of this study. I interviewed long-term members of the community who are immigrants to Halifax. Typically the interview process lasted from one to two hours. The goal was to assess:

- Whether the Shambhala Buddhist community constitutes a unique, successful immigrant community in Nova Scotia;

- To what extent the presence of the nascent community of the early 1980s facilitated the immigration of other members of the community;
- Whether an expanded study would be warranted to better understand key features of immigrant populations to Nova Scotia in general. Sixteen individuals were interviewed for this study.

Fifteen of the interviewees were born as American citizens, and one was a native Australian. Four of the individuals immigrated to Nova Scotia, settled, raised their families, had careers, then chose to leave the country and moved to New York. One recently decided to retire and moved to Vermont. The remaining 11 continue to live and work in Halifax.

The literature analysis focused primarily on media reports specifically about the Shambhala immigrant population. Local and national news has often tried to shed light on this enigmatic community. In addition, prominent Canadian journalist Ron Graham's manuscript about religion in Canada (*God's Dominion*, 1990) includes an entire chapter on the Shambhala community.

The community

The Shambhala Buddhist immigrant community of Nova Scotia is an enigma in the realm of immigrant communities, but one that has indelibly impacted Halifax itself and Nova Scotia at large.

In 1974, Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, a former Tibetan monk and a teacher who brought Tibetan Buddhism to the West, was with about 150 of his devoted students at a retreat centre. He was teaching Buddhism, and the spiritual-seeking, counter-culture mood of the times made young Americans ripe for his message. At the end of the retreat Trungpa Rinpoche, an unconventional Buddhist teacher, announced that he wanted to move the international headquarters of his Buddhist community, then called Vajradhatu, out of the United States. The headquarters were located in Boulder, Colorado, at the time, where there were around 1,000 members in the Buddhist community. To some, the community was strong and thriving, but Trungpa Rinpoche felt that the possibility of increased polarization and tension within American society was great and that groups like his, which weren't part of the mainstream, would end up becoming the target of unwarranted criticism and prejudice. He was interested in finding a location close to the United States that had a sense of decency and openness. More important, Trungpa Rinpoche was quite certain that the community should be headquartered in an area with a slower pace of life and less economic activity rather than an area steeped in the powerful consumerism so prevalent in much of the United States. He was equally committed to the community making a positive local impact wherever they ended up. Martin Janowitz, at the time a political hippie, was at this fateful retreat. Five years earlier Janowitz had visited Nova Scotia during his back-to-the-land phase with the idea of perhaps buying land. The vision that Trungpa Rinpoche was describing to his students reminded Janowitz of his trip to Nova Scotia so he jokingly suggested Nova Scotia to Rinpoche. By the end of the retreat, Trungpa Rinpoche, who had never been to Nova Scotia but who had earlier established his first retreat centre outside of Tibet in Scotland, announced that Nova Scotia would be the site of the group's new international headquarters.

It wasn't until 1977 that Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche finally visited Nova Scotia. He was accompanied by several members of the community as they toured the province for over a week, making a memorable stop in Wolfville during the Apple Blossom Festival where Trungpa Rinpoche met and was photographed with the Apple Blossom Festival princess. It was cold and rainy throughout most of the visit but even before the end, Rinpoche was certain that this was where the community belonged. He fell deeply in love with Nova Scotia, both physically and with the sense he had of the people, and moved to a farm in Falmouth with his wife in 1982.

Up until 1983, only about 50 Buddhists moved from the United States to Halifax. Those who arrived early described the situation as relatively simple to navigate. While they had to describe what kind of work they were going to do and what kinds of qualifications they had, most report that it was easy to come and to stay in terms of gaining legal access and rights to residency and eventually becoming landed immigrants. The difficulty often came later in learning the ins and outs of adjusting to life in a new country and city. In a 1988 copy of *The Banner*, a community publication of the Shambhala Centre, there was a section entitled "Halifacts." In this section members are told that there is a "welcome packet" for newcomers and that it includes helpful things

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such a city map, the Halifax Visitor's Guide, a community directory (with addresses and phone numbers of all Shambhala Centre community members in Nova Scotia), a list of community members in their neighbourhood, health care referrals, a calendar of events and a "Helpful Hint" list. *The Banner* continued to encourage members to suggest additional information to be included that would be useful for newcomers to Halifax. In May of 1988 there was an ad in *The Banner* for "Sangha in Transition Services" ("sangha" meaning a member of the Buddhist community). The ad offered "skill analysis, deciphering job categories, resume help, business plans, research into job markets, schools, business ideas, networking and general errands in Halifax" for $20 an hour. While this is not done as formally today, the community still tries to help and provide support to new immigrants. This might include aid with finding housing, information about schools, providing childcare for newly arrived members and, of course, providing business ties.

The community has continued to grow over the last 20 years both through continued immigration and local Nova Scotians joining the Shambhala Centres in Halifax, the South Shore, Dartmouth and St. Margaret's Bay. There is also a Monastery of the Kagyu Buddhist lineage in Pleasant Bay, Cape Breton, that was established by Trungpa Rinpoche that trains nuns and monks in the Buddhist tradition and where people of all ages go for extended retreats. The Shambhala Centre in Halifax has over 450 dues-paying members and a public mailing list of 4000 people. This is not surprising given that Buddhism was the fastest growing religion in Canada from 1981 to 1991, increasing 243% to an estimated 300,000 members overall. While the first Buddhist temple was founded in Vancouver in 1905, Halifax boasts the largest non-Asian Buddhist community in the world. The centre hosts many events throughout the year that bring together its own community members as well as other people in and around Halifax. Two of the most popular events are the Harvest of Peace in September and Children's Day in December. Perhaps most popular among the local population has been the Shambhala Training program developed by Trungpa Rinpoche and offered at Shambhala Centre throughout the world. This program teaches the core essence of Buddhist meditation and philosophy stripped of its religious trappings. It's the secular path for Jews, Catholics, Protestants and Atheists alike who are interested in meditation and learning how to enhance their lives and their community through applying these basic, but profound, principles.

The community also opened a non-religious school – the Shambhala School – in 1993. Today the school continues to thrive and 130 students from primary through grade 12 attend. Class size is limited to 18 and, while the school was developed by Shambhala Buddhists, most of the students are from non-Shambhala families. Interviews with parents of children attending the school reveal that the parents were drawn to the school because of its intimate size, respect for diversity at all levels and quality teaching, not by the name "Shambhala."

The community has a few key components that make it stand apart from other immigrant populations. First, the entire idea surrounding their immigration was to be in Nova Scotia, not to come to Nova Scotia to land, gain Canadian citizenship, earn some money and then move as soon as possible to Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver. The idea behind Chögyam Trungpa's decision that this would be the headquarters of Shambhala International meant that this province was where he saw the community moving, living, thriving and, most importantly, integrating. It was never intended that the Shambhala community members be insular or remain apart from the rest of Nova Scotians – though that has surely happened at various times and for various reasons. But for the most part, one of the striking features of the community is that you can't quite locate it save for the Shambhala Centre on Tower Road. The community members live scattered across Halifax, Dartmouth and throughout

the province. A meditation centre opened in St. Margaret's Bay because of the growing community there, many were people who immigrated from the States, and many others who were local and were introduced to the Shambhala meditation teachings through visits to the Halifax centre. Cathy Jones, of CBC's *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, was one of the locals who became a member. In a 1995 interview on CBC, Jones said that she had been going to Shambhala Training and "met some fantastic personalities" inspiring her to move to Halifax "partially because of the community" (CBC Feb 2, 1995). Jones still resides in Halifax and participates in many activities at the Halifax Shambhala Centre with her daughters, one of whom was recently married in a ceremony at the centre.

Contributing factors in the community's success

All of the individuals interviewed expressed the primary inspiration for immigrating to Nova Scotia as being the suggestion by their teacher, Chögyam Trungpa. None would have moved to Nova Scotia if Trungpa Rinpoche had not moved the group's headquarters; however, most of the individuals expressed concern over politics and policies in the United States that helped "push" them to further seriously consider immigrating to Canada. One of the dominant push factors was the military history of the United States and the understanding that Canada hadn't used a draft and hadn't been heavily involved in any military action [since World War II]. Being Buddhist contributed to their strong belief in pacifism, but most argued that before being Buddhists they were peace-loving hippies who were strongly opposed to the aggressive defence system of the United States. The idea of moving to a country that was less inclined toward military invasion due to its role as a peaceful rather than a policing nation was inspiring to all interviewees, especially men.

Economic analysis

The Buddhist community is also mainly middle class, bringing a new affluence to the idea of "immigrant." That isn't to say that many don't struggle when they arrive, working jobs outside of their field of training (as far too many immigrants in the province do), scraping together money to replace household items, cars, etc. they might have left behind in America. Many arrive feeling very much like an "immigrant" – experiencing culture shock and many of the trappings that other immigrants might experience. True, navigating the system isn't that different from being in the United States, and sometimes brings about pleasant surprises, such as the child tax benefits that are unheard of in the United States for any but those on welfare. But because this population is made up of people who chose to immigrate and had to apply as independent immigrants, they are generally very well-educated and have made professional contributions in their country of origin and continue to do so in Nova Scotia. This all follows the edict of Trungpa Rinpoche who had encouraged integration with the local population and the Buddhist teachings that encourage extending oneself to help others.

Many Haligonians would confess that they have bumped into Buddhists in all aspects of their local lives. If you don't know one personally, it's likely you've done business with one, lots of business. Any place you could put your time and money in Halifax is likely occupied by at least one Buddhist. In the annual readers poll of the local weekly newspaper, *The Coast*, Buddhist-owned establishments shine consistently among the top cafes, health food stores, restaurants, the trendiest shops and clothing stores for the past decade. The Shambhala Buddhists have also been teaching at all levels in the city, investing in real estate, starting major engineering companies, managing people's investments, providing counselling and therapy, healing the ill in clinics and hospitals, creating legal practices and starting recycling programs. The Shambhala Buddhists have also been almost entirely responsible for bringing alternative medical practices to Halifax, a thriving community and business sector. No matter how the analysis is done, the bottom line is that the Buddhists have become a force to be reckoned with in the economic and cultural life of the city.

In the end, these factors seem to contribute to the general feeling that, as an immigrant community, the Shambhala Buddhists in Nova Scotia are nothing short of successful.

About the author

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The Canadian Bahá'í community numbers some 33,000 members. Beginning in 1979, many Iranian Bahá'ís came to Canada through an innovative program cooperatively designed by the Government of Canada and the national Bahá'í community. Canada was the first country to welcome Bahá'í refugees in response to severe persecution following the Islamic revolution in Iran.

The Experience of Iranian Bahá'í Refugees in Atlantic Canada

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This article describes the experiences of Iranian Bahá'ís who came to Atlantic Canada in the 1980s as refugees and, unlike the vast majority of non-European immigrants, stayed. The experiences of these immigrants shed light on the challenge of retaining immigrants to the Atlantic provinces. The material comes from an ongoing, in-depth interview study with Iranian Bahá'í refugees who have lived in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island for at least 10 years, and, in most cases, 20.[1] The article provides background and then focuses on the contrast between the welcome participants received from local Bahá'ís and the broader community.

The Bahá'í faith originated in Persia (now Iran) in 1844. Its founders, the Báb (1819-1850) and Bahá'u'lláh (1817-1892), were respectively martyred and exiled and imprisoned. Bahá'ís assert the common foundation of all revealed religions and that there is one God.[2] Although persecution intensified after the Islamic revolution, including widespread arrests and the execution of more than 200 Bahá'ís, they have experienced ongoing persecution that has waxed and waned over the past 150 years (Dosa 2004).

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A relatively small number of Persian Bahá'ís have come to live in Atlantic Canada since 1984. Although figures are hard to come by, perhaps some 200 Persians initially settled in Atlantic Canada, the majority of whom have since left the region. While some came directly from Iran, most came from Pakistan, Malaysia, Oman, India and other countries to which they had escaped or where they were unable to secure their Iranian passport.

Brief literature review

There are a handful of studies about the experiences of Persian Bahá'ís in North America. They indicate that their adjustment and integration has proceeded more successfully than that of other Iranians, such as those in Los Angeles (Bozorgmehr 1992). In Vancouver, Bahá'ís "presented moral cosmopolitanism as a

[1] This study was funded by a grant from Atlantic Metropolis Centre and the Canada Research Chair program.

[2] For more information on Bahá'í teachings, see www.Bahai.org.

[3] Often, Iranian Bahá'ís refer to themselves as "Persian Bahá'ís," perhaps to highlight the culture rather the politics of Iranian society. Bahá'ís, whether Iranian or not, are politically non-partisan; they are the well-wishers of government.

constitutive component of belonging to a world community...a concept that embodies the notions of unity, diversity and the oneness of humanity, central teachings of the Bahá'í faith" (Swanton 2005:32-33). Researchers have found similar situations in Australia (Feather et al. 1992).

Very few studies have explored the experiences of non-European immigrants in Atlantic Canada. Although Atlantic Canada has a strong interest in attracting and retaining immigrants, it has a much lower rate of retention than larger centres (Houle 2007). Until recently, the population of Atlantic Canada has had little experience welcoming immigrants who do not come from England, Scotland or Ireland, and, as Radford (2007: 50) has commented, almost no work has been done regarding the "experiences of newcomers" in communities that have previously not had "immigrant or visible minority populations."

The Persian Bahá'ís of Atlantic Canada provide a unique situation because, although they did not have an in-place ethnic group in which to embed themselves, they were greeted by an eager local community of co-religionists made up of Canadians. Gilad's (1990: 238) ethnography of refugees from a variety of ethnic backgrounds who settled in Newfoundland describes the integration of Iranian Bahá'ís into the community as "somewhat astounding." She notes that they "quickly prove an asset to the [Bahá'í] community."

This article explores two dimensions of experiences of the Iranian Bahá'í newcomers' in Atlantic Canada: their reception from Canadian Bahá'ís and the strategies they used to overcome the prejudice they faced in the host society.

First contact with Canadian Bahá'ís

When the Persian refugees arrived in Canada, they had little idea of what to expect, and what they knew was more relevant to large cities. For example, this couple who arrived in Canada as newlyweds at the age of 20 flew into Halifax and then came to Fredericton by train:

> There were no tall buildings....I thought we were going to a place like New York...nothing but trees...coming from a country that's got 68 million people...people everywhere. Here, there's nobody on the streets in the wintertime.

The culture in Canada was unfamiliar. Two significant differences were the timing of meals and the lack of an element of Persian culture called *tarof*.[4]

> Supper is very early in Canada....[At] lunch time, P. called....Just soup or some bread....This is lunch?....And around 4:30, 5:00, she announced supper was ready. We couldn't believe that....We had very much Persian *tarof* ....Sometimes we missed the supper or lunch because we said, "no thank you" [laughter]. And later on, they found out [about] *tarof*...and they tried to learn our culture.

The first Persian Bahá'ís to arrive did not know anyone. Many came in the dead of winter. Three things about their arrival stand out: first, the local Bahá'ís met them at the airport or train station; second, the Bahá'ís treated them like family; third, the host Bahá'í communities let the newcomers know that they were very important to them. Gilad (1990: 121) reports a similar welcome extended to Persian refugees by the Bahá'ís of Newfoundland. She notes that immigrants reported "sharing a happy reunion [with local Bahá'ís] even though they had not met before."

When the newcomers landed, they did not expect to be met by the local Bahá'ís. M. recalled:

> When we came to the train station...all the Bahá'ís were [there]....Very exciting time, and [they] took my wife, took my luggage, took myself, and I'm thinking, "Wow! Where are we going?"...We stayed at B.'s house for two months....I felt that being a Bahá'í was the most incredible thing in life, because I knew nobody.

His wife, still moved to tears by the memory 20 years later, described it this way:

> First arrived....I saw the big banners reading "Bahá'ís"...all kinds of faces...all white and blonde....We were thinking that one...person would come see us at the train station, but not the entire [Bahá'í] community....It was just overwhelming.

[4] *Tarof* is a component of Persian etiquette whereby the guest refuses offers of food three times before accepting. Many immigrants found that when they said, "no, thank you," the host did not continue to offer the food, and they missed many meals that way. These experiences have come to represent cherished memories shared by the newcomers and host Bahá'ís.

The ties between the Persian Bahá'ís and the families with whom they stayed, often for several months, remain strong: "They didn't have any idea who I was, but they accepted me with open arms. And we became almost like a family....We still feel like a family."

Many refugees arrived without appropriate winter clothing. The local Bahá'ís brought appropriate clothing with which to welcome them:

> Ten years in India...we had no winter clothes, nothing. I had slippers and a sari...The second of February and snow up to here....And [they] brought some jackets and coats and boots...to the airport.

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The local Bahá'í communities were very excited to greet members of their faith who had come from their faith's birthplace. The greeting was not an act of charity, but rather one of welcoming people who were valuable to the community and would be given an opportunity to become actively involved immediately. One man remembers that as soon as he arrived in a small town in Nova Scotia, he was told that he was a member of the local governing board which, at the time, was in need of a ninth member.[5] A woman explained that the Bahá'ís communicated the newcomer's importance by taking turns accompanying her to arrange paperwork and look for apartments and jobs. She commented, "There were times...you just feel lonely...far from your family. But thinking...you have a family here, which helped a lot."

Encountering the broader society

The larger society offers a contrasting image of how the Persian Bahá'í refugees were received. They noted that the broader community demonstrated prejudice, fear of people who are "dark" and an unwillingness to include newcomers in their social lives.

These reactions were immediately obvious in the unwillingness of employers to hire people who looked and sounded different:

> It's what motivates the idea of saying, "No, I can't hire you. Sorry....We'd rather have someone who is white, speaks with the same accents...and has the qualifications...." That's what they think.

One person reported that he was asked if he had Canadian experience even when he applied for a job as a dishwasher. He informed his potential employer that people used dishes in Iran as well as in Canada and was hired. Prejudice can be subtle, but its effects are quite visible:

> It was really hard to get a job. And everybody was fearful: "Is this guy a good guy to work for me and is he going to be able to talk in a [way] that I can understand? Is he going to drive my customers away?"

Getting a job was hard enough, but promotions and recognition were also hard to come by. One woman reported being passed over repeatedly for promotion to manager of her store even though she was the top salesperson. Another Bahá'í, who had risen to the position of Director of a Federal Government department, recounted the experience of being ignored by someone who had come from Ottawa to interview this supervisor about her job. The interviewer could not seem to grasp that it was the immigrant who was the supervisor and the Canadian, the assistant: "I was just the third person, just simply watching and I couldn't say anything. What could I say?....As far as I do my job and the Government is happy, I'm happy."

Skin colour, in the words of Everett C. Hughes, had become the master status in many of the refugees' relationships.

These Bahá'ís also found it challenging to be included socially:

> You know, you're either white Canadian people or you were not part of them. So, it was kind of hard to break into. We are living here for almost about 14 years...when we are outside in

[5] When there are nine adult members in a local area, the community elects a local spiritual assembly to administer its affairs.

the summertime...they say "Hi." But for inviting or if we invite them, they don't come.

The Persian refugees dealt with prejudice in several ways, some of which were quite creative. For example, some interpreted their experiences of prejudice as individual problems rather than representative of the whole society: "You find odd people that are prejudiced, but you cannot really say that [about] the entire city or entire town."

Not personalizing the problem is the flip side of the coin. One Persian Bahá'í shared the following: "You know, it's very obvious, it's very obvious....I don't [take it] personally....Even after 100 years...I am immigrant. You know, I have to accept that."

One refugee neutralized his feelings by explaining that, given the circumstances in the world, no one should be blamed for being afraid of strangers, especially those with dark skins, and opining that fear results from ignorance.

In the same light, one person tactfully described Maritimers as "a very reserved community." Another Persian simply talks about the fact that Maritime culture is "different:" Persian culture requires one to be hospitable, and he analyzed the experience of not being invited into people's homes as simply a difference between cultures:

> I love talking to the people [in the neighbourhood]...really nice people....Our neighbours [in Iran] we can talk, and we can go to their house, but here, no. Maybe you can talk on the street, just few minutes and say "hi" or "bye" like this. You know, maybe their culture is different.

The contrast between the openness of the Bahá'ís with the reserve of other Maritimers is striking:

> Especially in a small places like P.E.I., they are [all] related....They all know each other. They don't see anybody outside the family. And that's why, seeing somebody outside the family, and especially different colour, different colour of hair, different colour the face....Maybe protecting themselves....Look at us, we're Bahá'ís, we never met each other but we, so lovingly, kindly, sitting and talking, and we came, they [had] never met us...and they sent [people] to airport to receive a stranger, a stranger from Iran....They came to receive us....But we have to start somewhere. The sooner we start, the sooner we reach that goal.

The Persian refugees took preventative measures to address prejudices they experienced. It is striking that they took responsibility for the way others reacted to them. Take the example of a professional photographer's decision not to carry a camera case on a city bus:

> I had a problem about two, three days ago. I had my camera case in my hand, trying to catch a bus to go to work. And I felt that people were looking at me like, "is this bus going to blow up?"...You don't know what people are thinking. They're just nervous...with what's going on today....The world is not that safe a place right now, unfortunately, but being dark.

In addition to being more friendly than usual, he decided to go empty-handed when he takes the bus.

When a neighbour mentioned to an Iranian woman that "people think that you have a rifle in your basement," she decided to take the creative route. She invited her neighbour to visit and gave her a tour of the whole house including, "coincidentally," her basement. She commented, "...and now they are very, very friendly."

At other times, their strategy is more formal. The same woman said:

> It was actually my suggestion to just send somebody to the schools and have a presentation about newcomers, about refugees and about colour and other societies. I went once myself to one school and spoke about the refugees because [the children] had some problems...and I use the example...that in the garden, if you have two different colours of roses, it's beautiful, and they loved it.

The interviews are remarkable for the lack of anger and even disappointment among the Persian Bahá'ís. One Bahá'í thought that the relentless persecution of the Bahá'ís in Iran had somehow made the prejudice experienced in Canada a rather mild matter, resulting from a lack of education:

> [I am] used to people being prejudiced. So, I mean, it's great that we came to Canada. We came to Canada, and you don't see as much prejudice [as] we used to see back home. And then [it's just] one or two people that we see. It's not that bad. You know, and obviously we really think they are not educated, obviously.

Conclusion

The contrast between the welcome the Bahá'í refugees received from local Bahá'ís and the wider community is striking. The warmth of the local Bahá'ís' greeting sheds a light on the social distance that the refugees experienced in the wider community. Most non-European immigrants do not have a significant community in the Maritimes to which they automatically belong – ethnic or otherwise. Thus, they are unlikely to remain in a region of the country where the local residents are unable or unwilling to integrate them into the mainstream of daily life. In addition, it is likely that Atlantic Canadians are often unaware of this problem. We often hear that we need more programs for newcomers to help them adapt to the way of life in Canada. However, it is clear that Atlantic Canadians will need to find a way to more authentically, warmly and helpfully welcome non-European immigrants in a more authentic, warm and helpful way, both to avoid a secondary migration from the Atlantic provinces by these immigrants and to avoid their social isolation if they do stay.

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A significant proportion of individuals who chose to practice in N.L. did not receive an orientation in any of the locations in which they worked. However, those who did receive an orientation were much more likely to continue to practice in N.L. A good orientation program for new physicians would appear to be an excellent investment in terms of encouraging better physician retention.

