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Our diverse cities

NUMBER 2 • SUMMER 2006

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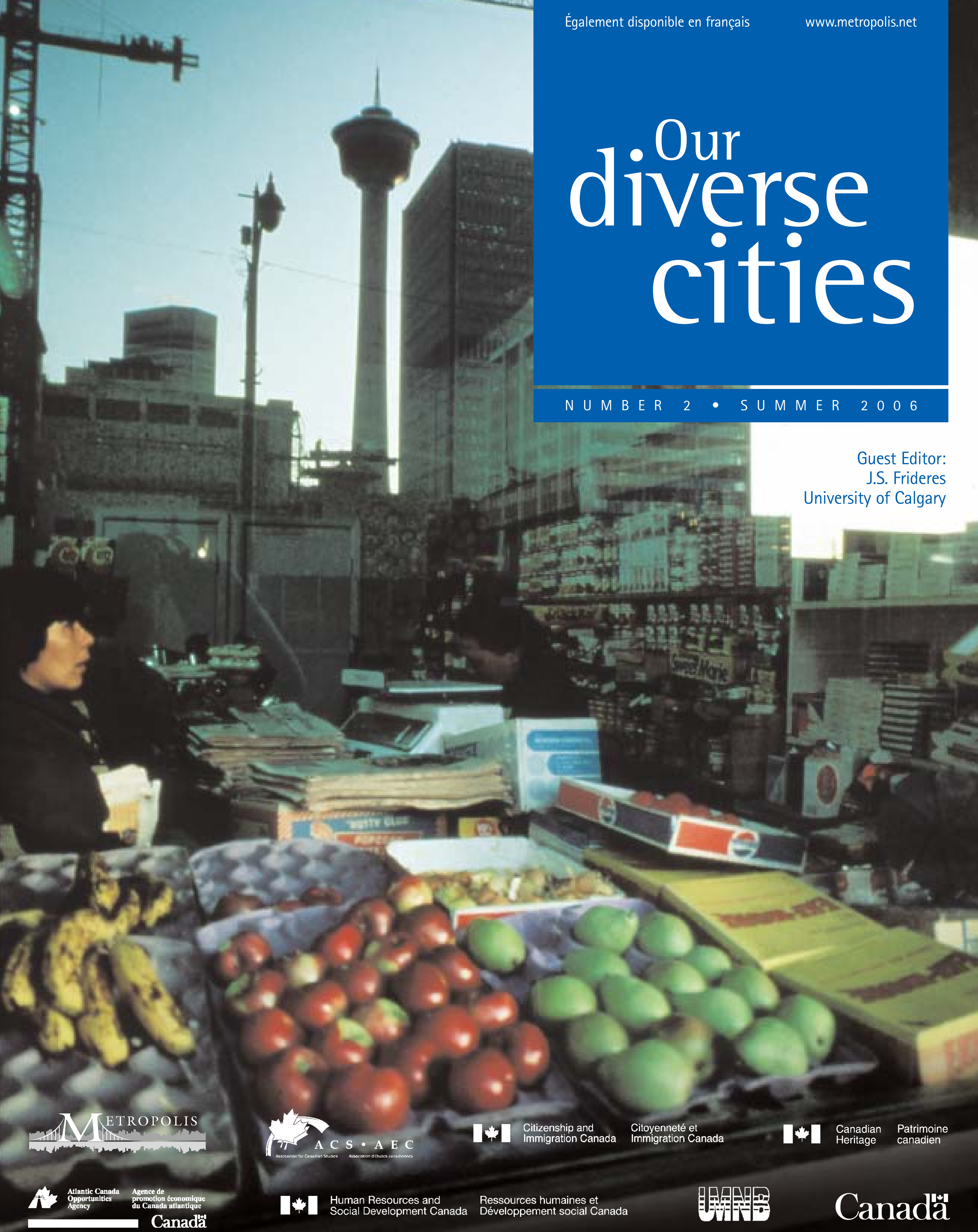