Provisionally Licensed International Medical Graduates

Recruitment and Retention in Newfoundland and Labrador*

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To a large extent, immigration to Canada means locating in one of the major urban centres (particularly, Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal and Ottawa). Typically this is where a newcomer to Canada will find the best employment opportunities. Furthermore, there are often well established ethnic networks that help new immigrants get settled. However, for physicians and particularly those who practice family medicine, the likely destination for a first job is a rural and often remote community.

This article describes the experience of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (N.L.) with international medical graduates (IMGs), covering the recruitment and retention of physicians and summarizing the results of a survey of 1,160 physicians who practiced in the province over the period 1995 to 2004. Conclusions from the summary may provide useful information to improve future recruitment and retention practices.

The practice of medicine in each province is governed by a provincial college of physicians who award licenses to individuals with suitable qualifications. The most common qualification is being a fellow of a Canadian College of Physicians, such as the College of Family Physicians of Canada (CFPC). Typically, entry into a Canadian College requires the successful completion of a series of examinations and some time in practice in Canada. For the CFPC, two years of practice in Canada is required for entry. All provincial colleges allow individuals to practice without membership in a Canadian College; however, they are awarded a "provisional" license (rather than a "full" or "regular" license). Most physicians who practice under provisional license are graduates from a medical school and have practiced medicine outside of Canada. Physicians who were trained outside of Canada are generally referred to as International Medical Graduates (IMGs).

* This article is an overview of two major research projects. The authors would like to acknowledge Service Canada, the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Health and Community Services, the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Human Resources and Education, the Metropolis Atlantic Centre (Economics Domain), The Memorial University Faculty of Medicine and an anonymous donor. We are grateful to the N.L. College of Physicians and Surgeons for providing data and to Scarlett Hann for regular advice. We are also grateful to Sara Heath, Amanda Ross and Hillary Winter for excellent research assistance.

The provision of health services in Canada is, by and large, coordinated through an individual's family physician (or general practitioner). Recent evidence (e.g. Sullivan 2006) demonstrates that fewer and fewer medical school graduates are choosing family practice as their choice of residency. Those who do choose family practice tend to be much more likely to prefer living in urban areas. This makes the provision of primary health care particularly difficult in rural and remote communities. Increasingly, rural and remote communities are turning to International Medical Graduates (IMGs) to fill the void.

Audas, Ross and Vardy (2005, 2006) examine the use of provisionally licensed IMGs (PLIMGs) in the delivery of medical services across Canadian provinces and find that the patterns differ considerably. Some provinces make very little use of PLIMGs (such as Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick) while others, notably Saskatchewan and Newfoundland and Labrador, rely heavily on them.

Figure 1 shows how the use of PLIMGs varies across provinces.

As Figure 1 highlights, PLIMGs make up a greater proportion of the physician workforce in N.L., compared with any other Canadian province. As will be described below, this creates a challenge for communities because PLIMGs tend to stay in N.L. for a relatively short period of time, requiring communities to put forth an ongoing recruitment effort that is costly and disruptive to them.

Physicians practicing under provisional license in Newfoundland and Labrador

Many communities in N.L. have difficulty retaining physicians, and PLIMGs play a critical role in providing primary health care in these communities. Typically, the communities that struggle to attract and retain physicians are rural, remote and often economically depressed. Since they serve relatively small populations, they are not viable locations for a fee-for-service practice, and, as such, most physicians practicing in these communities are paid on a salary basis.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that a significant proportion of the PLIMGs practicing in N.L. tend to remain in the province only until they successfully complete their licensing exams, before leaving for a potentially more lucrative practice in a wealthier province. This has created something of a revolving door in many communities with physicians staying only long

FIGURE 1
Canadian physician workforce

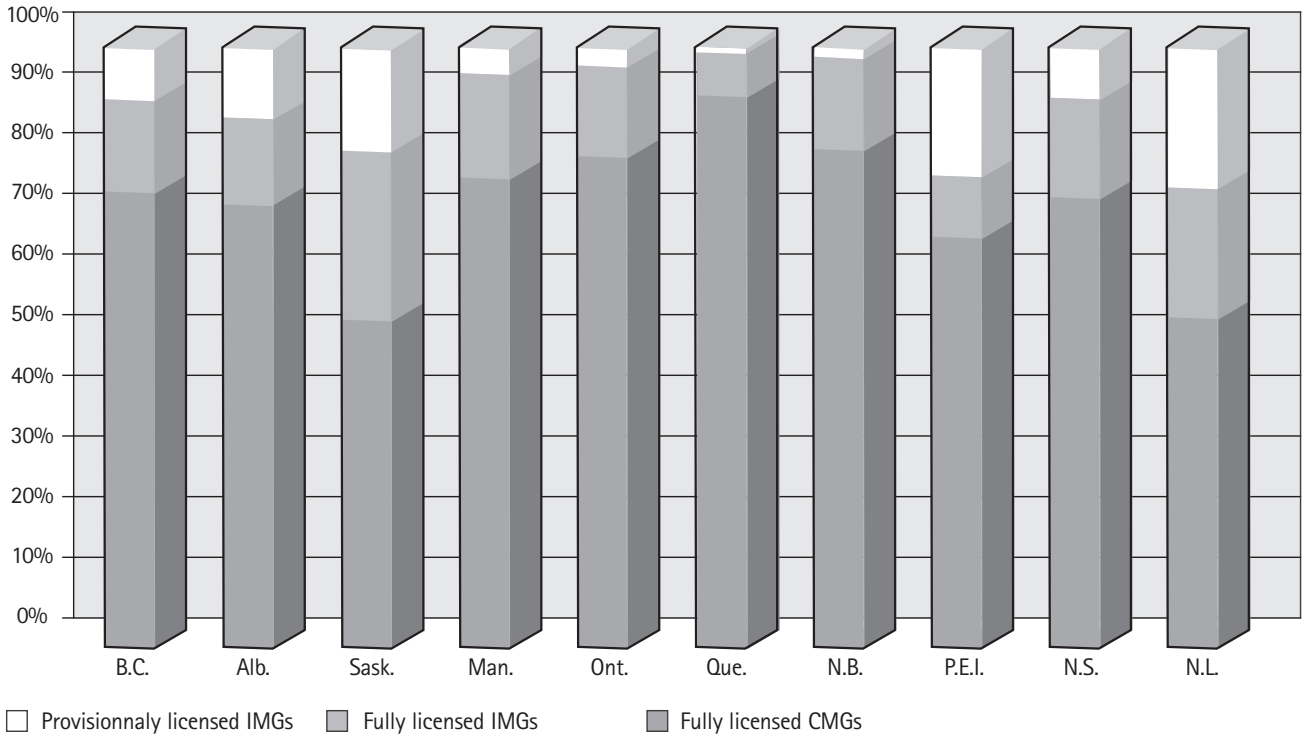
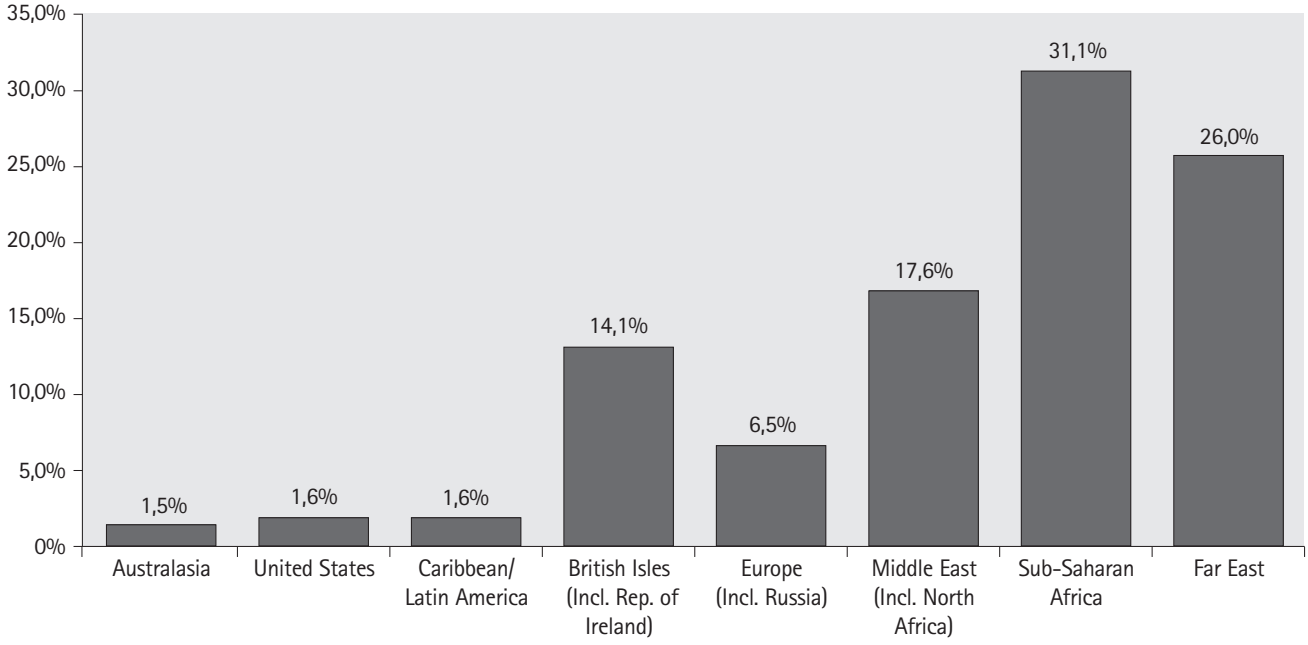


FIGURE 2
Provisionnaly licensed IMGs by region of study



enough to obtain entry into a Canadian college, then departing. It has also been suggested that some PLIMGs do not successfully complete their exams after two years, yet remain in practice in N.L. The concern is that rural Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are facing an unfair situation, one with high physician turnover and potentially having care providers who have not successfully met Canadian licensing standards.

In N.L., physicians practicing under provisional license are largely unrestricted in their practice – they fill an important shortage, and, without them, many communities would have no immediately accessible physician. As part of their employment contracts, the physicians are normally given time to prepare for their College exams. After two years of practice and successful completion of College exams, many PLIMGs (who would now be eligible for a full license in any Canadian province) relocate.

N.L. has a long history of using IMGs, although the origins of IMGs have changed dramatically over the past two decades. Previously, IMGs practicing in N.L. generally came from the British Isles; however, increasingly, they are coming from developing countries. Figure 2 breaks down the country of origin of PLIMGs practicing in N.L. from 1995 to 2004.

Figure 2 indicates that more than 57% of the PLIMGS came from sub-Saharan Africa (mainly South Africa) and the Far East (mainly India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). A relatively small proportion came from the Americas and Europe.

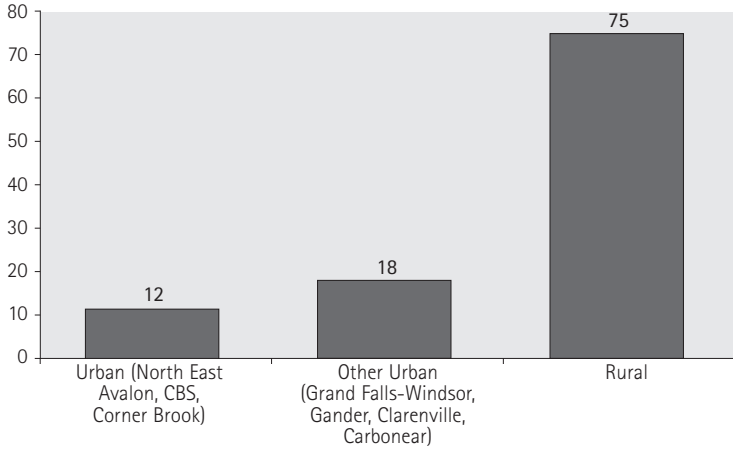
Figures 3 and 4 detail the current situation with PLIMG utilization in N.L.

Figure 3 shows that the PLIMGs practicing family medicine in N.L. tend to be much more likely to be concentrated in rural locations. As of June 2007, out of a total of 105 PLIMGs practicing as family physicians in the province, 93 were outside the main urban centres of St. John's/Conception Bay South and Corner Brook.

Figure 4 shows the overall pattern of PLIMG utilization year on year, with the clear trend being an increased reliance on immigrant doctors to provide medical services in the province. Audas, Ryan and Vardy (2007) show that the retention rates of PLIMGs is very low, with only one in five staying in the province longer than five years. Replacing physicians is costly and tends to result in lower satisfaction as patients are unable to build up a long-term rapport with their family doctor.

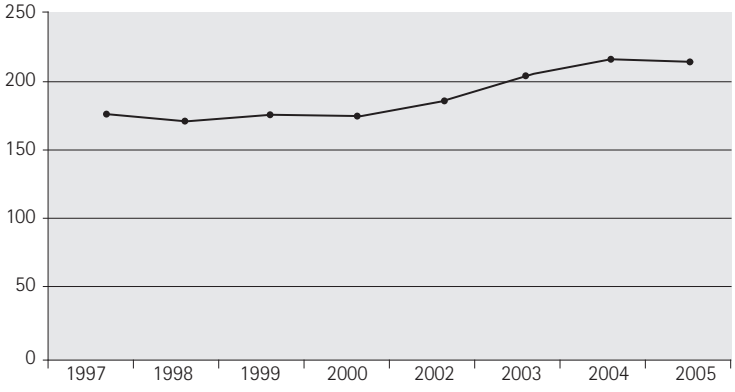
One way in which this issue could be redressed is by improving retention of IMGs who practice in N.L. under provisional license. To examine ways in which this could be done, we conducted a survey of PLIMGs who practiced in this province between 1995 and 2004. There are two

FIGURE 3
Provisionnally licensed IMGs in NL
Number of provisionnally licensed IMGs (PLIMGs)



Source: NL College of Physicians and Surgeons, Search by General Practice, N=530; as of June 2007

FIGURE 4
Registration of provisionally licensed international medical graduates (PLIMGs) in Newfoundland and Labrador
Total PLIMGs, by year



fundamental ways in which we see better retention being achieved. The first is through making a better initial match between the physician's background and the location where they practice. The second is by the province, health authorities and communities doing a better job creating the conditions that would promote retention. Again, anecdotal evidence suggests that many IMGs choose N.L. because there is an availability of jobs and a willingness to let physicians practice under provisional license.

The survey was designed to help find avenues to improve retention. With permission from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Newfoundland and Labrador, data were obtained for all physicians who practiced under a provisional license within the province during the years 1995 through 2004. The questionnaire used in the survey and the assessment of the full survey results are described in our 2007 article on the Harris Centre website at www.mun.ca/harriscentre.

Survey findings

We received responses from 200 physicians, 52 of whom were still practicing in N.L. and 148 of whom have relocated to other parts of Canada. We have separated responses for those who are currently practicing in N.L. and those who are practicing in other parts of Canada. The broad objective is to identify characteristics that are most associated with the decision to remain in, or migrate from, N.L.

The age distribution of respondents does not reveal any striking differences in terms of those who stay and those who leave N.L., although it appears that those who remain tend to be more likely to be at the extremes of the age distribution (either less than 40 or 50+). There is evidence suggesting that as physicians' children reach their teen years there is a tendency to move to more urban locations to provide more opportunities for their children (e.g. a greater variety of extra-curricular activities that may be unavailable in more rural and remote communities).

The vast majority of PLIMGs are male, with a slightly higher proportion of males choosing to remain in N.L., compared with females who practice in N.L. This is in contrast to the current trends among Canadian medical graduates, the majority of whom are female with females also being more likely more likely to practice family medicine (Canadian Residency Matching Service 2007).

The vast majority (88%) of PLIMGs come from medium (50,000 to 500,000) or large cities (Over 500,000). Interestingly, and perhaps counter-intuitively, those staying in N.L. tend to be more likely (94.2%) to come from medium to large cities compared with those who left the province (83.1%). The evidence does not support the conventional wisdom that those who come from large cities tend to be more likely to wish to practice in similarly urban communities.

PLIMGs practicing in N.L. tend to be married, although those who were single before coming to the province tended to be more likely to remain here. There is evidence that one of the main concerns of physicians practicing in rural

N.L. is that there are inadequate opportunities for their spouses to pursue their careers, suggesting that a subsequent move to a more urban community is driven by a lack of employment opportunities for their spouses (see Mathews and Mayo 2006).

The issue of lifestyle marked a significant contrast between those who decided to remain in the province and those who migrated, with 20% of all PLIMGs reporting that the lifestyle in this province appealed to them. Those who remained in the province were 2.5 times more likely to indicate that the lifestyle appealed to them than those who had not selected lifestyle.

We asked how many had undertaken a site visit prior to making their decision to relocate to N.L. Few PLIMGs reported that the decision was driven by a positive impression based on a site visit.

Very few PLIMGs choose to practice in N.L. for monetary reasons. However, those who did were almost twice as likely to migrate. This is not surprising, since those who are motivated to practice here for financial reasons would be more likely to be enticed away by practice opportunities (in Canada or elsewhere) that can offer greater financial rewards.

The most common reason why PLIMGs chose to practice in N.L. was the opportunity to become fully licensed. There is a striking difference between those who remained in N.L. and those who relocated out of the province, with those who left being far more likely to indicate that the opportunity to become licensed was a primary reason for choosing to practice in N.L.

Relatively few respondents indicated that career opportunities for spouses were a significant factor in their decision to practice here. However, individuals who identified this as an important reason for their decision to practice here were 2.5 times more likely to remain here. This suggests that in those situations where good opportunities are available to the PLIMG's spouse, the likelihood of retention is much greater.

The majority of physicians practicing in the province tended to bring their families with them when they began their practice here; those who did were slightly more likely to move to other parts of Canada than those who did not.

A significant proportion of individuals who chose to practice in N.L. did not receive an orientation in any of the locations in which they worked. However, those who did receive an orientation were much more likely to continue to practice in N.L. A good orientation program for new physicians would appear to be an excellent investment in terms of encouraging better physician retention.

Most of those receiving orientation did get exposure to the facilities, rules and requirements. Furthermore, those receiving this exposure are more likely to continue to practice in N.L. This supports the evidence that a good orientation to how medical practice works in N.L. should help improve retention.

Those who were oriented to CME and other personal learning needs were more likely to remain in N.L., suggesting a role for CME in terms of promoting physician retention.

Relatively few physicians had problems with the licensing or immigration process; however, those who did were more likely to remain in N.L. This may be a result of fatigue with the licensing and immigration process or it may suggest that those who had difficulties were more likely to have difficulty subsequently relocating within Canada.

Few individuals reported that children's involvement in extra-curricular activities helped build their community network. However, those who did were more likely to relocate. This, perhaps, reflects the anecdotal evidence described earlier, whereby physicians with children entering their teen years are more likely to subsequently migrate to allow their children a wider range of extra-curricular activities.

The most common reason indicated for leaving was dissatisfaction with pay. It should be noted that physicians working under provisional licenses are almost always paid a salary and N.L. is the only province to have a significant proportion of its family physicians paid on a salary basis (as opposed to being paid based on a fee-for-service basis). Physicians who relocate would undoubtedly convert to fee-for-service and would have the opportunity to increase their earnings, albeit with a higher workload.

The next most common reasons indicated for relocation were dissatisfaction with social networks and the desire to live in a community with individuals of a similar cultural background to their own.

It appears that the relocation of physicians out of the province is part of the larger trend towards increasing urbanization in Canada, with 80% of those migrating from N.L. residing in medium or large cities.

Conclusion

Perhaps not surprisingly, the survey results do not reveal any single dominant factor associated with the decision to stay in N.L. or to relocate to practice elsewhere.

Physicians who remained in N.L. tend to come from larger cities and tend to be single and male. They also tend to be either relatively young or more senior, suggesting that recruitment targeted towards these demographic groups could result in better initial matches in order to encourage retention.

In terms of practices, a good orientation program (and perhaps additional orientation for spouses) is likely to encourage retention. While there was no overwhelming reason provided for relocating out of the province, the most cited reason was dissatisfaction with pay. Furthermore, a sizeable number of individuals reported being dissatisfied with their social networks, and a similarly sizeable number of individuals reported wanting to have more interaction with individuals from the same cultural background. While very little can be done about the latter, it does suggest that if communities are better able to reach out to PLIMGs, they will improve the likelihood of retention. There also appears to be an increased role for continuing medical education (CME). Many of the individuals practicing in rural and remote communities will undoubtedly feel a sense of social and professional isolation. A more active CME program accompanied by a tailored program to facilitate professional development could help reduce this isolation.

There is some evidence that those who relocate to N.L., because it is relatively easy to sort out immigration and licensing, are more likely subsequently to move. This raises a larger issue about the role of this province in terms of recruiting physicians and subsequently screening them for re-deployment throughout Canada and the incidence of the costs associated with this in comparison with the benefits received to the recruiting province.

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The Canadian population health framework calls for a broader vision of health that extends beyond illness treatment and care regimes. Accordingly, cultural competence should be envisioned beyond the performances in the health care service sector.

A Tri-partied Perspective of Culturally Competent Health Care for Immigrants

An Atlantic Immigrant Outlook*

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In a health care setting, cultural competence is often viewed as a responsibility of the health care provider. As such, the contextualization of cultural competence within a tri-partied perspective of the individual (patient), the health care provider and the service sector (health care system) tends to be seriously overlooked. This is a particularly pertinent issue in Canada, due to the country's stance on human rights, diversity and multiculturalism issues. *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* protects individuals' rights and privileges, and the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* promotes practising religion and cultural rituals while encouraging Canada to become a multicultural mosaic. This differs significantly, for instance, from the American model of a "cultural melting pot." Therefore, meeting the demand of culturally competent care is a far more complex task in Canada than in the United States.

Within Atlantic Canada specifically, the demographic landscape is rapidly becoming more diverse due to an attraction to the region by a large variety of cultural, racial/ethnic and linguistic communities across the globe. Consequently, providing culturally competent health care to ensure equity and justice creates increasing challenges to health care providers. The Atlantic cultural fabric includes Canada's First Nations peoples, Acadians, African Nova Scotians and immigrants from non-English speaking Asian and European countries. Each Atlantic cultural community brings several different religious perspectives, including various Catholic denominations, sectors of Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism, as well as other faiths such as Bahá'í. Language can also be an issue with respect to cultural competence in the Atlantic provinces. In Nova Scotia, for instance, French has long been the second most prominently spoken language after English, although recent demographic landscape shifts have now moved Arabic to second place (Statistics Canada 2007). New Brunswick holds the distinction of being the only bilingual province in Canada. One of the contributing factors for acculturation to the health care system is social capital (Wu 2004). Atlantic cities face greater challenges in acculturating immigrants to the Western health care system due to the social isolation created by having fewer number of immigrants within a cultural group classified by language, race/ethnicity and religion, compared with Canada's urban cities of greater immigrant concentration such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

* Acknowledgment: The author acknowledges Tara Simmonds for providing editorial support for the manuscript.

The task of making the health care system culturally competent requires considerable upstream investment by health care system administrators not only to transmit the cultural knowledge to health care professionals, but also, more broadly, to make necessary changes to the entire health care system.

For the most part, however, the cultural composition of service providers in Atlantic Canada is comprised of English-speaking White Canadians and therefore does not mirror the multicultural composition of the diverse communities living in the region (Statistics Canada 2007). Consequently, non-English, non-European oriented cultures are quite foreign to the majority of health care providers. Drastic differences can exist between cultures: what is acceptable and adored in one culture can be strictly prohibited in another. Consequently, it is essential that health care providers, especially in the Atlantic region, make extra efforts to acquire knowledge about cultural practices that are foreign to them yet pertinent to their patients' health and well-being. This idea is in keeping with scholars such as Kumas-Tan (2007), who argue that being familiar and comfortable with "others" and being confident in oneself" are essential elements of cultural competence.[1]

At the same time, however, I would argue that the task of delivering culturally competent health care needs to be considered as a shared responsibility among care receivers, providers and service systems. An example from the Atlantic region of this need for shared responsibility is the well-publicized case of a New Brunswick teen whose parents refused to allow him to receive a blood transfusion due to their religious beliefs. The boy's doctors intervened and sought court orders to save his life (Catlin 2004). Though the life was saved, it was noted thereafter the parents believe that his body that circulates someone else's blood is no longer "normal." Catlin (2004) recommended two measures to ensure cultural sensitivity. The first is a clinical measure to advance research on non-blood oxygen transport products and the second is a behavioural measure to consult incorporate religious community advisory groups in critical decision-making processes.

This need for shared cultural competency is especially pertinent with respect to patient responsibility. In this article, I argue that in order to receive and deliver optimal culturally competent care, a dual process must be in place. Not only must caregivers gain competence in cultural realms applicable to their patients' care, but patients must also become competent within the Western biomedical culture of treatment and care as part of the process of acculturation. As Anderson (2007) pointed out, cultural competence requires that patients and health care professionals learn from each other. There is currently very little emphasis on acculturating immigrants to the Western clinical and health care practices in settlement and service delivery models. In this article, I provide a brief overview of cultural competence, chiefly from the perspective of Atlantic immigrants from the tri-partied perspectives of systems, caregivers and patients, while bringing in the insights generated elsewhere to fill the necessary gaps. To my knowledge, there are no scholarly publications that specifically address culturally competent care for immigrants in the Atlantic region or elsewhere in Canada, although a project funded by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre on cultural competence in end-of-life care is in its infancy. Herein, I draw upon discussions on several research findings concerning Atlantic immigrants' access to health care that pinpointed the need for culturally sensitive, responsive and competent care. I also discuss directions obtained through community consultations conducted by health governing sectors on making the entire health care system culturally competent.

Culture and cultural competence

Meanings of culture and hence cultural competence are fuzzy and fluid across nations, disciplines and governances. There are subtle differences that exist between the United States and Canada, between nursing and clinical practices, and between social and health governing sectors. For example, in palliative care literature, culture is defined as a system of beliefs and customs that define the identity of a

[1] Herein, "other" means cultures outside of those governed by health professionals' clinical practices.

group of people who are connected to each other (Ekblad 2000). In nursing practice, however, Anderson (2007) argues that culture is a fluid concept that flows from culturally diverse immigrants to the health care providers, and ultimately both groups tend to borrow each other's cultural health practices. Others define culture as an integrated concept that includes "the learned and shared beliefs, values and life ways of a particular designated group" that are generally transmitted intergenerationally and influence one's thinking and actions (Leininger 1985). Campinha-Bacote, Yahle and Langenkamp (1996) identify consciousness and knowledge of, skills in, and encounters with one's culture as being critical components in cultural competence within which Ekblad (2000) considers cultural competence as a process that provides tools of cultural context for health professionals.

Taking these diverse definitions into consideration, we can understand culture here to be a fluid concept that dictates the beliefs, values and behaviours that are unique to a person's heritage. Cultural competence can be understood as the process that enables others to gain knowledge and skills for responding to these unique cultural congruencies. The task of making the health care system culturally competent requires considerable upstream investment by health care system administrators not only to transmit the cultural knowledge to health care professionals, but also, more broadly, to make necessary changes to the entire health care system. This includes empowerment of the immigrant settlement sectors to reduce the cultural and language barriers and to make immigrants competent within the Western biomedical models of care so that equal access is guaranteed.

Perspectives of the service sector

The viewpoint of the service sector is restricted to the systems and professionals responding to the needs of cultural communities. The Nova Scotia Primary Care Initiative defines cultural competence as a set of "congruent behaviours, attitudes and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals that enables the system or professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations" (Cross et. al. 1989, cited in NSDOH 2005). Research-based evidence generated by the author of this article sheds light on the issue of cultural competence from the viewpoints of service providers, mainly NGOs and sectors governing health and immigration. Accordingly, subtle differences exist between notions such as cultural sensitivity and competence and need to be carefully scrutinized because most people struggle with these closely related concepts (Weerasinghe 2005). The idea of cultural sensitivity can be framed as "looking at barriers (and incentives) within the cultural context of an individual's life," whereas cultural competence, in health for example, can be understood as related mostly to "the capability of health care providers to understand those barriers and incentives in delivering appropriate health care" (Weerasinghe 2005). Though "cultural competence as empathy" was viewed as an important concept by Weerasinghe (2006), it was noted that this concept reserves the broad contextualization. I argue that cultural sensitivity and cultural competence can both be framed within a broad framework of cultural knowledge where cultural sensitivity is a leading component of culturally competent care delivery. It was noted that cultural ignorance, or the lack of knowledge about different cultures, is a main factor causing cultural incompetence. However, Weerasinghe (2005) noted "these concepts are transformational and reflect the understanding of the worldview, and exist to pat [contextualization], to assist us and to help us learn from them."

Research carried out by Enang (1999) in Halifax, Nova Scotia, revealed cultural incompetence in the maternal care sector, specifically in relation to postnatal treatment and care. Among the highlights of the findings were the fact that the tone of bandages used and the use of certain skin lotions showed a lack of sensitivity towards those with dark skin tones. A consultation process carried out among immigrants by the Nova Scotia Department of Health (NSDOH 2005) indicated that some of the areas that need improvement in order to make the health care system culturally competent are language and interpretation support services, diverse community representation in the health governing boards, and recognition of spirituality. Interestingly, the inability of the health care system to respond to the special language and cultural needs of refugees and to eradicate racism and discrimination within the system that escalated after the events of September 11th in the United States was viewed as incompetence within the system (NSDOH 2005). The recommendations made therein included development of cultural

The Canadian population health framework calls for a broader vision of health that extends beyond illness treatment and care regimes. Accordingly, cultural competence should be envisioned beyond the performances in the health care service sector.

competence guidelines and a multicultural health policy.

Context of Atlantic immigrants

The Canadian population health framework calls for a broader vision of health that extends beyond illness treatment and care regimes. Accordingly, cultural competence should be envisioned beyond the performances in the health care service sector. Thus, the current understanding of cultural competence needs to include areas of lifestyle behaviours such as dietary practices and physically active living, and then be contextualized in conjunction with acculturation. A study conducted by Shea (2007), provided the perspective of immigrant youths living in St. John's, NL. Shea concluded that the changes to food and physical activity habits of St. John's immigrant youths are highly influenced by their cultural backgrounds and specific cultural referents. In another Newfoundland-based study concerning the dietary acculturation among adult Indian immigrants living in St. John's, 72% of the study participants indicated their food preparation methods were somewhat altered according to Canadian food habits. It was also noted that the immigrants became knowledgeable about the *Canada Food Guide* (Varghese and Moore-Orr 1995). A study conducted among immigrant women living in Prince Edward Island revealed an interconnection between food and culture and immigrants' health (MacKinnon 2000). Therein women talked about being accustomed to Canadian values of personal health practices such as good nutrition and physically active lifestyles. Based on the research findings, MacKinnon (2000) recommended inclusion of cultural contents in clinical practice education for nurses in order to make them culturally competent. Baker (2006) refers to the post-911 issues of cultural danger and cultural risk for Muslim women living in New Brunswick as two of the components that sprouted from cultural incompetence. Research carried out by Weerasinghe (2003) in Halifax, Nova Scotia, pinpointed several areas that need attention to make health care culturally competent for adult immigrant women. Among these areas were facilitation of language and communication needs; curbing the racism and discrimination that exists when accessing health care; accommodating cultural traditions, rituals and customs in hospice care, such as providing culturally responsive hospital gowns, visitation of clergy of one's own religion during palliative care; and the inclusion of different ethno-racial groups in clinical trials (Weerasinghe 2003).

Immigrant women living in Halifax, Nova Scotia, indicated that the health care professionals become responsive when knowledgeable about cultural rituals, customs, traditions and differences (Weerasinghe et al. 2007). As one woman noted:

> [But in short] they are responsive…in Canada, when you tell them something they are really responsive. Yeah, yeah, they just take what you say and respect what you say. But they might act otherwise because they don't know this is offensive to the patient.

Among the limitations noted in the literature from the viewpoint of the immigrants that once eliminated would make the health care system more culturally competent were the systemic barriers such as lack of same-sex nurses available to attend to personal needs and care. There was also evidence of cultural confusion. A prime example involved a female caregiver trying to put shoes on a male patient. She thought that she was respecting him by putting on his shoes, whereas the patient, who resisted her act, thought that by allowing her to put on his shoes he would be showing lack of respect for the caregiver (Weerasinghe 2003).

Perspectives of health care professionals

In this section, I will summarize findings of the research carried out by the author in two different projects that brought forward the perspectives of health care providers. Health care providers who participated in a study on access to health care for immigrant women revealed that Atlantic cities are

far behind in terms of providing interpretation and translation services to immigrants in the health care sector (Weerasinghe et al. 2007). The research was an attempt to learn about different cultures from publications available in other cities. The research also highlighted male caregivers' dominance in clinical decision-making for female patients. For instance, in some Asian cultures, men believe that the babies delivered by Caesarean section are healthier and therefore the men tend to force doctors to perform Caesarean sections even though vaginal deliveries are possible (Weerasinghe 2003). The issue of female genital mutation is one example where culture and the medical legal system clash. The health professionals who participated in this research noted that immigrant women need education on their right to make decisions.

The Western health care system is moving from an illness treatment model to a disease prevention model. It was noted that immigrants were unaware of preventive health practices and there are cultural clashes around self-breast examination, contraceptive use and mammography (Weerasinghe et al. 2007). Going to see a doctor when they are not sick seems to be a strange concept for most of the immigrants. It was noted by health care professionals that most immigrants are unaware of the type of preventive services available and how to access the health care system in general (Weerasinghe et al. 2007).

Recommendations and conclusion

In this article, I attempted to bring forward tri-partied perspectives of providing culturally competent care for immigrants with an emphasis on immigrants living in Atlantic cities. The immigrant perspectives reveal that acculturation to lifestyle behaviours according to Canadian standards are possible. There is a need to make several changes to the entire health care system to provide culturally competent treatment and care starting from the care during birth and delivery all the way to death and palliative care, from issues such as the tone of the bandages to the rituals performed during end-of-life care. The service sector has identified the need to develop cultural competence guidelines and introduce multicultural health policies to make the health care delivery system culturally competent. Health care professionals identified the need for immigrants to become competent on preventive health practices such as screening for cancer and behavioural changes to reduce cardiovascular risk. All three parties have identified accommodating language barriers as an essential component to make the health care system culturally competent. I recommend that cultural competence be an essential component in the education and training of health care professional, but immigrants also need to be acculturated to treatment and preventive care within the Western biomedical system. The vast majority of the work in the areas of access to health care and cultural competence carried out in Nova Scotia has been through scholarly work and government initiatives. However, all of the research carried out on immigrant health in all of the four Atlantic provinces has leaned towards the need for culturally competent care. National comparative studies engaging immigrants, health care professionals and governing bodies are recommended to achieve national standards in providing culturally competent care.

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For all Canadians, regardless of citizenship or immigration status, involvement in sport in Canada is dependent upon personal resources and socio-economic status. In this study, we learned that this is indeed the case for new Canadians, with financial resources playing a key role in either affording or limiting their participation.

"They Just Don't Know Where to Go, What to Do" Connecting Newcomers to Sports and Coaching Opportunities in Atlantic Canada

LORI A. LIVINGSTON, SUSAN C. TIRONE, EMMA L. SMITH and A. JORDAN MILLER
Dalhousie University

Coaches have long been recognized as essential to the existence and quality of the mainstream amateur sporting experience in this country. As evidence of this, consider that in 1969 we saw the Task Force on Sport for Canadians deliver its report to the Minister of National Health and Welfare and in 1970 we saw the subsequent incorporation of the Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). With a mission "to enhance the experiences of all Canadian athletes through quality coaching," CAC moved quickly to develop and introduce the first courses in what is now known as the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) in 1974. Today, to coach mainstream sport at any level in this country, individuals must hold valid NCCP certification. CAC has revamped its programs over time into three streams (i.e. community sport, competition, instruction) while at the same time adhering to nine key strategic directions. Importantly, one of these strategic directions has been to improve opportunities for underrepresented groups within the coaching ranks, including new Canadians.

Sports and recreation play an important role in the settlement of, and in the fostering of a sense of belonging for, newcomers in Canadian society (Omidvar and Richmond 2003, Paraschak and Tirone 2008). Such participation may also yield physical health benefits, yet the positive benefits must not be overemphasized given the multitude of barriers (e.g. language, finances, transportation) that newcomers encounter in gaining entry into the sports system (Donnelly and Nakamura 2006, Stodolska and Alexandris 2004). Indeed, recent research indicates that new Canadians have low rates of participation in coaching and playing mainstream sports (Aizlewood, Bevelander and Pendakur 2005), often opting instead to participate in sports within their ethnic community or in clubs run by ethnic organizations (Paraschak and Tirone 2007). The ethnic sporting scene provides newcomers with opportunities for participation without encountering the discrimination and racism often encountered in mainstream sport (Aizlewood et al. 2005, Tirone 2000); however, it also severely limits their available leisure options (Stodolska and Jackson 1998), including reducing the possibility for those with previous elite (i.e. regional, national) coaching experience in their home countries to contribute at a similar level in Canada.

In an effort to better understand how to attract immigrant newcomers to effectively participate in NCCP and in coaching mainstream sport, CAC recently provided financial support for

two studies, one is based in two large urban centres in Ontario and Quebec, and the other is this investigation based in the smaller urban centre of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Methodology

A qualitative research approach, one relying upon in-depth, semi-structured one-on-one and focus group interviews (Patton 2002), was used to explore the soccer, basketball and badminton coaching experiences of immigrant newcomers who settled in Halifax in the last five to ten years. We also interviewed sport key informants, including those who work or volunteer as sport leaders, coaches and administrators in the same three sports, or those who work or volunteer with service organizations such as the YMCA or local recreation departments. Our attempts to recruit new Canadian key informants proved difficult and yielded a total of six participants despite having worked with local newcomer organizations, university service departments and the local and provincial sports organizations to deliver in excess of 700 email requests for participation. In contrast, the sport key informant positions were filled (n=10) with relative ease.

Interview guides for each of the participant groups, as well as the focus group, were developed by the Co-Principal Investigators (i.e. Tirone, Livingston) based on their experience with other studies of newcomers, minority ethnic Canadians, coaches and athletes. Once each interview was completed and transcribed verbatim, members of the research team read and re-read the interviews and determined patterns in the data based on consistent messages expressed by the study participants. Establishing themes from the raw data transcripts is known as open coding (Patton 2002, Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Findings

No single reality existed relative to the patterns and themes we noticed in the data. However, three major themes materialized from the data, with a range of sub-themes emerging in each category. In general, the three themes included level of involvement within the existing Canadian sport system, inclusion in mainstream sport and communication and information flow about coaching opportunities between existing sports organizations and the newcomer community.

Level of involvement

A major theme evident in the data had to do with where newcomers fit in terms of their involvement in the existing Canadian sport system. Some newcomers seemed to know little about the sport scene in Canada prior to their arrival, not realizing that many of the sports they played in their home countries were also played in Halifax. Once these individuals found this out, some of them expected their experience would allow them to enter into sport at an elite level. However, in some cases, they were also disappointed to learn that they were not superior in talent or expertise to those already involved in the organized sport system. In contrast, sport officials had mixed perceptions related to entry level, with some assuming that newcomers would enter sport at an elite level and others perceiving that newcomers would most likely prefer entry level (i.e., community or minor sport) coaching opportunities. Another dynamic we encountered had to do with newcomers who felt they had not been given an opportunity to try out for teams even though they were experienced athletes and were interested in participating in sports. The reasons they were given by the sport organizers/organizations had to do with time of year that they arrived in Canada or for some other reason coaches had already assembled the teams and there were no options to add new players.

For all Canadians, regardless of citizenship or immigration status, involvement in sport in Canada is dependent upon personal resources and socio-economic status. In this study, we learned that this is indeed the case for new Canadians, with financial resources playing a key role in either affording or limiting their participation. Sport key informants disclosed, however, that financial barriers are often set aside for those who are highly talented. In some cases, and particularly with respect to the sport of soccer, newcomers may also be given preferential treatment and priority to coach or play sport based on their country of origin. In contrast, those who are interested but less talented have much more difficulty entering the mainstream sport system. Without invitations specifically aimed at attracting newcomers to sport-related opportunities, some newcomers may feel excluded.

Inclusion

Key informants expressed a range of ideas related to inclusion, including sub-themes on

Most participants recognized that recently arrived newcomers may not have good language skills and they may not have networks of friends to help them make contact with sport organizations, yet some felt that newcomers and newcomer organizations should take the lead in facilitating and supporting opportunities to participate as coaches in mainstream sport.

the importance of inclusion, how to include newcomers, barriers to inclusion and where the responsibility lies for inclusion of newcomers in sport, with particular emphasis on coaching. The inclusion of newcomers was seen to be important from two perspectives: building understanding and a sense of community amongst diverse groups and contributing to healthy lifestyles. Most participants recognized that recently arrived newcomers may not have good language skills and they may not have networks of friends to help them make contact with sport organizations, yet some felt that newcomers and newcomer organizations should take the lead in facilitating and supporting opportunities to participate as coaches in mainstream sport. Others, in contrast, explained that the onus for promoting and encouraging newcomer participation should be borne by existing sport organizations and by NCCP.

Participants recognized that in some cases newcomers face barriers that prevent or limit the extent of their participation in sport. One of the more significant barriers recognized by the key informants was the cost of participation, although many were quick to point out that financial assistance is often available through existing subsidy programs. However, they also acknowledged that it can be difficult for people to learn about these opportunities, that the requirement to prove poverty in order to qualify is a very intimidating process and that the money available for subsidies is often limited (Frisby et al. 2005). Several key informants also recognized that the participation of newcomers is often limited by a number of "competing priorities" (e.g. employment, transportation). Less involvement by newcomer women and girls in contrast to newcomer male adults, youth and children was also noted and attributed, in part, to the notion that participation by females may be more limited by cultural beliefs and values. It was also noted that administrators and coaches in existing sport organizations may not understand the needs of newcomer participants, particularly as it relates to specific cultural and religious practices (e.g., holy days) and restrictions (e.g., dress requirements). As well, coaches and officials wishing to learn the best way to provide supports for ethnic minority players with diverse needs are unlikely to know where to go for information and direction. This lack of understanding is problematic, as was the acknowledgement of participants that issues of discrimination still affect or limit the ability of some newcomers to participate in mainstream sports and coaching. Moreover, strategies for addressing and resolving issues of discrimination are not well defined in existing policy documents.

Communication and information flow

The NCCP program is a well recognized part of the Canadian sport system, yet most saw it as a distant entity from the day-to-day happenings of sport. It was viewed as a complex system, one that is undergoing change, and that current changes are creating some complexities for those trying to understand and engage in the NCCP's coaching programs. With that said, the recent inclusion of a community stream within the NCCP's offerings was frequently viewed as a positive, providing newcomers with what many felt would be a more accessible and attractive option for those wanting to coach while integrating within their new communities. Much emphasis was also placed on using existing organizations (e.g. schools, community clubs, multicultural centres, local and provincial sport associations) to enhance communication flow for the purposes of connecting newcomers to mainstream sport coaching opportunities.

Many emphasized that the NCCP's reliance on a classroom-based system of program delivery, one limited to delivery in two official languages and prone to the use of technical terminology and sport jargon, would make it difficult for newcomers to engage in and gather critical information. The time and economic cost required to engage in what some view as an intimidating formalized certification system was also thought to contribute to the choice of some not to participate. A modified approach for

experienced newcomers, perhaps in the general form of a hands-on apprenticeship with a mentor coach, was suggested as a viable alternative. However, emphasis was also placed on the need to educate Canadians currently within the coaching ranks on cultural practices (e.g. religious rites, clothing requirements) to accommodate newcomer coaches, athletes and sports officials.

Summary and conclusions

As investigators and authors, it is important to acknowledge the encouragement we received from our key informants for engaging in this study. We were pleased to see that many of the sport key informants we interviewed had given careful consideration to the inclusion of minority group participants in sport. Some told us about research they conducted to learn about cultural traditions as they prepared to engage in activities with individuals from cultures with which they were unfamiliar. Many also told us that they had a keen desire to find ways to include newcomers in their sport organizations but had little idea of how to go about recruiting and meeting the needs of this population. Our optimism in this regard, however, is tempered by the fact that some of our newcomer key informants continued to express frustration about some sports associations that have failed to meet their needs and by their observations that those with elite level qualifications receive preferential treatment. We are concerned about those wishing to enter coaching at the grass roots and introductory levels who may not know how to connect to sports teams or organizations.

As Donnelly and Nakamura (2006) have previously raised, another concern for us is that there is little in the way of procedural guidelines and policies that pertain to sport and how sport organizations and coaches can develop an understanding of the needs and interests of newcomers or the special considerations that may be required to enable newcomers to more readily participate. It was from this perspective that we have recommended a series of actions to assist sports organizations to meet the needs of newcomers interested in engaging in mainstream sport coaching. Perhaps most importantly, we have recommended to CAC that they, along with Sport Canada, develop guidelines and directions for sports organization to follow in developing policies and incentives for inclusion of newcomers in mainstream sport and coaching. More specifically, these need to address and support (1) the inclusion of newcomers in coaching, (2) the training of administrative staff, coaches and volunteers on the importance of inclusion and (3) fee assistance for newcomers. We have also recommended that NCCP explore alternative modes of entry into coaching for newcomers (e.g. hands-on apprenticeship with mentors), entry points that would allow individuals to acclimate to the Canadian mainstream sport environment. With a clearly identified strategic direction to include newcomers in coaching, the results and recommendations of this investigation, as well as those of Coté et al. (2007) and the new NCCP model of three streams of entry and training, we are hopeful that newcomers will find it easier to access coaching opportunities in mainstream Canadian sport. Time will tell.

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Immigration will be a key issue for the economic growth of the Greater Moncton Area (Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview) in the next few decades, as it will be for the province of New Brunswick and for Canada as a whole. An ageing population, combined with a low birth rate, has made the region increasingly vulnerable to and dependent on foreign workers and foreign capital.

About a Film: *Au bout du fil*

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The purpose of this article is to report some of the observations from a documentary produced in July 2006 in the city of Moncton, in southeastern New Brunswick[1]. The film, *Au bout du fil* [at the end of the line], explored the journeys of Sandrine, Asmaa and Jesué, who are representative of many other young foreign French-speaking students who come to study at the Université de Moncton.[2] The film also tells the story of a city of some 100,000 inhabitants that has been working for several years to improve its capacity to welcome, integrate and retain newcomers.