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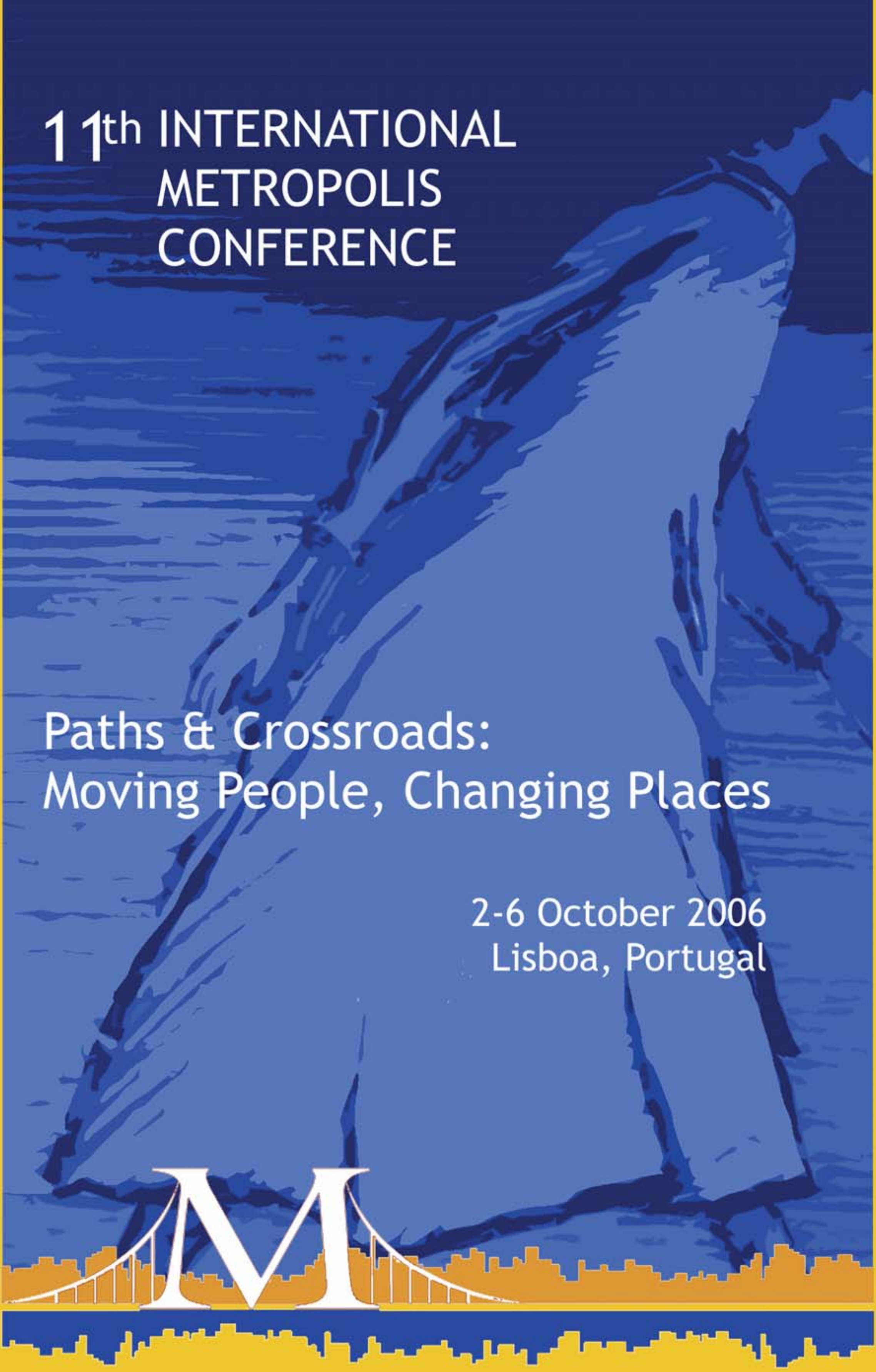

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Our
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Cities and Immigrant Integration: The Future of Second- and Third-Tier Centres

J. S. FRIDERES
University of Calgary

How physical environment impacts on people's thinking and behaviour is a much neglected foci of social science research and policy-making. The intersection of space and place emphasizes how the various dimensions of one's physical environment impacts on different dimensions of one's social life – whether economic, spiritual, political or other. Our task is to find out what that linkage is and how it changes as one varies the physical environment.

Thus, it should not be a big surprise that the size and structure of a city has an impact on immigrant behaviours, values and attitudes. The question is, how do factors such as size of city and composition impact on immigrant communities and individuals (Di Biase and Bauder 2005). For example, is political participation by Canadians different for individuals living in mega-cities compared to second- and third-tier cities across Canada? Would the outcomes of elections be different if there were differential participation rates? That is, do people in second- or third-tier cities bring a different set of policy preferences and political values to the electoral process?

A more compelling reason for answering the question might be that political participation provides the foundation for broader participation in democratic politics and is the gateway to more meaningful forms of political participation. If individuals from different sized cities exhibit more or less political apathy or withdrawal from the political community, this may be a harbinger of things to come with regard to the health of democratic politics in Canada (Gibbins 2004). Moreover, we know that communities/neighbourhoods in cities can enhance/retard the settlement/integration process in both the short and long term. With concepts of social cohesion and social capital now more fully understood, we need to see how size and composition of city impacts the construction and dynamics of neighbourhoods/communities and the subsequent values and behaviour of Canadians. As such, social scientists and policy-makers should be investigating the impact of the physical environment on immigrant integration.[1]

Cities today in Canada

Today we find that there are 25 cities in Canada with a population of 100,000 or more. Table 1 reveals that four of the centres have a population of over 1,000,000, four between 500,000 and 1,000,000 and 17 between 100,000 and 500,000. While our focus is upon second- and third-tier cities nationally, we also recognize the role smaller urban centres such as Charlottetown and Moncton play in immigration as regionally important centres in Atlantic Canada. In addition, Guelph is included to illustrate the role of smaller Ontario urban centres. Regardless of the size, the data also reveals the rapid growth of all these cities in the past half century.

Immigration and size of city

When focusing on immigration, traditional interest has been on the Tier 1 cities. Nearly two-thirds of all immigrants and over three quarters of recent immigrants live in Canada's three largest cities – Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal. An additional 20% of immigrants live in second- and third-tier cities. These figures are startling when compared to the residential patterns of

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[1] There are major differences between the development of large urban centers in Quebec and English Canada. In Quebec, immigration is a social phenomenon while English Canada's immigration is an economic phenomenon. These differences need to be investigated.

TABLE 1

Population of Canadian cities, 1956 and 2001 (thousands)

City	1956	2001
Calgary	201.0	969.6
Charlottetown	32.7	58.4[a]
Chicoutimi	90.9	158.8
Edmonton	254.8	954.1
Guelph	46.2	117.3[a]
Halifax	164.2	359.1
Hamilton	338.2	680.0
Kitchener	128.7	431.2
London	154.4	425.2
Moncton	54.3	117.7[a]
Montréal	1,745.0	3,511.4
Oshawa	62.8	304.6
Ottawa-Gatineau	345.4	1,085.5
Québec City	311.6	694.0
Regina	89.7	198.3
St. Catharines	85.0	391.9
St John's	79.1	176.4
Saint John	86.0	127.3
Saskatoon	72.8	231.5
Sherbrooke	61.8	155.0
Sudbury	97.9	157.0
Thunder Bay	N.A.	123.7
Toronto	1,502.3	4,907.0
Trois-Rivières	75.4	141.2
Vancouver	665.0	2,099.4
Victoria	133.8	319.4
Windsor	185.8	319.4
Winnipeg	412.2	684.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001, www.statcan.ca.