Immigration will be a key issue for the economic growth of the Greater Moncton Area (Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview) in the next few decades, as it will be for the province of New Brunswick and for Canada as a whole. An ageing population, combined with a low birth rate, has made the region increasingly vulnerable to and dependent on foreign workers and foreign capital. According to local economic stakeholders, the growth of Greater Moncton will be driven by its competitiveness in the "immigration market." Since the 1990s, the city's population has increased, primarily as a result of intra-provincial migration, particularly from Francophone areas in the north to the town of Dieppe. However, immigration to Moncton proper has until now been minimal. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada data, the city took in only about 204 immigrants in 2004, with a total of 776 immigrants to New Brunswick as a whole. Nonetheless, there has been progress over the past decade, with the number of annual immigrants to Moncton increasing from 84 in 1997 to 262 in 2007.[2]

Immigrants to Atlantic Canada still come primarily from Europe and the United States, which means that there has not yet been a significant transformation in the region's ethnic landscape. More recently, the pool of immigrants has begun to diversify with the introduction of provincial skilled-worker immigrant-selection

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1 The first version of this article appeared in the Swiss magazine *Interdialogos* 2, 2006, p. 21-25.

2 Produced by the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) and its program *Parole citoyenne* (NFB's French version of Citizen*Shift*), the short film was part of a series of five documentaries dealing with the issues of racism and discrimination in the workplace. It was funded in part by Human Resources and Social Development Canada (see www.citoyen.onf.ca/racisme).

programs and increased numbers of international students attending post-secondary institutions. The existence of an entirely French-speaking university in Moncton is one of the main reasons for the number of foreign students from French-speaking parts of the world, such as France, the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. Our research has shown that, following their studies, many of these graduates have difficulty finding work related to their university degree. A relatively significant proportion of recent graduates opt for short-term employment solutions such as working at a call centre. The Moncton area has about 40 call centres, established in the early 1990s. Call centres physically, and in some cases even economically, replaced the rail industry in Moncton, formerly a major freight centre. In the film, the camera sets the scene as it pans over a number of façades, the exteriors of the call centres, showing the remnants of the rail economy – the tracks and depots. Some call centres are located in industrial parks on the outskirts of the city. Others are hidden away in buildings in the city centre. Everything is closed, cut off, hidden. It is not easy to penetrate these controlled areas that are the face of the new global economy. This is the type of place where young foreign graduates end up, trapped and unable to be a visible part of the urban landscape. The film tells their story by showing the paths taken by three different people.

Sandrine is a young woman from Senegal who has lived in Moncton for 10 years. After completing her Bachelors degree in computer science at the Université de Moncton, she sought work in her field. When that failed, she started working at a call centre. After a year, finding that she was unable to advance, she returned to the Université de Moncton to pursue a Master's degree in business administration. After graduating, she still could not find employment in her field, so she returned to work at a call centre, staying for two years. Once again, there appeared to be no prospect of advancement for her. The company chose to hire a French-speaking Acadian woman for a Web-development position and to pay for her college training, even though Sandrine, who had also applied for the position, already had a Bachelors degree in computer science and the required skills. After two years at the call centre, she decided to go back to school again, this time to take a doctorate in education. Now bilingual and armed with degrees in three different disciplines, including a Ph.D., she works at a call centre that specializes in Internet customer service. She has applied for at least 100 other jobs since completing her first degree, but only once was she successful, landing a position as a lecturer at the Université de Moncton for one school year. She says that she is now resigned to her fate and that she understands "how it works here." Because she wants to remain in Moncton, she continues to work in a job that she herself describes as "alienating" and of which she is somewhat ashamed.

Jésue has a Bachelors degree in business administration with a major in production management from the Université de Moncton. For the last year, he has worked at a call centre in Sackville, a 30-minute drive from Moncton. After completing his degree, he initially applied for jobs directly related to his field, first at Irving, where there were many positions appropriate for his training, then at banks, and finally whenever he saw a job posting. He sent out about 500 résumés, not just in Moncton but also in various cities in Atlantic Canada, such as Fredericton and Halifax, and attended over 20 interviews. With nothing panning out, starting to run short of money and facing the fast-approaching three-month deadline for getting a work permit, he was "lucky" to get a job at the call centre where he now works – an inbound call centre specializing in banking services. For him, this job is no gift. He started in a low-level position providing telephone assistance for a salary of $23,000 a year. Three months later, he was promoted and saw his salary increase to $25,000 a year; however, in his view, the increase has had no financial impact on his lifestyle.

Asmaa is a woman from Algeria with a Bachelors degree in economics that she earned in her country. In 2002, she came to Canada to pursue a Master's degree in business administration at Université de Moncton. During her second year in Moncton, she started working at a call centre while studying. After she finished her Master's degree, she continued to work while looking for employment in her field. Sparing no effort, she made appointments for information interviews with managers and heads of human resources. She inquired about positions at the companies and presented herself and her qualifications and interests. Finding this strategy unproductive and feeling that she was wasting her time, she tried a more conventional approach, sending out résumés by email. She sent out about 40 résumés a week all across

The invisibility of immigrants thus becomes a barrier, and they are unable to extricate themselves from the situation. Through its treatment of the images, the film tries to express the sensation of becoming invisible, of not living out in the open. The important thing about the interviews is the stories of the immigrants, their invisible lives and their difficult and touching journeys.

Canada and began the selection process with interviews at two financial institutions, without success. The most frequent response was a letter from the company informing her that they could not consider her application "for administrative reasons." In the meantime, for two three-month periods, she worked a second full-time job at a call centre in order to pay off her student loans. However, as she put it, working at a call centre was stressful enough; working at two call centres was "suicide," so she gave up. For the last two months, Asmaa has been working for United Parcel Service Canada. According to her, there is no discrimination at UPS and she has opportunities for advancement, because the managers are often "international." At the three call centres where she worked previously, "you can't even dream of advancing if you're not White and Canadian." The fact that she has her permanent residence makes no difference at all.

The film also tries to identify what stakeholders in the city of Moncton are doing to improve matters. Apparently, immigration is in the hands of economic stakeholders. Éric Pelletier works for Entreprise Grand Moncton, an organization with federal and provincial funding whose mandate is to coordinate economic development for the Greater Moncton region. For the last several years, he has coordinated a strategy to attract, retain and integrate new immigrants. The strategy was developed by a consulting firm and is part of an initiative adopted by a number of cities that are concerned about economic development issues. Watching Éric on film, we see the effort the city is making to improve employers' capacity for integrating immigrants: he guides us through the economic world of immigration. And that is where the problem lies: employers in small and medium-sized businesses are not eager to take a chance and hire immigrants.

Moncton is still a homogeneous city where employers – who fear differences, have stereotypical ideas, or can't be bothered to change their habits – are reluctant to hire foreigners. But for the last few years, a new reality has begun to emerge in the heart of the city. Young foreigners who have come to study in the city and who are earning the same degrees as their Acadian and Francophone counterparts want to get jobs in their field of study. Call centres become a trap for them. They take a job there in order to get some work experience, but they end up staying. The invisibility of immigrants thus becomes a barrier, and they are unable to extricate themselves from the situation. Through its treatment of the images, the film tries to express the sensation of becoming invisible, of not living out in the open. The important thing about the interviews is the stories of the immigrants, their invisible lives and their difficult and touching journeys. As we watch these people, we can sense their frustration at constantly hitting a brick wall, at coming up against obstacle after obstacle. There is a sense of waste among call centre staff: people burn out in mind-numbing jobs where they are nothing more than commodities that can be quickly replaced.

At the end of the film, I tried to express a more optimistic tone, showing that integration is possible when employers agree to place their trust in foreigners and bring them into the open. Using a simple process, the human postcard, I asked a number of immigrants at work to look into the camera for a good minute. I think of the look from Abdoulaye, a young man from Guinea who works as a cashier at a grocery store, touching customers' food and money, or Saïd, a banker who works on Main Street, where residents of Moncton walk by every day at lunchtime.

In the closing credits, I chose to include a video of a rap song by Lamine (Maréchal Toti) and Taoufik (Alias Basto), who have formed a group called Cour royale. The two men from Mali came to study at Université de Moncton. They are also rappers who have produced a demo and two music videos. The video sums up the film's message and illustrates the desire to become visible. With the city as the backdrop, they are in the foreground. The rappers stroll down Main Street, and the picture changes from fuzzy to clear and vibrant. They are in

recognizable places of daily Moncton life. The lyrics are frank and echo the film's storyline.

[*Translation*]
In the middle of all this
Me with my three degrees
It's as though I have no identity
Sometimes I think
I should go back home
But don't I have the right to live here?
Everyone talks about the inevitability
of globalization
So, on a sudden whim
I pick up the phone and dial
Number after number
Minute after minute
Day after day
Not because I want to
But our man Basto said it
I am hopeful
That things will change
I am hopeful
That the minority and the majority
will intersect
I am hopeful

That dreams and reality will intersect
I am hopeful

That I can find work in my field
And not at this f*** call centre.

(*Au bout du fil* 2007)

After showing the film to a number of audiences, I learned a few lessons about what the project may have accomplished. First, images are a forceful teaching tool, and the exercise was very successful. At a number of screenings, the immigrants in the audience, who identified with the young people's journeys, had quite emotional reactions to the film. The project also helped raise awareness and open a discussion with a number of audiences, such as regional employers and immigration stakeholders. Some people stated that call centres were an unrewarding place for anyone to work, which is debatable. As I said, for many French- and English-speaking young people in Moncton, call centres are a rite of passage, a place where they get their first work experience and then leave for a better job. That is not the case for the young people we met on this project. Second, the project highlights the key issue of making immigrants full members of their community. This shows what happens in small communities where differences are not always accepted or even noticed by the majority, but also in large centres, where immigrants, by virtue of their numbers, have a certain visibility but within their difference. At issue is the whole question of human interaction and opportunities for young people to integrate into employment and host society networks. Lastly, the film was an extremely gratifying experience from a personal standpoint. It enabled me to take the time to explore the reality of a city that is changing, but especially to allow the camera to capture what immigrants have to say.

About the author

CHEDLY BELKHODJA is an associate professor in the Département de science politique of the Université de Moncton. His research focuses on the questions of managing immigration in second-tier cities and in areas with low immigration, and the discourse and representations of cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. From 2003 to 2006, he served as Director of Research at the Atlantic Metropolis Centre. He has been a Co-Director of the Centre since 2006. He also directed two films produced by the National Film Board of Canada: *Tableaux d'un voyage imaginaire* [portraits of an imaginary voyage] in 2001 with filmmaker Jean Chabot, and *Au bout du fil* [at the end of the line] in 2006.

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Immigrants in Atlantic Canada: A Socio-demographic Profile

Immigrants in New Brunswick:
A Profile

General immigration trends

Compared to larger provinces, New Brunswick's immigrant population falls well short of its share of the national population. The province attracts less than 1% of national immigrant inflows, a figure that has trended down since the mid-1980s. This has meant that only 3.7% of the provincial population was born outside Canada according to the 2006 Census, compared to about 20% of the Canadian population.

Despite small inflows, immigration continues to be an important source of new residents. New Brunswick's population declined by 1.4% between 1996 and 2001, but the decline would have been of 1.8% without immigration during this period. From 2001 to 2006, New Brunswick's population grew by only 0.1%, a figure markedly less than for Canada as a whole. Without immigration, however, the province's population would have gone down.

Countries of origin and settlement patterns

While the United States and the United Kingdom have remained among the top five major source countries of immigrants destined for New Brunswick since 1981, the relative importance of China and Vietnam has increased. Immigrants have located primarily in the three counties that contain the province's three main cities, with York County (containing Fredericton) receiving 29% of recent immigrants, and containing 16% of all immigrants in 2006, compared to 12% of New Brunswick's population. The other two main cities are Saint John and Moncton. Some 70% of recent immigrants live in urban areas (more than 10,000 population), compared with 60% of all immigrants and 52% of non-immigrants.

Demographic profile

More than 60% of principal applicants arriving each year since 1994 were between 25 and 44 years old. Age groups below and above this were more variable in their annual shares. The group of 65 and older was extremely low.

Reliance on government transfer payments and services

Since 1981, immigrants on average have received lower government transfers (as a percentage of total income) than has been the case for non-immigrants, although the share of income in the form of transfers rose during the 1990s. Being younger when they arrive, immigrants do not receive such age-related transfers as Canada Pension Plan and Old Age Security payments for some time after entry.

Labour market outcomes and skills

Immigrants in New Brunswick have attained higher education levels, earn higher employment income, and have lower unemployment rates than non-immigrants. While recent immigrants also have higher labour force participation rates than for all immigrants and for non-immigrants, they also have higher unemployment rates. Immigrants are also more highly skilled: in 2001, 45% of recent immigrants had a degree compared to 12% of non-immigrants.

Because of the increasing focus on skills in immigration policies the proportion of highly trained immigrants has trended upwards since the early 1980s. Through the late 1990s, highly skilled immigrants numbered approximately 150 persons per year, compared with 50 immigrants each in the medium- and low-skilled categories. Following a downturn in 2003, the numbers of

skilled immigrants coming to New Brunswick increased again in 2004 and 2005, while medium- and low-skilled immigrants reached their lowest levels in 25 years.

One concern is that the labour market outcomes of recent arrivals (those who arrived within five years of a census year) have worsened since 1981. A possible cause is the non-recognition of immigrants' educational credentials and experience as more immigrants now come from non-traditional source countries.

Highly skilled immigrants

The proportion of immigrant professionals in New Brunswick is small and has declined over time. Since 1991, the number of non-immigrant professionals grew by 22%, but the number of immigrant professionals grew by only 5%. Of those skilled immigrants, 70% were professionals, 27% were middle and other managers, and 3% were senior managers. Immigrant professionals and managers were mainly employed in the service sector, especially education, health care, and social services.

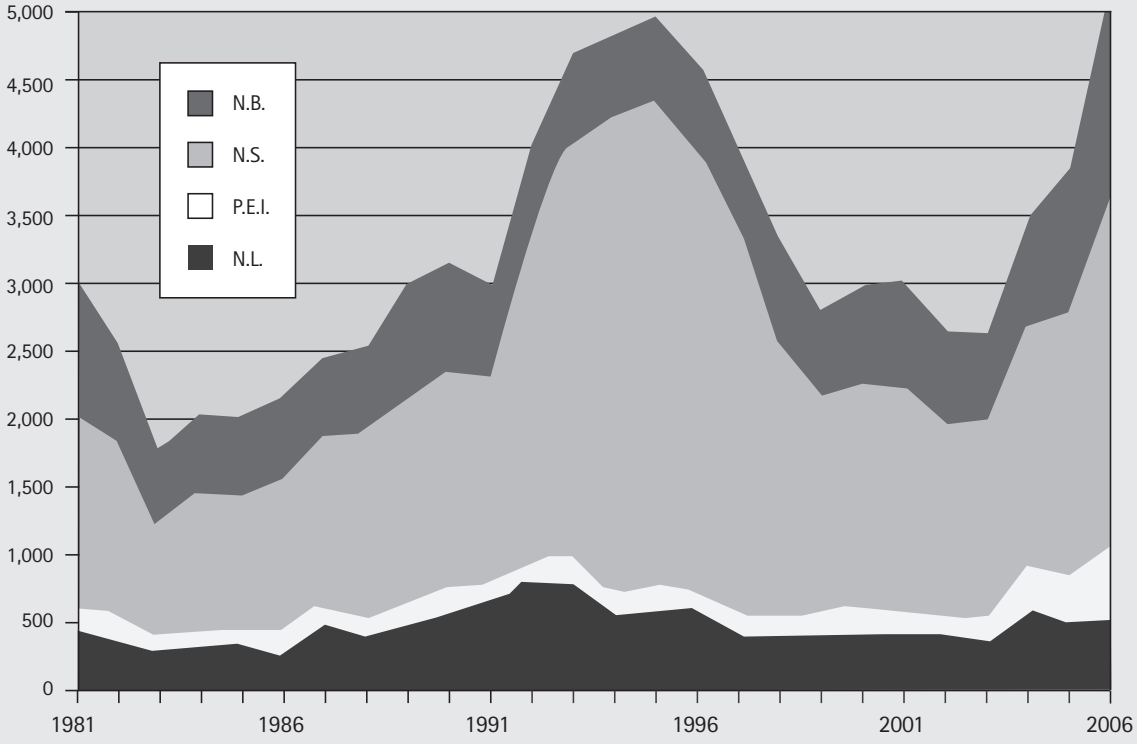
Business immigration

Most business immigrants to New Brunswick come from the United Kingdom (55%) followed by elsewhere in Europe (18%). In contrast to Nova Scotia, few business immigrants in New Brunswick come from the United States. Two-thirds of business immigrants are employed in the service sector, with "other" services the most important, followed by business services and health services. Business immigrants are more likely to be male, with 157 male immigrants for every 100 female immigrants. Another measure of business immigration is money invested in the province through the Entrepreneur Program. Since the mid-1990s, investments made in New Brunswick through this program have been extremely variable. Investment ranged from zero in 1997, 1998 and 2001 to more than $1.5 million in 2005.

Retention of immigrants

Retaining immigrants is key to maximizing the long-term benefits of immigration for New Brunswick. Retention rates in the province have

FIGURE 1
Immigration to the Atlantic provinces, 1981–2006



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

been the best in Atlantic Canada, running between 65% and 75% since 1981, with a new peak of slightly higher than 75% in 2006. It is likely that policies and programs that facilitate the economic and social integration of immigrants in New Brunswick are critical to the decision to stay in a location, particularly if they focus on the quality of settlement services and on expediting the process of foreign credential recognition.

International students

International students enrolled in Canadian educational institutions are an increasingly important source of human capital for the country. Over the 2001 to 2005 period, China was the most common country of origin for such students in New Brunswick's universities, followed by the United States. The other top source countries have varied from year to year, but India, Japan, Korea, France and Mexico have consistently been in the top ten. Annual inflows of students to the province have increased from about 350 in 1996 to well over 800 in 2006. The total number of international students in New Brunswick increased from less than 900 in 1996 to almost 3,000 in 2005.

Immigrant women, like women everywhere, suffer violence and look for support to help them deal with it. This article describes some of the findings of research conducted in 2005 and 2006, which found that being an immigrant was a factor not only in immigrant women's experiences of violence in Atlantic Canada, but also in their access to support services. Immigrant women and the professionals who provide services to them describe some of the barriers they face and conclude that fully funded and coordinated prevention and intervention programs and services to immigrant women are needed in Atlantic Canada.

Providing Services to Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada

BARBARA COTTRELL
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In November 2005, my colleagues Peruvemba Jaya and Evie Tastsoglou and I began a research study, funded by the Status of Women Canada Policy Research Fund, on how immigrant women in Atlantic Canada who experienced violence and abuse navigate support services. We interviewed 49 immigrant women who had experienced violence and 51 service providers in five sites in Atlantic Canada: Halifax, Sydney, St. John's, Moncton and Charlottetown. In order to be able to understand "violence" from the perspective of the immigrant women, we invited them to describe their experiences in their own words.

According to the women, their immigrant status and ethno-cultural background were the factors that made their experience of violence and their access to services different from other women's. The women recounted numerous stories of racial violence, and one said she had thought about buying coloured contact lenses and replacing her hijab with a hat. Some participants said that they believed Canadians are afraid of Muslims. One participant who described herself as "half Muslim" said that when she tells people of her parentage:

> Their eyes just open up....It's ridiculous. It's a good thing I don't look Arabic....I have a lot of friends that do look Arabic and people look at them...because they think he's a terrorist. My best friend, he looks like one of those guys who like to blow up things. But he is Catholic.

Racially biased employers made finding work and economic independence difficult for many immigrant women. In some cases, the name on the woman's résumé or the fact that her education and experience was outside Canada meant that, although qualified for the position, the woman was not even offered an interview. The non-recognition of credentials was a frequently discussed barrier to immigrant women's economic independence, particularly for educated women who had immigrated to Canada from areas outside of Northern Europe. Although at the time of the study there were programs designed to help individuals obtain credentials that would be recognized in Canada, for some immigrant women these programs were difficult to negotiate. The women had difficulty finding appropriate employment and were often forced to accept employment in less than ideal conditions. They were frequently subjected to poor working environments, part-time employment and reduced pay scales. The reality of these working conditions had a direct and lasting effect on the women's mental, physical and financial well-being. As one service provider stated:

> If they came from a country where they are working and making a living and have a good income, and respect, and they come here and nobody wants to hire them, it must really hurt their self-esteem, and you can see the

> frustration; they don't understand why they can't get ahead here when they want to be here so much and they want to work so much....They're here, but they're going to leave.

Although women faced these barriers regardless of their family situation, the impact was more severe on women attempting to leave or ameliorate domestic violence. Without incomes, they could not support themselves and their children and had difficulty gaining the self-confidence they needed to deal with their situation. This was not limited to women from low-income households. Those who came from wealthier backgrounds shared similar experiences related to income and employment opportunities, although these women were less likely to seek support services. The majority of immigrant women the service providers saw tended to have limited financial resources and fewer options regarding their response to violence. One provider said her organization had been aiding women who had been forced into prostitution by their spouses.

Finding help was not easy for a number of the participants. Some had no close friends or family here to turn to. Some did not know how to seek help from organized services. In some regions, particularly those that had smaller numbers of immigrants, there were no support services. Not knowing their rights also stopped women from seeking help. For instance, one woman was afraid that she would be sent back to her country if she told anyone about the violence she had experienced. Another was afraid her husband would kill her if he lost his right to stay in Canada. One woman thought one could only see a doctor for physical health problems. For some, their previous experiences with police was also an issue. One woman said, "I remember how the police were in Peru. I have a broken nose." Not being able to communicate well in either of the official languages and being wary of confidentiality in their own community prevented some women from seeking support:

> I could not communicate in any of the official languages. Using an interpreter would not work for me and I think other immigrant women think the same way. I do not feel comfortable to talk about my private life in front of a stranger or someone from my culture. People not always respect the confidentiality terms. (A Hungarian woman from Romania.)

Those who did turn to their friends, family, sponsors or church to help them cope with the violence found these supports helpful, especially if the person could speak their language. Some found support from service organizations, such as women's shelters, police and doctors. These women were grateful when the supports were free of charge and when supporters wanted to learn about their culture, values and faith orwhen their religion was respected. A woman from Congo stated:

> The family services where I went for counselling, even their books, helped me very much. I attended sessions where they taught us how to talk to our children and how to listen to them; that gave me good examples. Now I listen to them, we discuss things together, I treat them like an adult and not the way we treat them in our country....There is a difference in the culture between my country and Canada.

Unfortunately, not all received such support. Some women believed it was because they were immigrants that they did not receive adequate or appropriate help and protection. They felt they were looked at differently or not understood because of the stereotyping of immigrants. Others found a lack of sensitivity to immigrants' problems, particularly those who had prior experiences of violence. An African woman stated:

> There are no competent services for immigrant women [here] compared to other provinces because, for example, if I would have experienced my problem in another province such as Ontario, I would have received a better service. Because here is not as multicultural, or maybe I was an isolated case; they did not have a similar case before, you understand.

A number of immigrant women experienced difficulties with government service workers whom, they felt, did not understand their problems and experiences, and did not provide them with sufficient information about Canada.

Service providers acknowledged that they were unable to meet the needs of their immigrant women clients:

> Why can't I help them any more than what I'm already doing?...There's three of us here in this office, and we see it. We see the need. (Name) has been sitting here for almost

The non-recognition of credentials was a frequently discussed barrier to immigrant women's economic independence, particularly for educated women who had immigrated to Canada from areas outside of Northern Europe.

> three months. She's so bright, so intelligent. She's probably going to end up going back to Pakistan or going to Toronto, or going somewhere....My insights are that you realize how much farther we have to come in order to get these people here and get them to want to be here. Because right now we can't do it.

Service providers expressed a strong desire to respond effectively and respectfully to the cultural backgrounds of their clients, and to increase their understanding of the cultural backgrounds of their clients. They recognized their clients' strengths:

> I look at these women and how strong they are and how difficult it must be to just pick up and move from somewhere to come to a totally different country to try to start over. Having the education they do and not being able to get a decent job because they are from somewhere else, and I guess mainly what sticks out to me is their strength and determination and their skills.

The problem, according to service providers, was their own lack of training in cultural competency. Some who had completed a professional degree, such as social work, had received some general training or background information regarding cultural diversity and providing culturally competent care, and some organizations had attempted to provide their employees with training in the form of professional development workshops, but, for the most part, this training was fragmented and did not bear a direct relationship to the demands of their current employment. In some cases service providers were frustrated by their lack of skill in working with translators. Service providers' lack of training placed them in an impossible situation and resulted in many immigrant women "falling through the cracks":

> I really thought you know they're going to come here, and they'll go through the program, and they'll find a job. But they're not finding a job. Because we can't just give them what they need. I didn't know how to tell them how to get their credentials recognized. I wouldn't have a clue....You need someone to...tell them. (Service Provider)

In spite of their commitment to providing effective support, a number of service providers did not see cultural competency as a priority because immigrant women constituted such a small part of their client base. With limited budgets, they had to spend their resources where it was most in demand.

Some service providers saw violence against women, particularly domestic violence, as a cultural import. This bias was sometimes coupled with the belief that, in contrast, the violence experienced by Canadian-born women was culturally acceptable. One provider stated that, when approaching women from different cultural backgrounds, she would ask herself, "Is this unfair, is this abuse or is this standard?" This was, in turn, reflected in the counselling offered to the immigrant women who sought assistance from their organization. To quote one provider:

> The husband, sometimes in his culture, feels that he has a right to discipline the woman and sometimes that may include physical [violence], you know, and that is sometimes something that is hard to deal with....A few times we've had to explain things are different in Canada, and our laws are different, and that there is no gender bias, and there's no gender domination, that it's equal partnership.

To some extent, some immigrant women agree with this analysis.

A woman from Uganda said:

> A lot of it also had to do with our own cultural beliefs and religious beliefs. In my culture there is a belief that a man has to dominate in the home, a man can do anything he wishes to do with his family and usually there is little intervention from our side.

Leaving a violent marriage partner often meant leaving their community as well. One woman said people did not appreciate how big an achievement it was for her to feel the fear

associated with going against beliefs and culture and yet "walk out of it."

Other immigrant women believed that their experience of violence was the same as for other women. One participant said:

> I always think that there is an element of universality to the experiences that women go through. And that is one of the things that frustrates me when people say, "Oh you from Mexico and your cultural things are different."...I think that men are very similar and, well, at least in Canada and in Mexico men are very similar. We do things differently, but I just feel like the things that women go through here and in Mexico are very similar. And women there might be poor and might not have access to different services, but, you know, the same things happen there and here. I just don't feel like my nationality has any bearing.

Whether or not the incidents of violence are culturally based, the immigrant women agreed that service providers need to be made aware that immigrants come from different cultures:

> First, it is really essential that when we talk of a culture, we need to understand that culture. We can't generalize in the sense this is going to happen, this is how it is going to happen here in this culture, so maybe this is the same reaction that is happening with every immigrant woman who comes from away. Every culture is unique.

The fragmentation of existing services was another key source of frustration for service providers and a problem for their clients. While collectively providing an umbrella of available services for violence prevention, many organizations in Atlantic Canada operate independently from each other and often vary considerably between regions. In some cases, the organizations represented in this study operated not only with separate mandates but were in conflict with each other. Those housed under departments of the Federal Government tended to be more consistent between provinces than community-based and user-driven organizations. However, what was lost in regard to consistency appeared to be mediated by a more personal approach to the solution of issues of violence and a more textured understanding of the systemic nature of racism, classism and violence against women.

We asked the participants what they thought would make them feel more secure and safe in asking for help. Some women said they would seek help only from someone they knew or had been referred to by someone they trusted. Others thought it would help if they could talk to people who knew something about their culture, but had reservations about talking to someone from their own community:

> First of all, I would like to know well and trust the person from whom I am asking for help. Confidentiality is also important to me. And, definitely, the person should be knowledgeable about my culture but not someone from my country. I would trust maybe more another immigrant woman who experienced similar situations and not necessarily a professional counsellor.

The women felt that social services should be accessible in the immigrant's own language, or translators should be available to help them understand available resources. They also thought it would help if the counsellors were women, and of the same country of origin as the clients. They strongly recommended that government agencies should employ people from diverse cultures or appropriately train their staff in cultural sensitivity; staff should have a general knowledge about different religions and cultures, be more sensitive to immigrants' problems and understand the source and nature of violence.

Many of the immigrant women who talked to us said they needed to be better informed about the Canadian society. For instance, one immigrant woman said women need to hear that in Canada they have the right to leave or divorce their husbands in case of abuse. They also wanted to be informed about available resources they could turn to for help in cases of violence because, as they pointed out, not everyone has access to the Internet or knows information is available in embassies:

> Sometimes you do not know even where to go to complain. Maybe you would have the opportunity to ask immigrant women what can be done, what opportunities are available, where to turn for help in case of psychological violence, what can we do. What resources do we have? We have been told that the information is in the telephone book, but I don't know where.

A German woman stated:

> Not having any resources and not knowing about your rights, that was the main thing. That shows a language barrier that was then present. And being in a rural area [made it] very complicated.

The women said that it would be helpful to them if, rather than having to depend on friends and a multitude of services (like transition houses, lawyers, psychiatrists, doctors), services were more centralized and/or a cultural centre was established for newcomers where women could share their experiences, learn about available resources and meet people who would accompany them to the police or other services to help them understand the system more clearly. A woman originally from Colombia discussed what is needed in her community for immigrant women to receive help with their problems:

> This is something that this country can do because the human resources are there. There are very well-educated people from our country who can help, who can work in this kind of field....I think that immigrants need more support, more workshops, or more meetings where they can go and they can find out about services. They can find a way to manage with their own problems when they face them. We have in the Association a women's group but this women's group is more a social activity, like playing bingo games or they go to the beach to roast marshmallows, or they go to the garden or they go walking.

The women suggested that a resource information manual would be helpful, and established organizations should advertise their services more broadly in the immigrant communities. Failing that, support people could be assigned to new Canadians to keep in touch with immigrant families to see how they are doing and provide them with information about their rights, about services.

To have services in their own language would help:

> We are part of the same country but everybody does different things...In Ontario... you have the possibility to go to a physician who can speak Spanish and you can ask for a psychologist who can speak Spanish. I think if you have this kind of social service in your own language, because that's good when you say that we are a multicultural country.

This research study has brought us to the conclusion that fully funded prevention and intervention programs and services to immigrant women are needed in Atlantic Canada. These services should form a multiple, integrated response involving collaboration between provincial governments, settlement and multicultural NGOs, law enforcement agencies and organizations that provide support to women. It is not sufficient, though, to provide the services. Immigrant women need to be made aware of them and helped to navigate the system. Research to find out who is not using services, and why, would help identify women's needs. These are policy decisions. As one service provider said, these changes have "to come from a bigger power."

About the author

BARBARA COTTRELL was Co-researcher and Project Manager of the Navigating Anti-violence Work in Atlantic Canada in a Culturally Sensitive Way (2005-2006), Coordinator of the Security and Immigration Research Project (2003-2005) and Co-researcher of the Parent Abuse in Immigrant Communities Project with Saint Mary's University (2004). She also conducted research with the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) on violence in immigrant families (2003) and wrote an Ethnocultural Research Report for Heritage Canada (2003). She has written numerous reports and articles on family violence and is the author of *When Teens Abuse Their Parents*, Fernwood Books, 2004.

Africans are under-represented in high status occupations and earn incomes lower than their Canadian-born counterparts, in spite of the fact that the majority of them have a considerably higher level of education. Most of the women in this study were well educated and had been professionally employed in their countries of origin before migrating.

How Integrated are Women from Sub-Saharan Africa in the Canadian Labour Force?

Halifax Case Study*

AMANDA TOPEN
YMCA Newcomer Services – Halifax, Nova Scotia

In this article, emphasis has been placed on the labour market integration experiences and processes shaping such experiences of immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa in Canada, specifically, Halifax, Nova Scotia. There are three key objectives to the study. The first is to identify empirically the kinds of obstacles and barriers that immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa face in obtaining employment that is commensurate with their qualifications (and finding such employment in a reasonable time frame) in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The second objective is to assess the effect of class (including education), gender and race on the labour market integration experiences of immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa in order to enhance the understanding of their involvement in paid work. Finally, by understanding how gender, race and class define, perpetuate and re-create positions of power and privilege for certain groups of people over others in the labour market, I am aiming at providing timely and critical reflections that can help retain immigrants in the Atlantic region.[1]

The major analytical points on which I based my research findings are: historical racial and gender discrimination in employment in the form of employers' devaluation of international educational credentials and work experience and denying employment because of one's accent, coupled with weak market conditions in Halifax, Nova Scotia, have segregated women, in general, and those from sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, into low paying, part-time, temporary and insecure employment under poor working conditions. In addition, gender expectations in the family and volunteer community work (necessitated by the prospect of acquiring much needed Canadian work experience) further compound the problem of labour market integration for immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa. These conditions have led to the vulnerability and lower socio-economic status of most women from sub-Saharan Africa, forcing many, in the process, to look for and move to other settlement locations in search of better economic conditions.

* The research is based on the author's M.A. thesis, entitled *Labour Market Integration Experiences of Immigrant women from sub-Saharan* Africa (Saint Mary's University, 2007). Special thanks to the thesis supervisor Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou and the reader Dr. Alexandra Dobrowolsky

[1] A full version of this article is forthcoming in Evangelia Tastsoglou and Peruvemba Jaya (Eds). *Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada: Feminist Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press/Women's Press.

Based on economic and demographic realities, Nova Scotia, like the rest of Canada, is experiencing a population decline and a potential shortage of labour in the near future (Akbari and Mandale 2005). However, research indicates that Nova Scotia struggles in attracting immigrants and that those who find their way into the province also leave for Central and Western Canada because they do not find meaningful work (Akbari and Mandale 2005). Tastsoglou and Preston (2005) have pointed out that one of the clearest manifestation of racial and gender discrimination is the lack of equity experienced by immigrants and, in particular, immigrant women of colour in the job market. Hence, it is difficult, if not impossible, for the women encountered in this study to get jobs that are commensurate with their skills and qualifications.

Research indicates that immigrant women achieve an overall higher educational level than Canadian-born women because of immigration policies that tend to attract them and their spouses, but, paradoxically, this is not reflected on entry to the labour market. This became evident in my research. Although the women in this study were randomly selected from diverse backgrounds, only one did not have a high school diploma. Four had some college education, three had finished their undergraduate degrees, four had a Master's degree and two had a Ph.D. But despite these women being highly skilled, their skills and education are discounted. These women are often the last to be hired and, in desperation, many have accepted jobs well below their qualification level.

Human capital theories work on the assumption that the higher a person's educational attainment, the higher his or her earnings. But, despite their higher than average levels of education possessed by the immigrant women in this study, they have incomes far lower than would be expected; this is because of the gendered and racialized employment systems in Canada that discount educational credentials and work experience obtained in Africa, especially for women. The average family income after tax for the year 2004 reported by the 16 participants in the study was $45,000, which falls below the $51,000 average family income recorded by the province of Nova Scotia in 2003 (Statistics Canada 2003). Therefore, Africans are under-represented in high status occupations and earn incomes lower than their Canadian-born counterparts, in spite of the fact that the majority of them have a considerably higher level of education. Most of the women in this study were well educated and had been professionally employed in their countries of origin before migrating: two were professors, two were elementary school teachers and two were secretaries. The others included a research scientist, a community health officer, a bank teller, a social worker, a lawyer and a public relations officer. Many of the respondents felt that they are experiencing a status decline in the type of jobs they currently hold compared with what they were doing in their home countries. Although a majority of the women are currently employed in the labour market, their jobs are low paid, part-time and insecure, without any benefits.

Non-recognition of international work experience was one of the major challenges the women mentioned that they faced in getting a job in Halifax. The other significant challenge was foreign educational credentials. Fourteen of the women (88%) who sought paid employment in the area of their education and experience mentioned that their foreign qualifications and previous work experience were not considered as commensurate by employers. As Salaff and Greve (2006) have demonstrated in the case of Chinese immigrant women from mainland China, foreign degrees from Third World nations are considered to be inadequate by employers, without having been subjected to any established evaluation standards. Therefore, Canadian-born women are assumed to be capable, while immigrant women are assumed to be less capable and less intelligent, making it more difficult for them to be accepted as legitimate contenders for professional jobs.

When their foreign credentials and experiences are unrecognized, the immigrant women in this study needed to retrain. This means re-doing most of the education they already have, all over again. However, since most immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa bear much of the family responsibility, the demands placed on them as caregivers as well as workers in the paid labour force can translate into a "double day" syndrome (and a triple day with volunteer work added). They have to do this work simultaneously, limiting efforts to invest further in their human capital (Salaff and Greve 2004, Grieco and Boyd 1998). Although one woman, Christine, has the intention of pursuing Canadian educational opportunities, when she

Non-recognition of international work experience was one of the major challenges the women mentioned that they faced in getting a job in Halifax. The other significant challenge was foreign educational credentials. Fourteen of the women (88%) who sought paid employment in the area of their education and experience mentioned that their foreign qualifications and previous work experience were not considered as commensurate by employers.

was asked why she has not attempted to apply to schools as yet, she explained:

> Because, one, I wasn't financially stable. That is the highest barrier and recently I had a baby, and having a family here makes it difficult to go back to school because you have to think about who you gonna leave your baby with, and child care is so expensive.

Recertification and retraining demand time and money, and few immigrant women can afford these processes. Even the few who are better positioned to do so still find it difficult because the services are not offered locally in Atlantic Canada. This, therefore, provides the context of "choice" for immigrant women: either retrain or raise children (Tastsoglou and Miedema 2005). Patriarchy and capitalism appear to have joined forces to bind women from sub-Saharan Africa to a marginalized position in the Canadian society.

Accent was another major theme that most of the women cited as a challenge in getting paid work. In deciding on the criteria for selection of immigrants, formal education and language proficiency have been determined as the two most important attributes for success in the Canadian economy by the Federal Government. As a result, up to 25 points out of the 67-point pass mark, within the point system, are awarded for studies up to the level of Ph.D., and up to 24 points for proficiency in Canada's two official languages. Yet language competency still remains contested in everyday interactions when immigrants finally arrive on the shores of Canada (Haque 2004). A majority of the women in this study reported that most of the times they were not called for interviews and the few times that they were called for interviews, they were not hired because of their accent. Jessica expressed her frustration with her experience of systematic discrimination against women from sub-Saharan Africa in the labour market in the following words:

> Most times I have been called to these interviews, when I was really trying to look for a job. All they say is that you have an accent. So, I found that to be the biggest barrier. People not really taking their time to listen to what you are saying. All they hear is your accent.

Some of the women feel that most people who say they do not understand them when they speak do so deliberately. The argument has to be made here that speaking with an accent does not mean women from sub-Saharan Africa cannot speak or understand the English language. What it literally means is that they can speak more than one language, which, in effect, affects the way they speak the English language.

According to Tastsoglou and Miedema, as far as accents go, racism is the real problem because sound in itself does not present a functional problem; the treatment of a different sound as inferior is the issue (2005:18). Racializing "accent," therefore, shapes social interaction and locates immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa in a particular labour market just because an African accent cannot be separated from the skin colour of the African who speaks it (Creese and Kambere 2003).

Again, immigrant women have become aware that a higher educational level may be a prerequisite necessary to enter the labour market but not a sufficient one, because they are required to work harder than their Canadian counterparts (Tastsoglou and Miedema 2005). Most of the women in this study stated that they feel pressured to work extra hard to prove their worth where other people may not have to. Esi illustrated this in the interview:

> There is pressure on you to do better than your peers, especially those who are Canadians... because maybe they don't really have any high expectations from you. In Canada people have low expectations of you if you are an African. All the exposure about news from Africa is always negative, so it puts unnecessary pressure on you to over perform.

The individual and multiple effects of gender, race and class on the labour market integration of immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa have been well established in this study. A number of recommendations have been made based on concerns raised by participants of this study. First, immigration consultants should be instructed to provide realistic and accurate information about Canadian labour conditions to prospective immigrants. This is recommended because too many immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa come with unrealistic expectations and hope for economic success; however, their experiences have proved that many of their hopes are not realized. Immigrant women in general need accurate information to form realistic expectations of what they can hope to achieve when they migrate.

Again, there is the need for a more expedient recognition of foreign educational credentials. The Government should follow up by addressing immigrants' qualifications in a structured manner to remove barriers that limit access to employment. More education on volunteer work and placement opportunities should also be set up so that they can evolve into permanent positions with employers. This way, immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa can attain Canadian experience and compete with other Canadians and aspire to obtain the jobs for which they are suitably qualified. Bridging training programs is another viable option.

Last, but not least, there is the need for awareness creation in communities about immigration and its benefits and to dispel the false representations of immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa in Halifax, Atlantic Canada and Canada as a whole. This can be done through the use of the media, especially to dispel stereotypes about immigrants in general – that they take jobs from local workers or they end up on welfare and are a drain on the economy.

From the findings of this research, it has been determined that the problem that immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa encounter in Halifax is not about finding appropriate jobs but is about not being hired for these positions. This has important implications for the economic life of Nova Scotia – a province that faces the serious problems of an ageing population, a decreasing birth rate and an economy that is increasingly dependent on a highly skilled workforce (Akbari and Mandale 2005). The prosperity of the economy will depend, to a large extent, on the ability to attract and retain new immigrants to Nova Scotia. Hence, it is worth stressing that the presence of immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa has important implications for the life of the province. Given a level playing field, immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa could make valuable social and economic contributions to this Atlantic region. But before this can be realized, more has to be done in the area of identifying deeply rooted, multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination. Policies and support programs have to be guided by principles of fairness and inclusiveness and be responsive to the needs of, and structural barriers facing, immigrant women from sub-Saharan Africa living in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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This article briefly explores what it means for migrant mothers living in Halifax to engage in cross-cultural mothering, highlighting factors that facilitated their integration and discussing missing links that made their experiences of negotiating, integrating and adapting their mothering practices in their new environment more challenging. The article is based on a study carried out with six migrant mothers married to partners from the same country/culture and six mothers married to partners born in Canada.

"Canada Does Not Want Me, Canada Wants My Children"

Cross-cultural Mothering in Halifax

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Mothering in a new country places women on a journey of complex negotiations over new cultural meanings where they redefine their philosophies, methods and strategies of rearing children as they draw selectively from their cultural backgrounds and their Canadian experiences. Immigrant women in Canada engage in cross-cultural mothering within many family structures and in relationships with partners from their own or from different ethnic, racial and cultural backgrounds. In this article, I briefly explore what it means for migrant mothers living in Halifax to engage in cross-cultural mothering. I highlight the factors that facilitated their integration and discuss some of the missing links that made their experiences of negotiating, integrating and adapting their mothering practices in their new environment more challenging. The article is based on a study carried out with six migrant mothers married to partners from the same country/culture and six mothers married to partners born in Canada.[1]

Given the limitations in existing mothering and parenting models to describe the migrant mothering experience, I propose the term "cross-cultural mothering" in discussing the mothering experiences of the women involved in this study. I define this term as the complex forms of agency migrant women deploy to adjust to new contexts and environments, highlighting how they re-work their identities and construct and continually negotiate their mothering practices when living within a culture and/or country other than the one in which they were born and/or grew up. This concept originates from the premise that these women, situated in specific social contexts and within social relations and shaped by class, ethnicity, race and gender, bring with them a selective and dynamic knowledge of the values and beliefs of child rearing held in their culture/country of origin, and are involved, due to their migration, in negotiation and re-renegotiating cultural values, practices and institutions of their place of settlement, while maintaining ties with their home countries.

Although it is important to recognize the role played by fathers, especially as single parents, it

[1] This study, presented in the thesis *A Balancing Act: The Cultural Choices and Processes of Cross-Cultural Mothering*, was carried out in partial fulfillment for the requirement of a Master's program in Women's Studies. A chapter version of this brief article presented here is up-coming in the book *Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Evangelia Tastsoglou and Peruvemba S. Jaya.

is mothers who, within nuclear family units, undertake greater responsibility for the family and, therefore, generally spend most time as the primary socializers and mediators of the environment for their children. Immigrant women as married mothers, single mothers, adoptive and adopted mothers, lesbian mothers and childless mothers are the first caregivers. As such, they are the first teachers, the first educators of children, the passers-on of traditional culture and the providers of important linkages that help their families adapt and integrate to their country of settlement and to maintain ancestral culture and ties with family abroad. They are faced with the responsibility of adapting to their new society not only for their sake, but also for the sake of the children they will socialize (Kgmo 1996, Rose et al. 1998, Noivo 2000, Reyes 2002, Tummala-Narra 2004: 167).

NiraYuval-Davis in her book *Gender and Nation* highlights the central involvement of women in the construction and reproduction of nations and nationalism as cultural and biological reproducers of the nations, in the transmission of its values, culture and national citizenship, and in nationalist projects of conflict and wars. As bearers and reproducers of culture, it is women who in their daily work rearticulate the meaning of cultural identity within the family (1997: 2). Women, however, are usually "hidden" in the various theorizations of nation building, based on the common understanding of Western social and political order that divides the sphere of civil society into the public and private domains. Women, the family and the work women do raising and socializing children have been located in the private domain and outside the relevant political domain. This lack of recognition has been the basis for overlooking immigrant women's needs in their process of immigration, settlement and integration; it has influenced society's views, which underestimate the important role immigrant women as mothers play in shaping the Canadian society.

The work migrant women do as mothers, their changing values and their intentions and practices relating to rearing and socializing their children has implications not only for their children's identity and integration into the society in which women settle, but also for society's social and cultural diversity as well as its economy. Immigrant mothers help reproduce and transform society as they produce future generations of well-rounded men and women who will maintain the talent to boost the economy and enrich social and cultural life (Vaughan 1991: 15). The title of this article clearly indicates that the women participating in this study are aware that demographic trends such as aging, low birth rate, as well as economic demands have shaped Canadian immigration policies for quite some time (Weinfeld and Eisner 1994: 8). They see their cross-cultural mothering work as valuable to society. They are aware of their value to Canada as it becomes more evident that Canada, and Nova Scotia in particular, needs young, educated newcomers who are or have the potential to raise a family and provide the talent to boost the economy of this province (Beaton 2001: 1). Their experiences, contributions and needs as women and as mothers in the processes of migration, settlement and integration, although largely unnoticed in the immigration discourse, reflect the importance of incorporating a gender analysis in immigration policy and programs.