[a] These are not census metropolitan areas (CMAs) but defined as census agglomerations.

Note: Of the 25 CMAs, three first-tier cities (Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver) each welcomed more 250,000 recent (1996-2001) immigrants. The second-tier cities (Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton and Ottawa) each received between 40,000 and 100,000 recent immigrants, while third-tier cities (Victoria, Saskatoon, Regina, Québec and Halifax) each received between 5,000 and 15,000 recent immigrants. Other cities such as Windsor, St. Johns, Kitchener and St. John received fewer than 5,000 recent immigrants.

native-born Canadians, less than half of whom live in the largest 13 cities and just over one quarter live in the largest three cities (see Table 2). One might legitimately ask the following question: What is so different between the different tiered cities that impacts decisions by immigrants? Or, alternatively, why are cities of comparable size different in the number of immigrants they draw? For example, why has Windsor been unable to attract the same number of immigrants as other third-tier cities? The results of Table 2 reveal the glaring disparities between immigrant and Canadian-born residential patterns, except for immigrants arriving since 1986 in second-tier cities. And, while immigrants are less likely to live in third-tier cities, their profile is not that different from the residential patterns of the total population. Moreover, the results show that there is some interest by immigrants in taking up residence in third-tier cities and other towns in the rest of Canada that have a population of less than 100,000.

Table 3 addresses the issue of "immigrant draw" over time. It shows that both Toronto and Vancouver have increased their share of the intake of immigrants since 1985 while Montréal has remained stable. For second-tier cities, only Ottawa-Gatineau and Calgary have increased their share while in the case of third-tier cities, Quebec City has increased its share since 1985. The question is why have some cities increased in the percentage of immigrants they welcome while others have remained stable or decreased?

At the same time, we find that the settlement pattern of recent immigrants varies by country of origin. For example, we find that immigrants from the United Kingdon, the United States, and Western Europe tend to reside in second- and third-tier cities and/or in smaller towns and rural areas of Canada. On the other hand, immigrants

TABLE 2

Immigrants by period of immigration and place of residence, 2001 (%)

Period of Immigration	Toronto	Vancouver	Montréal	2nd tier	3rd tier	Rest of Canada
Canadian-Born	11	5	11	13	7	53
All Immigrants	37	11	11	15	2	21
Immigrants arriving:						
before 1986	32	11	11	16	3	27
between 1986-1995	43	16	12	14	2	14
between 1996-2001	43	18	13	13	2	13
Total population	**16**	**7**	**11**	**13**	**6**	**47**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005.

TABLE 3

Immigrants by period of immigration by place of residence, Canada, 2001

	Immigrated before 1986	Immigrated 1986–1995	Immigrated 1996–2001
1st tier			
Vancouver	10.9	16.2	17.6
Toronto	32.3	43.4	43.1
Montréal	11.1	11.8	11.9
Total 1st tier	**54.3**	**71.3**	**72.6**
2nd tier			
Calgary	3.6	3.6	3.8
Edmonton	3.4	2.9	2.2
Winnipeg	2.4	1.7	1.4
Hamilton	3.5	2.1	1.9
Ottawa-Gatineau	2.8	3.4	3.6
Total 2nd tier	**15.6**	**13.7**	**12.9**
3rd tier			
Victoria	1.5	0.6	0.5
Saskatoon	0.3	0.2	0.3
Regina	0.3	0.2	0.2
Québec City	0.3	0.4	0.5
Halifax	0.5	0.3	0.5
Total 3rd tier	**4.9**	**3.3**	**3.1**
Rest of Canada	**27.2**	**13.2**	**12.5**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005.

from East Asia prefer to settle in Toronto and Vancouver. Southeast Asian and South and Central Asian immigrants have similar residential patterns with large numbers taking up residence in Toronto and Vancouver. However, Western Asian and Middle East, African, Western European, Latin American immigrants, as well as those from the Caribbean, prefer Toronto and Montréal. When looking at second-tier cities, we find that with the exception of Caribbean, over 10% of immigrants settle in these cities. At the same time, we find there is an interest by immigrants in settling outside of the major cities of Canada. We find, for example, that a large proportion of immigrants from the United States, Latin America, United Kingdom, and Western Europe reside in smaller urban centres throughout Canada. And, finally, over 15% of Eastern Europeans and Western Asian and Middle Eastern live in the "rest of Canada" revealing that not all immigrants are interested in residing in large metropolitan areas.

While comparable data is not available for smaller cities such as Moncton and Charlottetown, we know that about 4% of their population is foreign-born. About 80% of all immigrants in these two centres came before 1991 while the remainder came between 1991 and 2001.

When we compare the residential patterns of recent immigrants, we find that second- and third-tier cities are becoming the first choice for some of them. For example, if we look at recent East Asian immigrants, we find that 17% migrate to second- and third-tier cities each. Eighteen percent of immigrants from South-East Asia and the Pacific reside in second-tier cities and over 10% in third-tier cities. For South and Central Asian immigrants, the number of recent immigrants choosing second- and third-tier cities shows that 15% go to the former while nearly 10% migrate to the latter. At the same time, for all other ethnic groups, the proportion of recent immigrants choosing a second- or third-tier city has also increased. In summary, the data reveal that recent immigrants have an interest in residing in smaller urban centres of Canada.