For these women, cross-cultural mothering is a journey of new beginnings that involves joy and wonder, as well as sacrifice, sadness, loneliness, sorrow and at times insecurity. They see their cross-cultural mothering experiences as a wonderful journey that enriches them and their children because it allows them to learn the intricacies of the new culture and re-learn their heritage culture from a new vantage point. Women judged that, for them, to be a mother in Canada is different than being a mother in their country of origin. Cross-cultural mothering grants new intellectual dimensions because of the additional invisible intellectual labour involved in negotiating cultures, in creating new parenting frameworks to help women raise well rounded and responsible human beings who will contribute to make this world a better place. This invisible labour also includes the work done to support children as they develop and negotiate their identity, to build children's self-esteem to help them cope with and survive within systems of racial oppression and discrimination, to help children integrate into their environment yet resist pressures to assimilate, and to enable children to become socially competent for the present and for the future. Furthermore, mothering away from home is different for women who can no longer count on the support of the extended family and the neighbourhood networks they left behind.

Halifax was considered to offer a fair amount of recreational and educational programs and parenting resources helpful in bringing up children. On the other hand many women felt that Halifax's economic reality and the society's level of appreciation of cultural, ethnic and racial diversity had an impact on the integration of families into society and posed many challenges in their daily lives and the lives of their children in various ways.

"A balancing act" and "an act of compromising" are terms women use to describe what they and their partners do to adjust their parenting methods and philosophy as they respond to their new environment. A lot of thought and consideration, although at times unconscious or unrecognized, goes into the process of negotiating cultures as women and their partners pick and choose the values they will incorporate to guide their lives, their families and their children. Mothers married with partners from the same culture perceived the responsibility of balancing cultures as a relationship between their family and the society at large; for mothers married with partners born in Canada, this balancing act began within the confines of their homes. The juggling of cultural differences often begins with specific day-to-day arrangements, from sleeping arrangements and daily meals to other aspects in their family life including discipline methods, language and religious practices.

Negotiating parenting methods, cultural values, beliefs and traditions is complex even under a multicultural system that encourages integration rather than assimilation. Because of the relative freedom "to be yourself" in Canadian society, many women were happy to mother cross-culturally in this country. Multiculturalism allows them to incorporate into their family life what they value from the different cultures. Many women were happy to raise their children in Halifax. Although a small city, Halifax was considered to offer a fair amount of recreational and educational programs and parenting resources helpful in bringing up children. On the other hand many women felt that Halifax's economic reality and the society's level of appreciation of cultural, ethnic and racial diversity had an impact on the integration of families into society and posed many challenges in their daily lives and the lives of their children in various ways. Reluctance to embrace diversity was reflected in the absence of a diversity analysis in the development and implementation of services and programs to include the myriad of experiences of a multicultural society. The cultural sensitivity often experienced in programs for newcomers often did not extend into other community programs and services, into the workplace or into society in general. Regarding cross-cultural mothering, women perceived that resistance to embrace diversity was reflected in the level of understanding of cross-cultural parenting and upbringing as parents and children interacted with the society at large on a daily basis. They felt that language accent, skin colour, dress and language differences are still largely perceived as a curiosity rather than seen with familiarity, as would be in multicultural environments in larger Canadian cities such as Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver. Often, visible and audible differences of parents and their children provoke negative attitudes, which had an impact on children's integration process, their feelings of inclusion or exclusion, their sense of being insiders or outsiders and their feelings of belonging to this society.

Many women in this study highlighted important changes in their parenting practices due to missing links that made their immigration, settlement, integration and cross-cultural mothering experience more challenging. Some of these links are the absence of formal information on Canadian child-rearing practices and parenting resources before and upon the women's arrival to Canada, the absence of extended family and the lack of accreditation of their foreign credentials and their immigrant status.

As newcomers, these women faced a series of challenges, confusion and frustration because they were unaware and uninformed about Canadian parenting practices. They identified a lack of an existing formal or institutional support system to help them raise their children and perceived this absence as a great challenge. They often became aware of such vital

information informally through their extended family and indirectly through their interactions with their school-age children. The fact that children within the school system, in isolation from their parents, learned about their rights regarding violence against children and about support programs they could access usually added to women's grief and sense of loss. It created tensions within the family as mothers felt their authority was being undermined, that they were losing control and confidence over their parenting roles and responsibilities, that their parenting practices were not valued and recognized as valid. They also felt that children were being informed about their rights with little explanation on their responsibility to be respectful to their parents' teachings and to the guidance of school teachers.

Most of these women echoed a need for some sort of structural or institutional support mechanism prior to or upon newcomers arrival and during their first years of integration, to help them learn formally about available parenting resources, such as recreational centres and programs for families, as well as to receive information on discipline methods and children's rights and protective policies. When most of these women immigrated to Halifax, there was little being offered locally to support immigrant women raising children. Now, immigrant settlement associations, community service organizations, community health centres and hospitals have come together more often to address the need to support newcomer families, and parents specifically. The IWK-Grace Health Centre has developed a Multicultural Health Program (Enang 2002). The Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) has offered training sessions on parenting and has developed a parenting guide for newcomer parents (2004). Presently MISA provides support to newcomer parents through its Settlement Unit. Ongoing funding for these programs, however, is a major concern that often prevents continuity of services.

The existence of familiar persons in Canada has been defined as a source of economic support for newcomer women and as a bridge that allows for familiarity of community that helps ease their transition to their new environment and facilitates the meeting of new people and developing friendships (2nd Nova Scotia Immigrant Women's Round Table 2006: 6, Warren 1996: 10). In general, women married to Canadian-born men described the support of their husband and his extended family as facilitating their immigration and their relatively smooth settlement process. Having a husband and his extended family provided them with a form of support and vital guidance towards understanding their new environment, helping them adjust to a new culture and learn about raising and socializing children. This support prevented them from feeling isolated and lost. Women married to partners from the same country, however, experienced a transition from an extended family to a nuclear family practice. They lost the physical presence of an extended family to help them take care of the children. Babysitting was an unfamiliar practice many could not afford, and others did not consider it an option. They also lost the immediate and direct support from the familiar people they counted on to inform their parenting methods, strategies and values. They grieved the absence of extended family because it deprived their children from the warmth and ongoing close relationships with relatives, from the joys of getting together with their extended family and from the development of a sense of belonging through those experiences.

Many women who were working professional mothers changed their mothering practices to a stay-at-home mothering practice. They recognized that cross-cultural mothering involved sacrifices, but these women named the loss of their professional carriers as a sacrifice they made to provide their children with a safe environment and the potential for a brighter future. This sacrifice was not always an option but was often imposed by women's inadequate access to learning the English language, the lack of accreditation of their foreign credentials, the lack of Canadian work experience and their immigrant category and legal status. Most women entered Canada with the status of "dependents" because they were accompanying their husbands who had employment or because they immigrated in the family class category. Their experiences reveal how gender-based, sexist, racist and classist social institutions and immigration policies are shaped to respond to the expectations of what is a socially appropriate role for men and women, without taking into consideration the adverse impact on the lives of women who do not conform to those gender-based social expectations (Boyd 2003, Tastsoglou 2005); this resulted in

Negotiating parenting methods, cultural values, beliefs and traditions is complex even under a multicultural system that encourages integration rather than assimilation. Because of the relative freedom "to be yourself" in Canadian society, many women were happy to mother cross-culturally in this country. Multiculturalism allows them to incorporate into their family life what they value from the different cultures.

professional marginalization, a loss of status and an increased risk of poverty for women.

For instance, a lack of gender analysis in the design and implementation of settlement programs was reflected in these mothers' experiences. Due to their immigrant category or their legal status, some of these mothers were not able to access settlement services or formal information about Canadian parenting, nor were they made aware that these services existed once they became landed immigrants. More often these women learned about these services through people they eventually met, thereby delaying their access to services available to help them integrate into the larger society. Their category as "dependent" also affected many women's access to services, including the state-funded English as a Second Language (ESL) program. For women who had infant children, access to ESL training became almost impossible, forcing them to stop learning the language altogether or to seek alternatives ways of retaining the little they had, such as attending conversation groups when offered in a setting where they could bring their babies.

The inability to improve their English skills was an aspect that affected women's sense of belonging to the Canadian society and their role as mothers. They felt this limited their ability to get a job, to go to school and update their educational training, and to get involved in volunteer work. Most importantly, for mothers this created tensions and power struggles within the family due to the gap in the knowledge of the English language between them and their children, limiting their ability to have direct access to communication with their children's teacher, school principal and other staff. It limited their ability to access recreational and parenting resources, to interact with English-speaking parents, to learn the intricacies of parenting and raising children and the various aspects of Canadian culture, and to juggle and negotiate cultures in an informed manner.

For some women and their families, access to paid work was a significant stumbling block to their integration and their parenting. Not only were employment opportunities few, but also the women or their husbands were further disadvantaged when applying to jobs due to the lack of acceptance of their credentials and the employers' response to their accent in English and their cultural, ethnic or racial background. For most women, coming to Canada is inextricably linked to their desire to protect and secure a better future for their children. This situation often put pressure on some families. It limited the options of what parents could provide for their children on a daily basis. In the long term, it had an impact on their settlement experience. Some women found themselves discussing whether to stay in or leave Halifax, while four families relocated to bigger multicultural cities with prospects of better job opportunities.

The assertion in the statement "Canada does not want me, Canada wants my children" reflects not only the fact that women are aware that one of their greatest contributions to this country is raising children to become well-rounded individuals that will contribute to the well-being of this country, but also that the work women do raising children and their needs as women and as mothers in their immigration and settlement experience continues to be perceived as a private act in the immigration discourse rather than as work that mediates the private and the public spheres. The constant adjustments that these mothers undergo reflects their strength, courage, resiliency and determination to make the best of the circumstances they faced as they settled and integrated into the Canadian society. Their cross-cultural mothering experiences corroborate that gender is a necessary lens to examine migration, settlement and integration

processes in order to develop a truly inclusive understanding of the contributions and the needs of immigrants, as well as the ways in which Canadian society continues to change as a consequence of immigration and growing socio-cultural diversity.

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Many people come to Canada to live in a more secure nation (compared to their country of origin); as a result, they may be more sensitive to and affected by security changes than native-born Canadians....Much of the pride associated with moving to Canada is that it is not the United States, and, therefore, growing North American integration affects feelings of security in Canada.

Gender, Security and Immigration in Atlantic Canada

Policy Implications

EVANGELIA TASTSOGLOU
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This article is a short overview focusing on the major research findings and policy implications and recommendations of a larger project that was funded by Status of Women Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage between 2003-2006[1]. The project took place in six urban centres of Atlantic Canada and involved an academic team of four (sociologists Diane Crocker and Evangelia Tastsoglou, as project leader; and political scientists Alexandra Dobrowolsky and Edna Keeble, from Saint Mary's University) in collaboration with the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA), a major settlement organization in Atlantic Canada, serving as liaison between the academic team and six local community project teams. Overall, the project included a team of about 48 individuals at any given time, working in various capacities.

The project focused on the impact of the definition of terrorism in the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA; assented to in December 2001) and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA; assented to in November 2001) on immigrants and ethnic community members in diverse communities in the six cities (Halifax, Moncton, Saint John, Fredericton, Charlottetown, and St. John's), through a gender lens and a gender-based analysis. As a result, the project brought into focus the implicit and explicit connections between security and immigration in these relatively new pieces of legislation and associated policy and practice. It therefore revealed just how the citizenship not only of the women and men of these communities in Atlantic Canada, but of all Canadians was impacted.

A growing body of literature, which serves as the backdrop of this research, reveals the contemporary broader, global and national trends regarding security, immigration and citizenship. It highlights the following:

- An emphasis on traditional, narrowly-defined, internal security matters where the priority is on making the state secure;
- A merging of security and immigration concerns;
- An expansion of the security-related government powers and the reinforcement of state boundaries, a trend that has come to be known as "securitization;"
- A continued emphasis on the market, a trend termed "marketization;"

[1] Crocker, D., A. Dobrowolsky, E. Keeble, C. Moncayo, and E. Tastsoglou. 2007. Security and Immigration, Changes and Challenges: Immigrant and Ethnic Communities in Atlantic Canada, Presumed Guilty? Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, Policy Research Fund, and the Department of Canadian Heritage. Retrieved from http://atlantic.metropolis.net/ResearchPolicy/index_e.html.

- A continued and even increased racism, taking on new forms (racialization); and finally;
- A reinforcement of the invisibility of women's concerns ("invisibilization"). As a result, recent developments in security and immigration policies tend to be exclusionary rather then inclusionary. This negatively affects citizenship ideas, ideals and practices that apply to citizens, as well as non-citizens, to the detriment of Canadian democracy.

Research methodology

Our research methodology included three distinct phases. In Phase 1, our background research and preparation involved an analysis of relevant sections of the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA) and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA), as well as the processes that led to their development and adoption (drawing from media, parliamentary debates, government briefs, scholarly works and international conventions). Additional preparation before conducting the research involved forming local research teams in six cities (including a local coordinator, a focus group facilitator, an interviewer, and a local reference group), a Regional Advisory Committee of eighteen members, and a Management Committee (including a Project Coordinator).

Phase 2 of the project included data collection and analysis through various means. These included:

- *Town hall meetings* wherein participants (in each of the six cities) discussed how the new security agenda affected their lives and communities. Town hall meetings allowed the research team, with input from the "local reference groups" and *focus groups*, to formulate the survey questionnaire and subsequent interview schedule;
- Focus groups (in all six cities) which included staff from immigrant service organizations, community and advocacy groups, service recipients and ethnic community members. The focus groups discussed the differential effects of national security policies on men and women, defined how concepts such as security, terrorism, freedom, equality and citizenship have changed since 9-11, and commented on how changes in security policies have affected ethnic minorities and religious groups;
- *Surveys* – mail-back questionnaires which were directed at individuals working in immigrant service organizations, leaders of the community and advocacy groups members. The surveys addressed the effects of national security policies based on gender, immigrant and visible minority status, examined the differential perceptions and experiences of freedom, equality, and citizenship, asked about changes in the level of tolerance and diversity in Atlantic Canada after 9-11, focused on general understandings and perceptions of terrorism before and after 9-11, and the legal definition of terrorism,
- Fifty-eight *qualitative interviews* across the six cities with clients of immigrant service providers, or immigrant and ethnic community members who arrived in Canada before 9-11. Interview questions were semi-structured and open-ended, in order to examine the participants' experiences in their communities; the participants' experiences with and opinions about the new laws and national security policies; the participants' definition of security, freedom, equality, citizenship, and terrorism, specifically their opinions on how well the government has been protecting them, problems stemming from the definition of terrorism, and what should be done about it; and finally the participants' responses to all of the above in light of gender; and finally;
- *Case law analysis*, involving primary data providing insight into how the law and courts are defining concepts central to research on security and immigration. Legal research had identified 11 cases of relevance by 2005, yet the databases did not contain every case that had occurred in Canada, therefore they could only provide general insight to the evolution of legal definitions, interpretations of statutes and how precedents are set. In the final report the research team decided not to include the limited findings of the case law analysis. Such findings are however included in the project website.

Our research methodology included a third phase; it is during Phase 3 that reporting to our research subjects and receiving feedback from them took place. Such feedback was provided in special feedback meetings which were held in each city, through a final regional advisory workshop which brought the research team,

Freedom from the fear of war is important for both men and women, yet when it comes to women it refers specifically to freedom from the fear of gender-based violence in conflict zones....By contrast to men, many women particularly emphasize economic security or the economic dimension of security.

the local coordinators, and one member from each of the local reference groups together, and finally through a series of six final closed(by invitation) town hall meetings where the local reference groups, together with interested research participants from the various phases of the project's research and two members of the research team came together in each site to further discuss the data and their overall experience of the project, as well as to provide final comments and input on the writing of our final, revised and updated report. The project's webpage was also constructed during that phase.

Our research analysis unfolded along central concepts and themes, namely security, terrorism, freedom, equality, and citizenship. These concepts structure the analysis and are found throughout the project: from the literature review, to the research findings and final recommendations. Gender also informs the research design and analysis, providing a cross-cutting theme.

Research findings on security

Research findings on security highlighted the following.

- Many people come to Canada to live in a more secure nation (compared to their country of origin); as a result, they may be more sensitive to and affected by security changes than native-born Canadians.
- Much of the pride associated with moving to Canada is that it is not the United States, and, therefore, growing North American integration affects feelings of security in Canada.
- Current processes that focus on anti-terrorism and national security produce racialized and gendered stereotypes.
- Women defined the most important type of security as "economic security," while men defined it as "personal security."
- More limited and restrictive definitions of security (e.g. focused on the public realm) will continue to make women and women's concerns invisible.

Our analysis of security concluded that:

- Security can be "broadly" defined: meeting needs, protecting rights, stopping abuse, ending exploitation, and understanding that race, gender, class and cultural issues matter in a global and local context.
- Post 9-11, notions and practices of security have become more highly focused, centering on national security; this means protecting the state from external threats has become a primary concern. As a result, traditional instruments of security are beefed up. In addition, in the conception of security as national, distinctions are being made between what is happening abroad, externally, and what occurs at home, internally, as well as between the public realm and the private domain.
- When security is defined as national security, gender becomes invisible.

Research findings on terrorism

Research findings on terrorism revealed the following.

- The biggest consequence of terrorism is fear, derived from the acts of terrorism, but also from the security discourse.
- Terrorism, according to our research participants, should be grounds for inadmissibility to Canada. Facilitating and/or financing terrorism should be criminal offences.
- Promoting cross-cultural education, and developing world peace and social justice is a solution to terrorism.
- There was fear arising from how the ATA could be used, especially through targeting certain groups by way of racial profiling.

Our analysis of terrorism concluded that:

- Terrorism is almost impossible to define, since its meaning can change depending on the context.
- Yet the term elicits fear among the general population, prompts governments to enact laws and policies that are both preventative and increasingly punitive, and is used around the world in the name of countless causes.
- The climate of concern over terrorism has affected people's day-to-day lives and how they interact in their communities.
- The state has approached terrorism through the IRPA and the ATA and their interconnections.
- The fact that terrorism is even mentioned in the IRPA shows that it is not framed as a domestic issue, but one that can be imported through immigration.
- The chosen approach allows for stereotypes to prevail.

Research findings on the state of freedom highlighted that:

- Freedom is "being Canadian;" yet much "Canadian freedom" rests upon class.
- There is a sense of diminished political and civic freedom in Atlantic Canada, post 9-11.
- The impact of national security policies are more acutely felt by certain immigrant and ethnic groups.
- The meaning of freedom for most participants centered on political freedom and the (civil) freedom of expression as being the most important types of freedom.
- It was felt that incidents of hostility towards individuals of visible minorities have been on the rise (e.g. racial profiling, questioning, detention).
- Abuse of power has often been excused as a means of achieving freedom, but freedom should not be achieved through violence.

Our analysis of freedom revealed that:

- There has been a contraction/ retrenchment/ increased vulnerability of rights and freedoms felt by immigrants and ethnic community members.
- There has been a rise in new forms of racism and racialization of new groups.
- The security focus of migration has resulted in immigrant intake becoming a more complicated, lengthier, costlier and impersonal process (at the expense of those most in need of refuge and protection).
- There has been a reinforcement of borders and this expansion of the state has changed immigration and travel experiences, which translates into infringements on freedom.
- As national security policies operate primarily in the public sphere, women's invisibility has continued and they are seen as not particularly affected by the new policies.

Research findings on equality

Research findings on equality revealed the following.

- Equality before the law is not a reality for some groups who are being discriminated against under the presumption of being terrorists.
- It was recognized that equality for immigrants is linked to being fully integrated and enjoying the benefits of Canadian society.
- This sense of equality includes the right to access the same opportunities of Canadian-born citizens, but also the right to be treated differently and valued according to cultural differences.
- Gender equality was the most important form of equality for women, and equality before the law was most important for men.
- Additional efforts are needed to enforce the laws that protect people's right to equality.

Our analysis concluded that:

- Equality was seen as a principle that prevents violence and guarantees peace, defines Canadian society and differentiates it from other countries, especially the United States.
- Equality is perceived in more formal, individualistic terms (e.g. before the law, or as an opportunity), but also more substantively (e.g., as a condition, or result, for individuals and groups), therefore changes in formal legal rules should be combined with broader, structural and practical changes to remove substantive barriers to equality.
- The concept of equality and its implementation are being eroded. Changes in

Freedom from the fear of war is important for both men and women, yet when it comes to women it refers specifically to freedom from the fear of gender-based violence in conflict zones....By contrast to men, many women particularly emphasize economic security or the economic dimension of security.

the national security climate have prevented some immigrants from exerting their rights in the same way as native-born Canadians.

- A "fear of the other" increasingly affects all people who are racially different (i.e., different from the white majority), and has deepened the division between different categories of immigrants.

Research findings on citizenship

Research findings on citizenship revealed the following.

- Most participants do not believe that the government is doing a good job of safeguarding citizenship rights, especially for new Canadians.
- Certain groups and individuals do not believe that they are subject to the same rights and protection as others.
- Immigrant support and services are being cut back, while the state is building up its security capabilities.
- State officials have the ability to exercise more discretion about how, when and why to adopt coercive measures.

Our analysis concluded that:

- The growing connection between security and im/migration has resulted in citizenship ideals and norms contracting.
- Increased marketization forces the state to offload a part of its responsibilities to the market, family, or community.
- A greater emphasis on both the state and market means that the concerns of non-state actors in the community and family become less significant.
- With growing securitization, basic civil, political and cultural rights are more vulnerable.
- The emphasis on market priorities often means a retrenchment of social rights and services, which disproportionately affects women.
- Broader understanding of inclusion, acceptance, attachment and connection are starting to corrode in the post 9-11 environment.

Gender Impacts

Although both male and female participants asserted that new laws had a significant impact on men and women, they stated that the laws affected them equally or, even, that they affected men in more profound ways. Although in some instances women spoke of the economic consequences of these laws, male family members suffered more directly the effects of the new policies. Yet for the most part, women were not prepared to openly make such connections between policies, perceived to operate on the public sphere and in their private lives. When we analyzed what women and men actually say when they speak about their concrete experiences, it is clear that women and men often do speak about such experiences from a gender-based perspective. The following points were raised, for example.

- Freedom from the fear of war is important for both men and women, yet when it comes to women it refers specifically to freedom from the fear of gender-based violence in conflict zones.
- By contrast to men, many women particularly emphasize economic security or the economic dimension of security.

In addition, men's and women's understanding of the same concepts and ideas are highly gendered.

- In contrast to men, the meaning of "freedom of movement" for women seems to refer to being free to move around in society without criticism or consequences stemming from rigidly defined gender roles.

- Equality, for women, means equal treatment for everyone, and especially equality between the two sexes.
- Security for women takes the gendered form of being safe from abuse in the private sphere of the family and security from the gendered risks of violence against women in conflict zones.
- Citizenship, for the majority of women, contrary to men, refers to a feeling, the socially rooted "sense of belonging."

Conclusion and recommendations

In conclusion, we found that the growing interface between security and im/migration fundamentally affects the understanding of what Canadian citizenship means. Most notably, rather than promoting a more expansive Canadian citizenship for the 21st century, citizenship ideals and norms appear to be contracting. We identified a number of themes/trends that perpetuate these tendencies:

- The new emphasis on traditional, internal security, or *securitization*;
- The new "tying-up" of security with immigration matters, or *securitization of migration*;
- The continued centrality of the market, or *marketization*;
- The *expansion of the state* through increased, security-related bureaucratic processes and the *reinforcement of state boundaries*;
- The exacerbation of existing racism and the development of new forms, both overt and subtle, of racism, or *racialization*;
- The submersion of women's concerns, or increased *invisibilization.*

Our research suggested that the Canadian state has directed its energies towards both securitization and marketization; these, in turn, produced a securitization of migration, an expansion of the state and the reinforcement of state boundaries, and served to perpetuate racialization and women's invisibilization. As a result, new developments in security and immigration policies reflect exclusionary tendencies rather than inclusionary ones (i.e. contraction and retrenchment of rights and freedoms, reinforcement of state boundaries). Overall, these trends illustrate that citizenship ideas, ideals and practices have shifted, affecting male and female citizens – and non-citizens – to the detriment of Canadian democracy.

Accordingly, we made policy recommendations as initial efforts to reverse these troubling trends. While a number of very specific policy recommendations can be found in our report, the broader policy directions are being presented here. First and foremost, we recommend that the government pay close attention to global trends that increasingly link im/migration and security policies in order to disentangle Canadian security concerns from its immigration matters. In this vein, Canada's security and immigration policies must be based on Canadian priorities, and more attuned to the distinctiveness of Canadian political culture and its specific socio-economic and political context. Our research participants were clearly concerned about their perception that Canada was too often responding to or following the lead of the United States. Fundamentally, Canada should adopt broader notions of security at home and abroad.

Economic security (freedom from want), *security as peace* (freedom from fear), and the *protection of human rights* regardless of where individual women and men reside, as well as *personal security* for women and men, are the elements that should be brought to bear in any discussion on security in Canada. This, then, is by necessity tied up with the security of individuals globally.

In light of this, Canadian citizenship ideals should more closely fit with Canadian citizenship practices and apply to all Canadians. Laws should be reviewed with an eye to protecting civil liberties but also enhancing social and multicultural rights. For example, rights must reflect more than abstract or empty ideals, and be seen to be realizing concrete commitments. Substantive equality (not just formal equality) must be concertedly pursued, where equality as an end result for all becomes a serious commitment, and steps are taken to make it a reality for everyone. Finally, Parliament must re-visit the definition of terrorism contained in the ATA. Civil liberties organizations, immigrant and refugee advocacy groups, and Canada's Muslim communities have been the most outspoken in demanding change. It is recommended that the government pay close and careful attention to these voices and amend parts of Canada's anti-terrorism legislation.

This article is based on an arts-informed study involving 11 female teachers who have immigrated to Atlantic Canada. Through their artwork and voices, the women confront, challenge and de/re/construct their own and others' mis/representations of themselves as "immigrant women."

Representations of "Immigrant Women" Teachers in Nova Scotia*

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In this article,[1] we discuss the ways in which a group of internationally educated female teachers represented themselves and others in the context of an arts-informed research study. We draw on Hall's work about representation (1985, 1997a, 1997b, 2003) to inform our discussion. We use the term "immigrant women" (with quotation marks) in contexts where we feel that it is appropriate to emphasize the ways that this group of people has been constructed. The term "internationally educated teachers" describes those who have immigrated to Canada, have earned post secondary education from elsewhere and have teaching experience from elsewhere and/or in Canada. Overall, our purpose in this article is to explore representations of "immigrant women" and the ways that the research participants actively engaged with the process of (re)producing and resisting these.

Briefly, the arts-informed inquiry involved a group of 11 women from eight different countries who met with us to discuss experiences of immigration, integration and teaching. We began each research session by brainstorming and then writing about immigration and/or teaching. At each session, one or two research participants shared by reading or by speaking about what she had written. The others in the group then responded to the story through drawing, painting and writing or through the use of clay, blocks, fabric or other arts and craft materials (see Walsh and Brigham 2005, 2007). Underlying this research process is the belief that "experience" is never neutral and that any representation of experience is necessarily also constructed, positioned. We are cognizant that the ways in which we discuss the women's representations of themselves and others is at least partially produced by the ways we position ourselves as university researchers and by the ways in which we ourselves are positioned by others.

Representations of "immigrant women"

Hall (1997b) notes that "representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged among people of a culture" (p. 15). Representation goes beyond the reflective where "meaning is thought to lie in the

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[1] A longer version of this article entitled Internationally Educated Teachers in Nova Scotia: Representations of "Immigrant Women" in an Arts-Informed Research Study (Brigham, S. and Walsh, S., in press) can be read in E. Tastsoglou and P. S. Jaya (Eds.) Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada: Feminist Perspectives. Canadian Scholars/Women's Press.

object, person, idea or event in the real world," where language operates as a mirror (p. 24) and is also beyond the intentional where the connection between the sender of a message and the message itself (as well as the reception of it) can be construed as direct, linear, and therefore attainable (p. 25). Representations are constructed and historical, and therefore changeable and dynamic – in need of interrogation. In our work, questions such as the following arise: Who is subsumed in the category "immigrant women?" How are "immigrant women" represented? For which location? Using which strategies? In what tone of address (Shohat 1995)? Who represents whom and for what purposes? How do these representations change over time?

"Immigrant women" in Canada have historically been considered members of a homogeneous – and largely invisible – category of people. For example, until fairly recently in Canadian immigration policy, women were considered as mere "add-ons," or dependents of male immigrants, not active in the immigration process (Brigham 1995).

Certain groups of immigrants to Canada, such as women, continue to be represented in ways that reinforce their economically, socially and politically "subordinate" positions in society. The representation of "immigrant women" has not remained static. The meaning of the term has shifted over the past 30 years from the perception as passive "add-ons" to their male immigrant family members to being recognized as having different immigration experiences compared with their male counterparts. Agnew (2003) notes that more recent scholarly writing and research in the area of immigration have focused on resistance to oppression by immigrant women, particularly from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (Dhruvarajan and Vickers 2002, Brigham 2002, Brigham and Bernardino 2003, Man 2004).

Representations of "immigrant women" (such as those found in written text and visual forms) seem to stand for (in place of) and often speak for the needs and desires of this "category" of women. Ng and Estable (1987) make clear the disjunction between the legal and common sense understanding of the term "immigrant women" by explaining that some foreign-born people in Canada are not seen as, nor do they see themselves as, immigrants, while others, based on their "Third World" country origins, race, language ability and/or accent and their lower positions in the occupational hierarchy, are seen as, and see themselves as, immigrants regardless of their legal status.

An example of how an "immigrant woman" constructs and (re)presents herself racially is provided by Neno, one of the women who participated in the research (all participants are referred to by their pseudonyms to protect their identities). Neno includes herself in the category "immigrant women" but excludes herself from the category of "immigrant woman of colour" when she compares herself to a woman from Sudan. Neno, who is from the Middle East and has herself been classified by others as an "immigrant woman of colour," highlights the variance of "colours" of immigrants and the ways in which their colour affects their immigration/integration experiences. She states, "I feel that I am discriminated against here, but I'm glad not to be an immigrant of colour, it's even worse." These group-organizing racial categories are further complicated when culture is considered. For example, in the context of Muslim women who wear the hijab (a scarf head covering), Neno, Dera and Katka have this exchange:

> **Neno** [who does not wear the hijab]: There are facts we have to face here because many Muslim come here like my mother. I can see the different treatment between her and me when she is with me. [At a store] they will leave her right to the end. They will keep looking [at her]. People become scared. They don't understand what the whole [wearing the hijab] thing means.
>
> **Katka** [who is interested in understanding more about the hijab]: Dera, this happen to you?
>
> **Dera** [who wears the hijab]: Yes, many times people will look down on me. In Superstore...a guy is not only looking down at me, but also speaking to others and pointing at me.
>
> **Neno**: It keeps happening. When you ask a question they [employees] will answer in a rude way and keep looking scared.
>
> **Katka**: Why?
>
> **Neno**: Maybe after 9-11. "Maybe she is carrying a bomb or something."
>
> **Dera**: This is the idea unfortunately, and they don't know we are against this [violence] too.

They [the women] indicate that they "have voices" and are taking action against oppressive forces... [by] speaking out when others attempt to silence them, taking formal education courses to make them more employable and to help them improve their English, supporting one another, advising one another on dealing with discrimination and participating in this research.

Having voice, being heard, and being silent: Internationally educated teachers' representations of themselves and others in The Nova Scotia context

In this section, we first briefly note a few ways "immigrant women" are represented in Nova Scotia, specifically in a current immigration document and then discuss the ways in which the women in our study represented themselves within the themes of having voice, being heard and being silent.

In January 2005, Nova Scotia released the "Nova Scotia Immigration Strategy" (NSIS), a provincial initiative aimed at attracting and retaining skilled and educated immigrants.

On the basis of recommendations from the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the Gender/Immigrant Women Research Domain, Atlantic Metropolis Centre (2004), the NSIS document acknowledges that "gender needs must...be taken into consideration" (p. 15) and that the provincial government must be "sensitive to the differences between women and men throughout the immigration experience" (p. 4). Interestingly, however, the terms "gender" and "women" are conflated at times in the NSIS document. Further, women who immigrate to Nova Scotia are represented as women who stay home and are isolated, unemployed wives or mothers who cannot speak English (NSIS, p. 21).

Our research participants clearly resisted being categorized into one homogenized group. At the same time, they did share common experiences, which they elaborated upon in the context of responding to one another's stories through art. Some of our research participants discussed silence in terms of their lack of English language proficiency, and how the latter affected their participation in society. For example, in Rose's artwork, the image of a room demonstrates how one's participation in society is limited partly as a result of one's lack of proficiency in the English language. She constructed a three-sided room out of building blocks. On one side (the room's front wall) there is a window. The back of this room is open. Inside the room are markers that represent people, mainly immigrants, some of whom are near the window and others who are out of view from the window. She explains:

> There are a lot of people trapped in this block. This is languages block. This person [furthest from the window] is completely blocked, because of language barrier. They don't know what is happening in Canadian society; just they are ignored and they also ignore what happens in the mainstream. But this person [closest to the window] is a very fluent English speaker, but he is also blocked because of the culture or language or social knowledge. So this person can see what is happening in the mainstream of Canadian society but just through their own window, so the knowledge is very limited and also they cannot participate. I mean there should be a door to open, but that's just a window.

In her description of her artwork she indicates that being silenced does not result solely from language issues. She highlights culture and social knowledge as well and also notes that even the fluent English language speaker is not able to "participate" fully. Her words, "there should be a door to open" suggest that she feels that something is awry in the way that immigrants are viewed and also in the way that they situate themselves, e.g. "just they are ignored and they also ignore what happens in the mainstream."

Katka's use of gags and a fence in her artwork show that female teachers who have immigrated to Canada are stopped from speaking and also from gaining entrance to the teaching profession. In her response to another participant's story of being unemployed, not having professional qualifications recognized in Canada, and concerns about her children losing their traditions, Katka depicts a school made of

blocks. The school has a clay fence around it and outside the fence are clay figures representing women who are immigrants and teachers. Their mouths are gagged, while the children figures are inside the fence, sitting on or in the school. Katka explains:

> It is a barrier because of the language, and it doesn't matter what education you have, you can't express yourself. So that's why I put these little people with the covers on their mouths. So those are kids and they're in the school because they adjusted so well to the life whereas immigrant teachers are just kept away. They have to really jump that fence in order to get to teaching.

Katka makes clear being silent is a result not only of language difficulties, but also of being blocked in their careers (in this case teaching) because of not having their credentials recognized.

Commentary

The discursive approach is concerned with the politics (the effects and consequences) of representations. Politically, when the attempt is made to freeze a specific meaning in a representation of, in this instance, "immigrant women" through, for example, popular discourse, the consequences are, as the participants indicated, experiences that are disempowering and demoralizing. The women challenge the assumption that "immigrant women" are passive and silent. They indicate that they "have voices" and are taking action against oppressive forces. This action includes speaking out when others attempt to silence them, taking formal education courses to make them more employable and to help them improve their English, supporting one another, advising one another on dealing with discrimination (including their children's experiences of discrimination, exclusion, and other adaptation difficulties) and participating in this research group and a readers' theatre (developed from our research data) that is used as a means of engaging audiences (e.g., teacher education candidates) in dialogues about immigration and teaching (see Walsh and Brigham 2007). In these ways, the women confront, challenge and de/re/construct their own and others' mis/representations of themselves. Their artwork and voices confirm Giroux's (2005: 165) assertion that a "representation does not guarantee an unproblematic, transcendent meaning."

In conclusion, we have indicated the ways in which representation as an ongoing constitutive process mediates between people, their identities and their relationships. In everyday life, we legitimate, produce and reproduce, struggle with, and counter the politics of representations. The challenge is to consistently question representations of and about and by "immigrant women" (and others). Our arts-informed research approach, namely the voices and resymbolizations of the research participants through their art and their conversations together, is one means of doing so.

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This research was carried out between November 2004 and March 2005 by the Newfoundland and Labrador Research Group (of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's Gender, Migration and Diversity/Immigrant Women Research Domain). Because of limitations of both time and money, the fieldwork was carried out in St. John's only. It is important also to stress that this was a deliberately small "pilot" study. It was found that the major barriers that immigrant women face include, among others, employment, language, health issues, and accreditation issues.

Immigrant Women in Newfoundland and Labrador

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The research was carried out between November 2004 and March 2005 by the Newfoundland and Labrador Research Group (of the Gender/Diversity Domain) and was funded by the Gender, Diversity and Migration/ Immigrant Women Research Domain, one of seven "research domains" of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre of Excellence. The research team consisted of lead researchers Dr Marilyn Porter (Department of Sociology, Memorial University of Newfoundland) and Dr. Peruvemba Jaya (at the time with the Faculty of Business Administration, Memorial University of Newfoundland; currently with the Department of Communication, University of Ottawa), both members of Women's Studies Council, together with graduate research assistants Wanjiru Nderitu and Xiangrong Huang (graduate students in the Women's Studies program).

Due to limitations of both time and money, the fieldwork was carried out in St. John's only. This was a deliberately small "pilot" study. It was initiated in November 2004 and had to be completed by March 2005. The information is broadly typical of the experience of immigrants to the province: there is no way such a small study can be "definitive." We also need further opportunities to explore the relationship between services, programs and information available and the understandings and experience of immigrant women. We hope that this would pave the way to further research that will be able to explore more systematically the issues we raise here.

While we collected data from various written sources and from informants working with, or knowledgeable about, immigration (both government and non-government), we have given priority to presenting the views of the immigrant women who talked to us. This is to ensure that the views of the immigrant women (who are not usually able to make their experience broadly known) are presented as fully as possible. It is important to stress that in many cases immigrant women either did not know about or did not fully understand the services and information that exists. This is in itself a significant finding.

Methodology

The research grew out of discussions in the Gender, Diversity and Migration/Immigrant Women Research Domain committee during which it became clear that the context and

situation for immigrant women was very different in the four Atlantic provinces and that, in many ways, Halifax was quite untypical of both the rest of Nova Scotia and the other three provinces. The sheer fact of a much greater number of immigrants in Halifax leads to other consequences – larger ethnic communities, a wider variety of both government and non-governmental services, a greater awareness of racism. Yet we felt that the differences in St. John's (and in Newfoundland and Labrador in general) were not entirely due to numbers. Newfoundland is "different" in many ways, so we wanted to explore whether this "difference" affected the experience of immigration, especially for women. We tried to focus on women who had arrived in Newfoundland within the last five years. However, the number of immigrants in Newfoundland is small, and immigrants who had been here longer had interesting experiences to share, so we did not limit ourselves strictly to recent immigrants.

All four of the researchers were immigrants – from UK, India (via USA), Kenya and China, although one researcher was close to celebrating 25 years in Newfoundland. We began by discussing our own experiences. We then developed a Reference Group drawn from the community, government and non-governmental organizations and from Memorial University. This group met at the outset and at key points in the course of the project. Its input was invaluable in providing us with information, guidance and criticism. We took careful notes at the meetings of the reference group, as well as followed up with individual interviews.

The second step was to collect as much statistical and factual data as we could. We did this both by accessing available documents in the public domain and by carrying out interviews with key people in the immigration sector. The information and documentation we received from them provided a foundation from which we could work. We were greatly assisted by the information provided by various government officials and the staff and volunteers of different organizations, but we were struck by how difficult it was to obtain accurate and up-to-date information. Some information that we acquired, both printed and electronic, proved to be inaccurate, out of date or incomplete. Officials and agencies were able to correct us, but if we found it difficult to get such information, we are persuaded that immigrant women would find it even more difficult. It is especially difficult for immigrant women to get information about recent reforms and details about the particular application of regulations. We found examples where significant reforms had been successfully carried out, but the immigrants most affected did not know about them.

Finally, we carried out a series of qualitative interviews with both individuals and groups. We held focus group discussions with a group of women students and a group of women refugees and immigrants. Individual interviews were also carried out with immigrant women from different backgrounds. In total, 20 individual women talked to us. Their ages ranged from 24 to 50 and they came from 15 different countries. All these interviews were tape-recorded. Extensive notes were taken on these tape recordings, and, later, sections of them were transcribed. From these transcriptions, we drew illustrative extracts, which we have used in this report. All participants were provided with full information about the project, the steps taken to protect their identity and how the information would be used. All participants chose their own pseudonyms. These pseudonyms were used everywhere except on the consent forms, which were kept in secure conditions in one of the researcher's office. These measures to protect confidentiality were especially important in a small community like St. John's, although some participants wanted their experience made public even if they could subsequently be identified.

Barriers facing immigrant women in Newfoundland and Labrador

We had wide ranging discussions with both the reference group and with the informants. From these discussions, we identified a number of key barriers immigrant women face in their integration into Newfoundland.

Employment

Finding appropriate employment emerged as the key barrier for nearly all the women we spoke to, of all education levels and with all kinds of previous experience. Of course, unemployment and under-employment are problems for native-born Newfoundlanders as well, and the issue is extremely complex. It is, however, vital that we solve this problem if the province is to retain the highly qualified and motivated people who come here. Our "sample" of participants included a

Finding appropriate employment emerged as the key barrier for nearly all the women we spoke to....Of course, unemployment and under-employment are problems for native-born Newfoundlanders as well.... it is vital that we solve this problem if the province is to retain the highly qualified and motivated people who come here.

disproportionate number of extremely highly qualified and experienced workers who had gone to quite extraordinary lengths to find jobs and had failed. Their frustration levels are overwhelming and we fear that the province will lose this cohort to other parts of Canada if we do not find a solution to this problem.

Language

Obviously, without good skills in English, immigrants are going to experience difficulties. In cooperation with the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), the Association for New Canadians (ANC) has been delivering a comprehensive language-training program for over 20 years. Their program is based upon the nationally standardized Canadian Language Benchmarks, which is a task-based descriptive scale of language proficiency in English as a second language.

Despite this comprehensive and professional program, several participants, especially refugees, felt that their language skills were not as good as they should be at this point in their integration. We should note that English is a particularly difficult language to learn, and that refugees especially are trying to absorb the language at the same time as making the difficult transition to a new society. The rate at which students become fluent depends on individual factors, and language provision has to be flexible and continuous to take into account diverse needs.

Accreditation

Accreditation issues are closely connected to employment ones. If an immigrant cannot get her previous qualifications and experiences recognized in Newfoundland then she will be unable to obtain appropriate employment. For example, SJ has two Master's degrees: one from her home country and the other from the United States, both in special education. When she started to look for a job, she was told that she was required to have a Bachelors degree from the province, despite her qualifications. Memorial University recognized her credentials and sent her package to the Department of Education, but the package was sent back. SJ felt that when she met with officials of the School Board, they were enthusiastic about her qualifications and said that people like her are badly needed because there is a shortage of trained professionals working with special needs children. Yet the policy of the Department of Education ties their hands and they are unable to help her or to employ her. She finds it frustrating that, despite having very good GPAs in her Master's programs, she is expected to go back and do her basic Bachelors education again.

> It is sad. They don't want to change. That's the problem with these people. Instead of going forward, I'm going back. My average GPA was 3.8 through all my academic life in the US, studying full time in the University and working full time to earn money. Our life was like this. It was so tough for us, then doing all those stuff, coming here, you go and get a Bachelors. How stupid is that?

"Women's issues"

This heading refers to a variety of issues that immigrant, especially refugee, women experienced. Most had to do with their role as mothers, especially in trying to integrate their families, deal with schools and social workers and get access to health, housing and social services. Refugee women had, by definition, come from deeply distressing situations. In describing the situation one woman, Faxman, came from, she says, "We had to tie our children on our backs, to run with them," when they were attacked during the civil war in her country. Amy says that it did not matter where they were sent to (by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees) because "we were just trying to look for safety."

Quite apart from their own trauma, they often had to deal with their children, who sometimes reacted to the situation by rebelling or failing to "fit into" the structures provided.

Health issues

The main health issue we encountered was depression. All groups of immigrants mentioned this as a serious problem, and, of course, we did not meet the most acute sufferers, who would not have been capable of taking part in our study. However, all the participants had either known other immigrants with serious depression or had suffered from it themselves. Unemployment was a key factor, and women mentioned the particular difficulty of dealing with a husband who was depressed because he was unable to find work and support his family. Other contributing factors were isolation, poor housing, lack of transportation – all compounded during the winter months.

Conclusions and recommendations

Our recommendation was for the creation of an Action Group, with members drawn from the researchers and members of the Reference Group. This Action Group would take responsibility for (a) designing and carrying out further research, (b) developing recommendations based on this study and (c) developing strategies for ensuring that the recommendations are brought to the attention of the appropriate bodies or individuals with the power to implement them.

We made a number of "suggestions" for the Action Group to consider for further development:

Suggestion 1. Create resources to develop the social and financial capital to enable immigrant women to start small businesses. This should have a two-pronged approach.

Suggestion 2. Develop procedures to ensure that immigrant women have a fair chance in the employment market. One possibility is to explore the idea of a task force or ombudsman unit, which would have responsibility for ensuring that immigrants get appropriate employment.

Suggestion 3. The Action Group should assess the current situation with regard to accreditation and work with the appropriate agencies to ensure that immigrants are fully informed about the procedures before they enter Canada, and receive appropriate assistance in having their credentials recognized when they arrive in Newfoundland.

Suggestion 4. The Action Group should investigate the current training in cultural awareness and cultural competency, and sensitivity in all sectors dealing with immigrants and refugees, including teachers and others working in schools, social workers and other officers dealing with immigrants, housing sector officials, potential employers, police officers, etc. One possibility is for the Action Group and its allies to investigate the current curriculum in the faculties of Medicine and Education and the schools of Social Work and Nursing and lobby for an increased focus on professional training to meet the needs of immigrants. The Action Group should look at ways of strengthening and extending existing efforts to provide awareness training in the public domain. There should be ongoing sensitivity and awareness training for the receiving community as a whole, through events in schools, churches and other public arenas.

Suggestion 5. The Action Group should examine ways in which services to immigrants can be delivered in as diverse ways as possible, including developing the capacity and resources of organizations to access funding and provide a wider array of services to immigrant women. The Action Group should explore ways to ensure as much diversity as possible in both the composition of service providers and in the visibility of immigrant participation in such service provision.