Comparing first-tier cities with second and third-tier cities

We began our discussion by asking the question as to what differences exist between individuals who reside in large urban centers compared to smaller ones. In large first-tier cities, minority communities continue to feel aggrieved over their treatment by various social services offered by the municipal government, e.g., police, schools, land-use planning, media, housing, employment markets. The scale at which first-tier cities must operate means they must "homogenize" their programs and standardize their implementation. To do otherwise would be cost-prohibitive. As a result, the large mega-cities tend to develop "one size fits all" policies in dealing with immigrants and integration, although there are certainly some exceptions (Collett 2006).

We also find that less than 10% of marriages in Toronto involve a recent immigrant and native-born Canadian while in the rest of Canada, over one-fourth of marriages involve a recent immigrant and native-born Canadian. The percentage of marriages that are made up of a recent immigrant and an "earlier" immigrant is approximately 13% for all areas of Canada. This suggests that boundary maintenance in large cities is operating and it has an important impact on the networks and integration of recent immigrants.

Labour force participation of recent immigrants is highest in areas outside of the three largest urban centers and the gap in labour force participation between recent immigrants and Canadian-born is smallest in the rest of Canada. Data suggest that immigrants who live outside the major urban centres have the lowest unemployment rates while those who reside in the three largest cities face the greatest challenge in finding work. In addition, crowding (more persons than rooms in a dwelling) is highest for recent immigrants in the three major cities and lowest in the rest of Canada (CIC 2005).

Relative to the income of the Canadian-born, the average incomes of recent and very recent immigrants are highest outside the three mega-cities. Recent immigrants from the rest of Canada have relatively high incomes. The average income of very recent immigrants is only about one-half of that of the Canadian-born for the three major cities. However, in the second-tier cities and the rest of Canada, immigrant incomes exceed those of the Canadian-born (CIC 2005). In the end, we find that large second- and third-tier cities (as well as smaller towns) seem to have developed more effective strategies and programs that facilitate the integration of immigrants. The articles by Derwing and Krahn; Garcea; and Walton-Roberts illustrate some of the work that has been undertaken by these communities.

The need for regionalization

There are many reasons why Canada needs to consider regionalization of immigration: 1) it can produce a better spread of immigrants across the country, 2) it will revitalize certain areas and help immigrants find suitable employment. For example, Alberta will require an additional 100,000 jobs over the next decade and they are not in the mega cities (see articles by Dowding and Razi; Khan), 3) it will equalize the inequities between immigrants and Canadian-born, 4) it will facilitate the integration of immigrants, and 5) it will add to the democratic principles of Canadian political participation. Immigrants are settling in second- and third-tier cities as local businesses ask for immigrants and there is a willingness to help keep them in the region (see, for example, the articles by Carter and Friesen; Block; Vatz-Laaaroussi et al.; Cassin and Devine). Nevertheless, regionalization should be a possibility, not a requirement.

At the same time, infrastructure and social support in smaller communities must be established (Abu-Laban et al. 1999; Grovat, Gambrah and Barbour 2004). Diversity issues must be dealt with if immigrants are to feel welcome in smaller cities and a concerted effort needs to be undertaken for at least a five-year framework. Federal and provincial policies should recognize and encourage small centre initiatives that express the need and desire to attract new growth and retain existing immigrant populations (Walton-Roberts 2004) (see also the articles by Guilbert; Jedwab; and Bowlby). In this way, immigrants can develop roots and pride in their accomplishments. For example, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada and Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada are linked to employment. There are major differences in the services and the level of language training available across the country. In larger centres, Level 8 is offered, while in smaller centres the most advanced might be Level 3. If equivalent services were offered in all centres, immigrants would be more likely to settle in smaller centres and in turn would aid the successful integration of immigrants and increase the number of those who would choose to stay in smaller centres. While there would be short-term additional costs to implement such changes, the costs would be less, in the long run, than what the current situation requires.

Local data required

Today, much of the data on “immigration and integration” is based on pan-Canadian research efforts that are collected by federal departments through cross-sectional (sometimes longitudinal) designs. While this information is useful for federal, policy makers, their usefulness for provincial, municipal officials, local NGO’s and community organizations is limited. To answer questions about immigrants in Canadian society, we need to identify them in their appropriate context. We must be able to identify and distinguish them as distinct in their characteristics and behaviours from other groups. For example, when traditional statistical modeling techniques are used to examine the impact of immigration, they are really examining the impact of population shock – an increase of the total number of Canadians impacting the existing social structure and organizational arrangements. Immigration and the development of ethnic communities/neighborhoods have broad social, economic and demographic affects which although slow to express themselves nationally, can be very pronounced at the local level. As much research has been carried out at the national level, conclusions about the national impact or significance of ethnic community development grossly underestimates the real impacts felt in specific urban areas. Thus, while immigration policy is a national matter, the process of immigrant settlement is inherently local (Collett 2006).

These facts point out that a national policy must be developed through an understanding of the local and regional niches that exist in Canada. As such, policy-makers need to understand that policies suited for Toronto may not be appropriate for Saskatoon or Kitchener.

Conclusion

The articles included in this volume deal with immigration issues in all ten provinces. In addition, while the majority of the articles focus on second- and third-tier cities, we have also included smaller census agglomeration areas and their attempts to deal with immigration and integration. These articles will provide the reader with a good "snapshot" of what is happening across the country as we begin the 21st century.