Suggestions 6. The Action Group should monitor carefully the gaps between information that is (theoretically) available and information that immigrants actually have. It should also examine misunderstandings that immigrant women have, especially with regard to available services and the application of relevant regulations. It should work with the appropriate agencies to ensure that communication is improved and information is readily available and accessible to all immigrant women.

Suggestion 7. The Action Group should assess the situation with regard to TOEFL qualifications; monitor the implementation of the new TOEFL program and lobby for further improvements.

Suggestion 8. Memorial University should be encouraged to make the transition easier for international students and should not increase the number of international students without the concomitant resources being made available. The university should pay special attention to family reunification for female students, some of whom may be refugees. Students need ongoing support for the initial period of transition, and International student services need adequate staff and resources to be made available so that they can supply such support.

Suggestion 9. The Action Group should work with relevant agencies to ensure that the Provincial Government sees immigrants coming to the province as a potential benefit and provides resources to encourage immigration from overseas.

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Gender relations are produced by global and transnational spatial inequities. This is particularly relevant when we focus on the issue of migration and settlement. Global inequities play a major role in the movement itself, and the ability of immigrants to settle and integrate into Canadian society.

Newcomer Women's Settlement in New Brunswick

A Gender-based Analysis*

JANE KU
Mount Allison University / University of Windsor

Introduction

I was asked to comment on a "gender-based approach" to settlement by the Canadian Council of Refugees in June 2005 in Fredericton, New Brunswick. I would more accurately describe this analysis as a "transnational feminist" (Arat-Koc 2002) one. Using examples from the focus group information gathered in the research I conducted along with two colleagues relating to newcomer women in the three urban centres of New Brunswick, I map out more thoroughly an approach to understanding settlement that is feminist, conscious of gender as intermediating and mediated by other systems of domination, and accounting for specific, local and subjective aspects in the context of macro and material structures that organize gender relations. While this research was obviously about women, feminism was not as clearly specified. As in any other short-term project, the research framework could not be thoroughly developed in the original report. In this brief article, I explain a few elements of such a gender-based analysis.

A gender-based analysis: Towards a transnational feminist framework

The principles articulated here are overlapping and interrelated. This framework entails, in the first place, a clear feminist approach that is attentive to the experience of women as a social group (Smith 1987, Collins 1990, Mohanty 1992). It is important to acknowledge that women are systemically disadvantaged. Also, it is useful not only in documenting and creating alternative knowledge that is based on women's realities, but also in allowing us to see how women's lives are structured differently and the struggles that women have with the society. Canadian scholars on immigrant women (Ralston 1991, Ralston 1996, Ng 2002, Dossa 2003, Man 2004, Greve and Salaff 2005, Tastsoglou and Miedema 2005) have also emphasized women's experience as the starting point for understanding settlement. Second, spaces are socially organized as unequal (Massey 1994, Razack 2002). Gender relations are produced by global and transnational spatial inequities. This is particularly relevant when we focus on the issue of migration and settlement. Global inequities play a major role in the movement itself, and the ability of immigrants to settle and integrate into Canadian society. "Third World" spaces are spaces that immigrants should be happy to escape, but we fail to see how international and historical relations produce certain spaces as desirable for migrants, and how spaces within Canada are also ordered in hierarchy. Third, it is important to consider how gender processes mediate with these and other social processes such as race and class. For

* This research was supported by the Gender Domain of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre and conducted with Nicola Mooney and Judith Doyle.

Transportation is identified as an important impediment for their inability to socialize. Indeed, one woman sees the lack of publicly accessible transportation as very dangerous for falling into a deep depression and isolation.

example, on occasions when I need to emphasize the importance of racialization and the salience of race in organizing society, anti-racism must also be clearly identified in this framework. Furthermore, Canadian feminist and antiracist scholar Sherene Razack (1998) argues for the importance of thinking about interlocking oppressions to explore not only the mediation between and among systems of oppression, but also the relationships between privilege and oppression. For example, gender cannot be understood without thinking about how it is transformed and dependent on race. Also, White or male privilege feeds on oppressions of race and gender. Thus, the privilege of the White society is directly related to the marginalization of people of colour. Taken together, these aforementioned principles orient us to think about local and global processes, as well as the experiential and personal along with the macro-structural. Finally, seeing women not only as victims, but as social actors who negotiate with the limitations is important for any feminist analysis that seeks to humanize people and not see them only as statistics or proof of a particular phenomenon. Thus, the significance of using women's own narratives and perspectives to understand their reality is pointed out in the first principle I articulated. Focusing on women as agents rather than victims helps identify the possibilities of making changes. I illustrate this analysis in the rest of the article.

Beginning with women's experience

Experience and knowledge of one's experience is always social. The focus on individual and specific narratives reveals the person's interpretations of their lives as structured by social processes. Personal accounts of settlement, or lack thereof, tells us how the structural and personal come together, how race, gender and class in a globally unequal context create immigrant women's marginalization and sense of alienation. They are also narratives of revisions of self and self-making. Since their settlement narratives are intimately tied to their sense of who they are, their explanations of their lives now invariably go back to their explanation of how they came to be here in Canada, whether successful or not, or settled or not. The women rationalize, explain and justify how and why they are living here now. There is a reason and meaning to their life even if they are not satisfied with it.

When we focus on immigrant women's experience, we are able to identify how women themselves rationalize why they come to Canada, why they make the sacrifices they do for the family. They are not simply being duped by sexist ideologies. The newcomer women in our focus groups talk about the multiple factors and issues that they juggle with. They are not just "women" or people relegated to the home. In fact, most of the women we spoke to are actively seeking to forge a new path towards a career, not just a job. While they resign themselves to the fact that they might never have the job they want, they are hopeful that their children will have better chances in life. This allows them to rationalize why they are in smaller cities in New Brunswick where racial minority and immigrant populations are small. They argue that they choose a "smaller city" because it is safer for children and it is cheaper to raise their families. One woman in Fredericton even looks at provincial bilingualism as ensuring a superior education for her children since this would equip her children with unique skills not offered elsewhere (except perhaps in Quebec; however, New Brunswick has the claim of the only fully bilingual province).

Spatial ordering: Global and local processes

Newcomer women think about their settlement in spatial terms. They compare their lives here with their countries of origin. Their sense of settlement and satisfaction are measured against what they have experienced in their birth countries or other countries they have visited or lived in. However, it is no surprise that prior to coming to Canada, migrants have visions of Canada as a "peaceful" and "civilized" country. Compared to their "Third World" space, coming to Canada "is almost the same thing" as going to the

United States. Coming to Canada is seen as getting a chance at living the "American dream." Not only are migrants' material conditions produced by such international knowledge and inequities of global spaces, but also their desires are already structured by global processes. As Donkor (2005) insightfully writes of the motivation of Ghanaian immigrant women in Toronto:

> If the economic structures are not present in one's country, one can still take advantage of the boom in first-world countries. Being an immigrant, especially in an industrialized country, means one is on the pathway to money and the things money can buy. It means improvement in status and an assurance that a safety net has been cast for the future. Indeed, the hope of the average Ghanaian is to immigrate to be able to forge ahead in life. (43)

Immigration to Canada is about transgressing the spatial limitations placed on people from the South, bolstered by globalization, international economic processes, racialization of peoples and organizing people along lines of gender and class. However, many find that establishing themselves in Canada is not easy and will possibly not happen until the next generation, or at least that is the hope. Given such dreams and an association of Canada with the Northern space of plenty and affluence, how can the woman from Uganda now living in Saint John who left one of her children in Uganda explain to the child that she simply cannot afford to go back and get her? How can we even begin to articulate the emotional pain (aside from a clear material lack) that this woman goes through? Such experience can only be understood as personal but structured by these global processes and personal realities. An analysis of spatial ordering of global inequities gives us a glimpse into how global relations produce these local and immediate experiences.

In addition to global spatial ordering, we can also examine how the urban centres in New Brunswick have limited spatial mobility for the newcomers. To begin with, transportation is identified as an important impediment for their inability to socialize. Indeed, one woman sees the lack of publicly accessible transportation as very dangerous for falling into a deep depression and isolation. The women are also always thinking about the nature of this space – "small city," "smaller place," "quiet," "peaceful country," "cheaper than big cities," etc. Moreover, their experience in New Brunswick, regardless of whether they live in Moncton, Fredericton or Saint John, is constantly being articulated against other spaces such as Toronto, Ontario in general, Montreal, or their countries of origin. As one Fredericton woman reflects on coming to Canada, and to New Brunswick more specifically, "We ask ourselves, "Why did we choose Canada?" This is contextualized by the fact that "our lives are no better than in our country." Although they do not say that they would definitely leave New Brunswick, these women rationalize that if they cannot find jobs here and establish themselves, they would consider moving to another place. Or, they would wait until their children finish schooling. For a mobile group of people with a history of untying themselves from spaces (even if Canadians still want to see them only as of the "Third World"), uprooting themselves yet again is not a strange and untried option. Finally, a spatial lens allows us to question the difference between Toronto and the urban centres in New Brunswick to see how racialized "ethnic" and migrant people are organized. For example, New Brunswick does not have large urban centres where there is a critical mass of migrants to form powerful "ethno-specific" organizations and groups to advocate for themselves, leaving much of this work to "multicultural" organizations.

Interlocking oppression and intersectionality

It is abundantly clear that an overwhelming majority of newcomers participating in the focus groups made their decision to come to Canada not for themselves but for their families. It is for their children's sake, or because their husbands wanted to come. Gender ideologies are clearly at work here where men are the heads of the family, and women place their own needs aside for the sake of the family and/or for their male spouse. Most of the women were gainfully employed before coming to Canada, but being shut out of the labour market and being forced to take on the role of stay-at-home mother is constituted by a complex of processes – from the ones discussed above around the legacies of colonialism and global spatial hierarchy, globalization and people seeking to transgress spatial limitations on their personhood, and racism. Thus, in addition to looking at women's own experiences, we are also concomitantly looking at the macro-structural processes that produce the intersections that in

While [viewing newcomers as those who "come from away"] is not recognized as blatant racism, the lack of warm welcome or at least a clear delineation of who is an outsider is certain. This is the privilege that many of the newcomer women point to when they ask why their immigrant realities are subsumed to "Canadian" realities. It is always the dominant society setting the agenda and requiring, for example, "Canadian experience."

some ways turn them into "traditional" women whom we often unproblematically associate with racialized communities and ethnic groups. The passive and traditional view of "Southern woman" works well with the common sense understanding of "immigrant women"(Ng 1996) as low-class workers with no language skills. We also see how women are situated in these intersections where they are limited by sexism, racism and the global labour market, and where, to begin with, their employment status is not considered a priority in our society. They did not simply become unemployed housewives – these social, political and economic processes made them so. When we focus on interlocking systems of oppression, we can raise questions about who benefits from the marginalization of these women and the politics of privilege and penalty. Since New Brunswick generally suffers from lower employment and higher underemployment rates compared to the rest of the country, newcomers face a situation where they have to compete with the voice of the native-born people looking for better opportunities and work. As Crowley (2003) notes, the lens with which Atlantic Canadians view newcomers is as those who have "come from away," or CFAs. While it is not recognized as blatant racism, the lack of warm welcome or at least a clear delineation of who is an outsider is certain. This is the privilege that many of the newcomer women point to when they ask why their immigrant realities are subsumed to "Canadian" realities. It is always the dominant society setting the agenda and requiring, for example, "Canadian experience." Such forms of systemic and polite "tolerance" of people and subtle racism speak to the privilege of the Eurocentric society that is dependent on centring their own realities and pushing aside newcomers' perspectives and conditions. These women understand their own lack of position in the society and say, "Canada is good but something is not right." They are afraid to voice their discontent lest they are hurled with this: "If you don't like Canada, why did you come?" To really come to grips with newcomer women's settlement experiences, we have to challenge the centredness of the mainstream community and how this privilege is itself productive of and interlocked with the marginalization of newcomers. In other words, newcomers are marginalized by the logic that the first claim is made by those who are already here, and marked by racism.

Women as social agents

This framework would be remiss if we considered newcomer women only as victims of their circumstances (Dossa 2003). The focus groups demonstrate that these women make complex calculations and negotiations in their decisions to come to Canada. While they are indeed victimized by the structures that produce them, they nevertheless act out their lives as people who know what they are doing. Despite all the limitations placed on them resulting in them staying unemployed and homebound, they actively resist this. For example, although their own careers are not considered the basis of their migration decision, they nevertheless play a big role in how they re-negotiate and reconstruct their identities in Canada. They are as professional as they were before migration and they want to continue to assert that aspect of their lives, even if migration has transformed them into isolated dependents who do not contribute in the labour market or public arena. They are still wives and mothers, but they still have hopes of reconnecting with their dream jobs. By resisting thus, these women assert that they are also providers and have always been even as they embrace their home status and role as wife.

Conclusion

By taking account of the complex circumstances and the productive processes that both marginalize and enable immigrant women in their new home, it is possible to see women in more complicated ways than simply as mothers or

wives. Their sense of self is constructed through their negotiation with racism, encounters with the labour market, the need to prioritize their family as a long-term survival strategy, different spatial possibilities in their new home and, ultimately, the ability to become a citizen as consumer, worker and mother. These women's multiple roles in the society are structured by mediating processes, both local and transnational.

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Immigrants in Atlantic Canada: A Socio-demographic Profile

Immigrants in Nova Scotia

A Profile

General immigration trends

Immigrants make up less than 5% of Nova Scotia's population. Inflows to the province have fluctuated widely since 1981, with a rising trend in recent years probably due to more aggressive provincial efforts to attract more settlers. Most immigrants come under the family class category followed by economic immigrants and refugees. Demographic trends for Nova Scotia indicate that, as for most parts of Canada, population growth can only be sustained through immigration. Nova Scotia's population increased by 0.5% from 1996 to 2006: without immigration, it would have decreased by 0.7% over the same period.

Countries of origin and settlement patterns

The United States and the United Kingdom remain major contributors of immigrants to Nova Scotia. However, China, Kuwait, Jordan and Saudi Arabia have also become important source countries since the early 1990s, and India is emerging as a significant country of origin.

Immigration to the province is heavily slanted in favour of Halifax. However, more than one-fifth of immigrants who arrived between 1996 and 2001, and almost one quarter who arrived between 2001 and 2006, settled outside Halifax. This suggests that there is potential to develop rural destinations for new immigrants.

Age profile

Immigrants coming to Nova Scotia are mostly younger. More than 75% of principal applicants (aged 15 years and older) who came between 2001 and2005 were under 45, with about 10.5% being under 25. The corresponding numbers for non-immigrants in 2006 were 47% and 15%, respectively.

Reliance on government transfer payments

Since 1981, immigrants have relied far less on income from government transfers than has the native-born population. This is not surprising. If immigrants are young at the time of arrival, they do not receive age-related transfers such as Canada Pension Plan and Old Age Security. They also do not become eligible for employment insurance until they start work and pay the premiums.

Labour market outcomes

Compared to non-immigrants, immigrants in Nova Scotia are more educated, earn higher incomes, and have lower unemployment rates. Skilled immigrants, who are mostly engaged in the knowledge economy as managers and professionals, have unemployment rates and employment income comparable to those of native-born residents in similar employment. These skilled immigrants account for a significant share of immigrants coming to Nova Scotia.

There are two concerns. Firstly, labour market outcomes of recent arrivals (arriving within five years of a census year) have worsened since 1981. Possible causes could include language barriers and non-recognition of educational credentials and experience as more immigrants originate from non-traditional source countries. Secondly, the inflow of skilled immigrants has declined since the mid-1990s, although it has picked up a bit since 2003, a trend that is expected to continue in the light of recent policy initiatives.

Highly skilled immigrants

Since 1981, highly skilled immigrants (managers and professionals) have represented a significant proportion of immigrants in Nova Scotia's

labour force. Since the early 1990s, they have outnumbered medium- and low-skilled immigrants, whose numbers have been declining. However, the immigrant professionals' share of the total professional population in the province has fallen since 1991. Most of the decline in the immigrant share occurred during the first half of the 1990s.

The service sector employs roughly 82% of all highly skilled immigrants, with the education sector alone employing about a quarter of them. Immigrants account for approximately 11% of all engineers and scientists, 17.5% of health care professionals, 11% of teachers and professors, and 12% of musicians and singers in Nova Scotia. Most notable is the remarkable rise of immigrant computer and information systems professionals, whose supply more than doubled between 1996 and 2001. Despite the growing shortage of health professionals in the province - a perennial topic of discussion in public policy circles - the inflow of immigrant health professionals rose by only 12%, while that of non-immigrants rose by about 20% from 1996 to 2001.

Business immigration

Like highly skilled immigrants, large numbers of business immigrants have come to Nova Scotia from the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as from a number of Asian countries. Business immigrants are concentrated in the service sector, with the top three sub-sectors being health and social services, retail trade, and business services. Capital invested by self-employed immigrant entrepreneurs has also been mostly in the service sector. However, while business immigrants formed the highest percentage of total immigrants in the mid-1990s, their numbers have now slowed to a trickle. In 2005, only 30 immigrants came to Nova Scotia in the business class category, the smallest inflow since 1990.

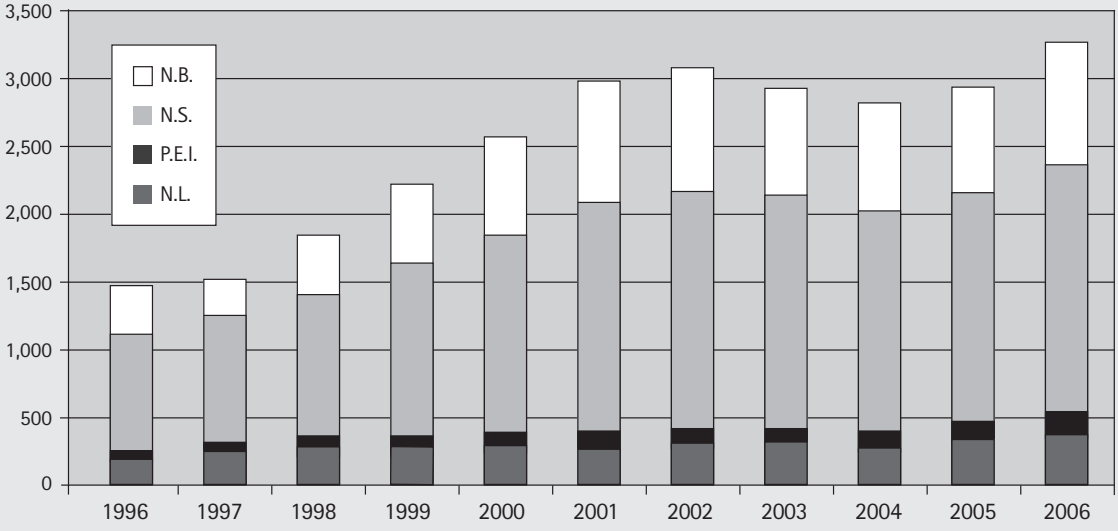
Retention of immigrants

Immigrant retention rates in Nova Scotia shrank from about 86% during the period of 1981-1986 to only 48% during 1996-2001, which has become a matter of great policy concern. Policies that facilitate the economic and social integration of immigrants in Nova Scotia have received new emphasis. These focus on increasing language training, improving the quality of settlement services and expediting the process of foreign credential recognition. Results from the 2006 Census indicate a marked improvement in retention since 2001, reaching approximately 63%.

International students

Most international students in Nova Scotia are attending universities and comprise 8% of total

FIGURE 1
International student inflows, Atlantic provinces



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

undergraduate enrolments in the province, a percentage that remained constant between 2002 and 2005. China and the United States are the top two source countries of international students, followed by Korea, Bermuda, Japan, the Bahamas and others. On average, an international student takes just under three years to complete his or her education.

Since international students represent a potential pool of highly skilled immigrants, educational institutions, as well as provincial and federal governments, should work in collaboration in order to attract them to this province. The introduction of the International Graduate Stream in the Nova Scotia Provincial Nominee Program is an important step in this direction.

ATLANTIC IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY RESEARCH ARCHIVE

(AIDRA)

History of the Project

Since 2001, attraction, integration and retention of new immigrants have rapidly moved up on the list of key priorities for governments and institutions in the Atlantic Provinces. During this period, numerous stakeholders repeatedly stressed the need for a systematic and comprehensive regional inventory of research, reports, resources and studies relating to the changing demography of the Atlantic region and the complex factors that influence immigrant settlement and population diversity in this part of Canada.

Some partial and more specialized inventories were produced prior to 2005, including a 2003 Canadian Heritage report on multicultural research in Nova Scotia, and a 2005 Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) draft annotated bibliography of socio-economic and demographic aspects of immigration in Atlantic Canada. The Atlantic Metropolis Centre has received funding for the *Atlantic Immigration and Diversity Research Archive* (AIDRA), an on-line annotated digital archive of immigration and diversity-related research and resources produced since 2000 in Atlantic Canada.

Through consultation with NGOs and Government agencies across the four Atlantic Provinces, relevant resources were identified and catalogued. The seven research domains of the AMC were called upon to prepare annotated bibliographies of studies, reports and theses related to their respective research priorities. Additional internet searches and scans of related bibliographies were carried out, and the team reviewed various software options, giving priority to software that would facilitate future additions to AIDRA and searchability functions.

In addition to filling gaps and omissions in previous research compendiums, AIDRA contributes to information sharing initiatives at the National and International levels of the Metropolis project, such as the Metropolis Virtual Library, while simultaneously responding to regional needs and AMC strategic priorities.

METROPOLIS

Centre Métropolis Atlantique
Atlantic Metropolis Centre

Archive Contents

The AIDRA contains bibliographic information on and, where possible, full-text access to a variety of written resources on immigration, diversity and related issues, produced in the Academic, NGO and Government sectors across Atlantic Canada. Resources catalogued or accessible through AIDRA include project reports, conference papers, immigrant handbooks, scholarly articles and books, theses, as well as policy documents. In addition, non-text based resources such as documentary films and videos are included. Due to the volume of work under consideration, and changing foci and priorities, resources antedating 2000 are minimal. Rather, the focus is on recent work which is of interest to scholars, policy makers, community organizations and the general public. In keeping with the AMC's bilingual operations and mandate, AIDRA is a functionally bilingual research resource. Uni-lingual documents in both official languages are included, and a number of documents are bilingual - available in English and French. Contingent upon funding, and the assistance of NGO and policy partners, the AMC will attempt to add new publications and resources as they appear.

How to use AIDRA

The AIDRA can be searched in a number of different ways. Users can view documents associated with AMC research domains or search by province. It is also possible to search by title key words, subject terms, author or date. Many documents contained in the Archive are accessible in full-text. If this is the case, a link will be visible in the record view in the centre of the screen. Where full-text access is not available (as is the case with serials requiring subscription and books and other non-digital materials) a full bibliographic record containing an abstract and key words are made available if at all possible. The AIDRA can be accessed through a link at www.atlantic.metropolis.net.

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Canadian Heritage (**http://www.pch.gc.ca/**)

the AMC (**http://atlantic.metropolis.net/**).

We also acknowledge the contributions and cooperation of numerous Community and NGO partners across the Atlantic Provinces.

A link to the AIDRA website can be found at
www.atlantic.metropolis.net

11th National Metropolis Conference

Frontiers of Canadian Migration

Prairie Metropolis Centre
pmc.metropolis.net
www.metropolis.net