The first major theme covered by the articles in this issue focus on the policies that provincial and municipal governments have put in place to deal with immigrants in an attempt to facilitate their integration. The techniques employed range widely and some are unique to the locale (see articles by Corriveau and Rougery; Coutinho; Derwing and Krahn; Garcea; Munro; Bourget). These articles outline specific strategies that second- and third-tier cities have chosen to employ in their development of programs that are directly related to immigrant experiences as they settle in Canada. The second theme of the articles focuses on second- and third-tier cities' developing policies that are topic-specific and differ from the more homogenous strategies developed by first-tier cities. These smaller cities focus on specific issues such as housing (Carter et al.), religion (Bowlby; James; Halliday) and education. Smaller cities employ programs to support immigrant integration that emerge out of using a technique called *Attracting and Retaining Immigrants: A Tool Box of Ideas for Smaller Centres* prepared by the National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies and supported by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). This tool box provides applied strategies for government, NGOs and private sector stakeholders that wish to encourage immigrants to their centre (see articles by Mulholland; Vatz Laaroussi et al.; Dowding and Razi).

A third theme emerging from the assembled articles focuses on how small centres can attract more immigrants. These centres have developed site-specific strategies to encourage additional immigrants to give thought to residing in Tier second- and third-tier centres or smaller centres that occupy a regionally important niche (see articles by Walton-Roberts, Akbari and Sun; LeBrun and Rebelo; Barrieau and Savoie). Other articles in this volume focus on the demography of smaller centres and make up a fourth theme (Shanes; Jedwab; Halliday; Donaldson). These articles provide the reader with a community profile that contextualizes the process of immigrant integration. Finally, others have chosen to focus on racism (individual and systemic) and discrimination that immigrants must deal with where ever they take up residence (see articles by Cassin and Devine; Khan; Barot). These pervasive actions perpetrated by other Canadians establish barriers for newcomers to quickly and effectively integrate in any of the social, political and economic dimensions of Canadian life.

Since the 1980s there has been a restructuring of the welfare state in favour of the neo-liberal approach that rejects state intervention with regard to immigrant integration. The new policies rely on the market and have resulted in privatization, contracting out and withdrawal of funding by the State. While the data is not fully comparable, we find, using the Main Estimates of the federal government, that there has been less than a 1% increase per year in the "settlement" activity for CIC over the past decade, well below the cost of living and inflation. Current policies have also led to the continued growth of mega-cities, even though immigrant integration and quality of life seem to be much better in second- and third-tier cities in Canada. As such, new strategies for regionalization of immigrants need to be developed. More focused research on the impact of size of city and its linkage to integration needs to be undertaken. New research on the impacts of differing structures and organizations of cities on immigrant integration need to be undertaken.

In the end, immigrants wish to retain some cultural components of their previous life but understand the need for linguistic, social and economic integration. They want to establish a residence and make a new home for themselves and their children. Their hope is to have a better life and better opportunities for their children. They are well aware that integration is a prerequisite for this to happen. The articles included in this volume discuss the processes and strategies that are being employed by smaller centres to facilitate those goals and aspirations.

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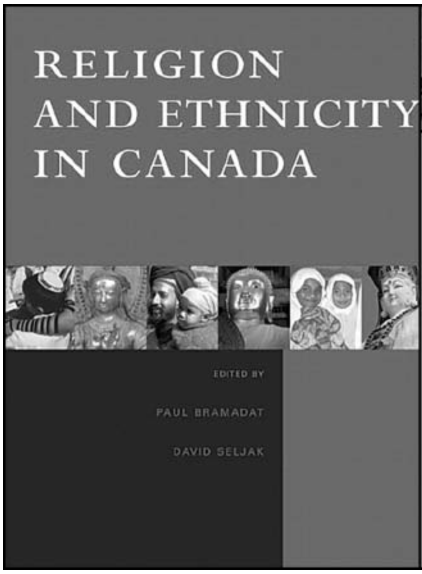

Religion and Ethnicity in Canada

Canadian Edition • © 2005 • ISBN: 0-321-24841-4

Paul Bramadat, University of Winnipeg
David Seljak, St. Jerome's University at the University of Waterloo

Religion and Ethnicity in Canada explores six major religions in Canada: Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Islam, and Chinese religions. The book also discusses the place of religion in Canadian society as it pertains to the formation of government policies, the ebb and flow of immigration and the economy, and the laws and standards of education.

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Edmonton's Capital Health is a top-rated health care system that is the best in Canada in many respects. The activities Edmonton offers to children and youth, its excellent research university, and its school district that is a model for many other programs throughout North America also add to the city's appeal as a good place to raise a family.

Edmonton's Approach to Attracting and Retaining New Immigrants*

TRACEY DERWING *and* **HARVEY KRAHN**
Metropolis' Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration
University of Alberta

Edmonton is a city with a secret. Most people know more about Calgary than they do about its sister city to the north, even though Edmonton is the provincial capital. Calgarians are ready and willing to tell anybody who will listen about how wonderful their city is, how marvelous it is to be located so close to the Rockies, how the Calgary Stampede is the "Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth," how a growing number of head offices have transferred there from the East, and how it is fast becoming a city with powerful connections, not only in business but in government; in fact, at the time of writing, the Prime Minister calls Calgary home. And Calgary is indeed an ideal place to visit on holiday.

So what about Edmonton? It is not as interesting a place to visit (despite the wild success of the West Edmonton Mall for the consumer-oriented). Edmontonians have to drive for four hours to get to the mountains, and Klondike Days, the city's recently defunct summer fair, never had the appeal of the Stampede. Politically speaking, Edmonton is also viewed as something of an anomaly in the rest of Alberta; many people, in fact, have dubbed it "Redmonton" because its citizens regularly elect NDP and Liberal MLAs in an otherwise strongly conservative province. Any tourist advisor worth his or her salt would recommend a trip to Calgary over Edmonton. But here is the secret: although it may not be the best tourist destination, Edmonton is actually a fantastic place to live.

The myths about Edmonton's weather are pervasive, although it has more hours of sunshine, less snow, and higher annual temperatures than most other parts of Canada. Just because it is further north on the map than other cities doesn't mean that it is colder. Edmonton is the primary service centre for the oil and gas industry, which means the unemployment rate is extremely low (Calgary and Edmonton have two of the hottest economies in Canada), and there are also over 75 head offices in Edmonton, so it's not all blue collar. Edmonton's Folk Music Festival, Heritage Festival, The Works Art & Design Festival, and Fringe Theatre Festival are all major events, and in some cases, the best that Canada has to offer. Edmonton has a strong arts and theatre scene year-round, and the support for local sports teams is unsurpassed. Edmonton's Capital Health

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[*] More detailed information about this study can be found at the PCERII Website (pcerii@metropolis,net) in the form of a working paper, or as the full report. The authors are grateful to Lori Diepenbroek and Jennifer Foote for their assistance with this study. They also thank Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Prairies and Northern Territories Region) and the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration for funding the project.

is a top-rated health care system that is the best in Canada in many respects. The activities Edmonton offers to children and youth, its excellent research university, and its school district that is a model for many other programs throughout North America also add to the city's appeal as a good place to raise a family. Edmonton's size (which is similar to that of Calgary and Ottawa) means that it has all the amenities of a large metropolis such as Toronto or Vancouver, but one doesn't have to drive so far to get to them. Neither does one have to pay as much for nearly everything, especially housing. So why is Edmonton such a secret to the rest of Canada, and to potential newcomers from overseas?

In the fall of 2005, Edmonton elected a new mayor in a landslide victory. This was a surprise to everyone, including Stephen Mandel himself, who was late to his own party because he didn't expect the election to be called so early. The new mayor confessed to an audience at his first State of the City address in April 2005 that he had been "unsettled about Edmonton's future ... [for] as much as our city has going for it, we are not meeting opportunity and potential as well as we can." He argued that Edmonton needed to "reclaim leadership status" to help Edmonton "move toward a bolder future." One of the first things Mayor Mandel did was to commission two City Councillors, Terry Cavanaugh and Michael Phair, to work on a plan for attracting more newcomers to Edmonton, particularly immigrants.

In the spring of 2005, Councillor Phair approached the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration (PCERII) with a request. He wanted the PCERII to undertake a study to investigate why twice as many immigrants chose to settle in Calgary rather than Edmonton. There were two main reasons for wanting a larger cohort of newcomers. First, Edmonton, like the rest of Alberta, is in the throes of a major labour shortage that threatens the well-being of the economy. The provincial government estimates that Alberta will be short 100,000 workers in the next ten years (Government of Alberta nd). Many companies are already suffering because the oil patch has pulled workers out of other industries. The second reason for wanting immigrants is the benefit this would provide to the overall vitality of the city. It is clear from the experience of other North American cities that those that are attractive to the "creative class" share a number of characteristics, including economic growth, a strong arts community, a large gay community, and vibrant immigrant communities (Florida 2002).

The PCERII undertook a three-part study, which included a survey of immigrants to Edmonton and Calgary, an examination of Websites to determine what potential immigrants might find if they were planning to settle in Canada, and two consultations with community stakeholders.

Immigrant survey

Over two hundred immigrants participated, 101 in Edmonton and 103 in Calgary. Almost two-thirds were women, and most were between 25 and 44 years old. Most participants were well educated and highly skilled. More than two-thirds had worked in a professional or managerial field in their home country.

The participants were asked how they had found out about Edmonton (or Calgary) before arriving. Family and friends were the most common source of information about the new city; however, almost one-third of the new Edmonton residents had learned about their new home via the Internet.

Survey participants were also asked, "Why did you move to Edmonton (or Calgary)?" As in other studies (Abu-Laban et al. 1999), economic factors (e.g., jobs, a strong economy) were mentioned most often (34%). Family and friends were cited as "pull" factors almost as often (29%), followed by quality of life reasons such as climate, city size, and access to social services (24%). Educational opportunities (e.g., ESL, post-secondary institutions) attracted more Edmonton residents (19%) than Calgary residents (7%). Calgary may be able to attract more immigrants because of larger ethno-cultural communities, but Edmonton appears to have a recruiting advantage in the education sector.

Survey participants were also asked to identify the best things about living in their city. *Quality of life* reasons such as good climate and a welcoming social environment were mentioned most often (48%), followed by *economic factors* (31%), and *educational resources* (19%). Although more Edmonton residents had mentioned economic reasons for choosing their city, Calgary residents were somewhat more likely to mention jobs and a strong economy as the best thing about living in their city. Edmonton residents were much more likely (31% compared to 8% of Calgary residents) to

When asked about the biggest problems they encountered in their new community, 41% of all answers focused on economic problems (e.g., not being able to find a good job). Quality of life concerns such as poor public transport and limited social services were mentioned almost as often (37%). The third largest category (19%) involved problems encountered because of limited command of the English language.

emphasize access to educational resources as "best things" about their city.

When asked about the biggest problems they encountered in their new community, 41% of all answers focused on economic problems (e.g., not being able to find a good job). Quality of life concerns such as poor public transport and limited social services were mentioned almost as often (37%). The third largest category (19%) involved problems encountered because of limited command of the English language.

Web search

When potential immigrants are choosing a location in Canada where they would live, the Internet is a natural place to look for information. The information available on Websites has the potential to play a large role in attracting immigrants to a particular city. We conducted a search to find out what information was available for future newcomers. Our search included the Government of Canada's Website, as well as provincial Websites for Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. Several municipal Websites were examined, including those of the following cities: Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Montréal and Toronto. There was a huge disparity in the information provided. Although some municipalities and provinces have exemplary Websites, there were also a couple of exceptions (primarily in languages other than English), and there was little we could locate that was designed for immigrants to Edmonton.

Stakeholder meetings

The first stakeholder meeting with representatives from immigrant-serving agencies, ethnocultural groups, educational institutions, and provincial and federal government departments elicited suggestions as to how Edmonton could attract and retain immigrants. The main issues discussed were employment, housing and public opinion. Many agreed that accreditation and Canadian work experience are two key employment issues. Another key hindrance identified was appropriate housing. Not only are there long waiting lists, but some landlords discriminate against newcomers. The attitude of the general public towards immigrants was also identified as a key concern. Other topics addressed included problems in the education system, the long delays on the part of Citizenship and Immigration Canada in processing applications, and a need for better interpretation services.

The second meeting allowed the researchers to report back to the participants and to ask for assistance in identifying gaps and setting priorities.

Recommendations

Based on the input from all sources, the following recommendations were made to the City of Edmonton.

Promoting Edmonton

- The City should send representatives to immigrant trade shows overseas.
- The City should consult *Attracting and Retaining Immigrants: A Toolbox of Ideas for Smaller Centres*, a document produced for Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- The City should work with school boards and post-secondary institutions to develop a strategy that includes both marketing and welcoming.
- The City should develop a comprehensive Website in several languages specifically designed for potential residents highlighting the advantages of living in Edmonton.

Making Edmonton a more welcoming city to retain newcomers

- The City should examine its own services for cross-cultural awareness.
- The City should undertake an inventory of services for newcomers that are already available. The services on the inventory should then be assessed for immigrant accessibility.
- Useful services that already exist should be promoted.
- The City should ensure that interpreters are well-trained and well-paid.
- Equitable hiring practices should be in place such that employees of the City reflect the ethnic composition of Edmonton residents.
- City managers should be evaluated on their ability to integrate immigrants into their departments.
- The City should lobby the province whose responsibility it is to work with professional bodies, unions, post-secondary institutions and employers to remove credential recognition barriers for immigrants.
- The City should develop an internship program to provide a number of immigrants each year with Canadian work experience.
- The City should develop a social marketing campaign to improve public awareness of the benefits of immigrants.
- The City should institute an event such as *Celebrating the Welcoming City: Edmontonians Who Make a Difference*, in which both Canadian-born and immigrant citizens would be honoured.
- The City should partner with large employers such as Syncrude on a publicity campaign about the need for workers.
- The City should bring together employers who champion immigrant workers to talk to other employers about their experiences.
- The City should develop an anti-racism campaign focused on all Edmontonians – First Nations, immigrants and Canadian-born.
- Newcomers need accessible information on how to find accommodation.
- More low income housing that can accommodate large families and more housing cooperatives should be made available.
- Improved transportation options are necessary.
- The City should lobby the Department of Education on a number of points that affect the children of many immigrants.
- The City should encourage public post-secondary institutions to develop action plans to make their institutions more welcoming of immigrants.
- In conjunction with the Province and local settlement agencies, the City of Edmonton should determine what materials about laws and bylaws affecting immigrants are already available. The City should help with the distribution of these materials.
- Where there are gaps, the City should produce pamphlets in a range of languages on pertinent bylaws.
- The City should ensure that landlords are aware of their responsibilities.
- The City should work more closely with existing agencies and ethnocultural communities.
- The City should work with neighbouring communities to encourage them to engage in similar welcoming activities, particularly with their own civic employees.

Conclusion

Although the study reported here focused on Edmonton, many of the issues that emerged are relevant to other second-tier cities as well. Without adequate promotion, newcomers may not even know that smaller cities have all the amenities that a metropolis can offer. More importantly, communities must find ways to ensure that the settlement experience of immigrants is improved. For adults, the employment barriers of credentialing and Canadian work experience must be overcome. For children and youth, major changes must take place in the educational system.

The City of Edmonton has taken its first steps to attract and retain more immigrants. The Edmonton Economic Development Corporation will be launching a new immigrant-friendly Website in 2006. On April 19, 2006, the Edmonton Office of Diversity and Inclusion put forward to City Council an action plan with suggested budget allocations to address 11 of the PCERII's recommendations immediately, and has indicated that the rest of the recommendations should be followed up in the future. The Mayor's vision, that Edmonton wants "to ensure that new Canadians are integrated quickly and kindly, because we want them to stay" is likely to come to fruition. If the recommendations are followed, many more immigrants will learn Edmonton's secret, just as those who are already here have discovered. In their words:

"*In spite of all problems, it still is a very good city to live. We as immigrants want to contribute and on the other hand need our children to grow in a good manner, so it is a good city to live.*"

"*I want my kids to grow up here and complete their education in University.*"

"*It is not expensive for immigrants [in Edmonton].*"

"*Now this is my country, my city, and I'm sure stay here. I don't have any idea to move.*"

"*I love this city.*"

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

Another major consideration for the provincial government has been the emerging consensus that, if the current out-migration of working age population to other provinces and countries persists, the current labour market shortages are likely to increase in the near future to the point where the local labour supply cannot fill all of the vacancies that will emerge.

Attraction and Retention of Immigrants by Saskatchewan's Major Cities

JOE GARCEA
University of Saskatchewan

Awakening to the importance of attracting and retaining immigrants

In recent years all provincial governments and many city governments have awakened to the importance of immigration as an integral component of their economic and community development strategies. Consequently they have been attempting to develop strategies designed to attract and retain immigrants in their respective provinces and communities. In Saskatchewan such attempts are evident in recent initiatives undertaken by the provincial government as well as some fledgling initiatives by some municipalities.

The awakening by Saskatchewan's provincial government has been stimulated largely by the continuing gradual decline in the population of the province during the past decade, which has brought the total population down slightly below one million. This decline has been the subject of partisan political debate within which a population of one million is deemed a key indicator of development in the province (Elliott 2003). Another major consideration for the provincial government has been the emerging consensus that if the current out-migration of working age population to other provinces and countries persists, the current labour market shortages are likely to increase in the near future to the point where the local labour supply cannot fill all of the vacancies that will emerge. This consideration has become particularly significant in light of the real and perceived effects that the boom in the Alberta oil industry has had on the migration of Saskatchewan workers to that province. Similar considerations have sparked the interest of municipal governments. Whereas for some of them, there is the dual consideration of the loss of population and the labour market shortages, for those whose population is growing at a relatively steady pace, such as Saskatoon, the concern is primarily with the existing and projected labour market shortages.

Attraction and retention rates

Unlike the situation they faced at the turn of the 20th century, when the newly established province of Saskatchewan and its cities were able to attract and retain massive numbers of immigrants, at the turn of the 21st century they face challenges in doing so. Indeed, their attraction and retention rates have been relatively modest in the national context. This is quite evident in the data for the period from 1995 to 2004, which reveal that during that time Saskatchewan neither attracted nor retained a relatively large number of immigrants. During that decade it ranked among the bottom half of

TABLE 1

Immigration to Saskatchewan (1995-2004)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Number of permanent residents	1,946	1,816	1,738	1,565	1,727	1,884	1,704	1,668	1,668	1,942
Number of provincial nominees	-	-	-	-	4	35	46	38	119	163

Sources: *Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview Permanent and Temporary Residents 2004*, produced by Research and Evaluation Branch, Canada, 2005. Media Backgrounder on the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP), http://www.gov.sk.ca/newsrel/releases/2004/04/16-163-attachment.pdf.

TABLE 2

Immigrant retention rates (1991-2001)

Province	Immigrants from July 1991 to June 2001	Current residents who immigrated to Canada from 1991 to 2001	Apparent net retention rate
Nfld.	5,576	2,015	36%
P.E.I.	1,559	790	51%
N.S.	25,737	10,290	40%
N.B.	7,088	4,400	62%
Que.	340,385	244,905	72%
Ont.	1,212,646	1,022,370	84%
Man.	41,640	32,350	78%
Sask.	20,013	11,365	57%
Alta.	150,669	129,920	86%
B.C.	422,155	370,615	88%
North	1,945	1,660	85%
Canada	2,229,413	1,830,680	82%

Source: Doug Elliott, *Demographic Trends in Saskatchewan: A Statistical Analysis of Population, Migration, and Immigration*, August 2003.

the provinces in terms of its attraction and retention rates as only three of the four Atlantic Provinces (i.e., Newfoundland and Labrador, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) received and retained fewer immigrants. Saskatchewan received an average of approximately 1,500 to 2,000 immigrants annually, which constituted approximately 0.8% to 1.0% of the annual flow of immigration to Canada (Table 1). This is approximately three times lower than what it should have been receiving if annual immigration flows were based on its proportional share of the country's population. Saskatchewan's retention rate was also relatively low during that decade. Of the total number of immigrants destined to the province annually, only approximately 55% to 60% remained there (Table 2). This means that on average, only 750 to 1,000 of immigrants destined to Saskatchewan annually during that decade stayed there (Elliott 2003: 47).

Of all the immigrants destined to Saskatchewan during that decade, approximately 75% settled in Saskatoon and Regina, which amounts to an average of approximately 1,000-1,500 per year. Given that the combined total population of these two cities has been 40% of the province's total population, they have been receiving 35% more immigrants than would have been warranted if the flow of immigration destined to those cities were proportional to their percentage of the provincial population. In comparison to each other, Saskatoon received a slightly higher proportion of permanent residents than Regina. During that decade, Saskatoon received an annual average of 765 permanent residents and 697 temporary residents, while Regina received an annual average of 588 permanent residents and 677 temporary residents. In terms of the proportionality ratio for permanent residents, Saskatoon received 0.47 and Regina received 0.42 of their proportional share (Table 3). Similarly, in terms of the proportionality ratio for temporary residents, Saskatoon received 0.68 and Regina received 0.77 of their proportional share (Table 4). Clearly, although Saskatoon and Regina received a relatively high proportion of permanent or temporary residents destined to Saskatchewan, they did not receive their proportional share of immigrants destined to Canada (Table 4). Moreover, both cities have had a relatively low retention rate in during the past decade. Whereas Saskatoon's retention rate has been 76%, Regina's has been 57%, which is the

TABLE 3

Permanent residents to selected Canadian cities (1995-2004; ranked by ratio of percentage of permanent residents to percentage of population)

City and rank	Population of city, 2001	Percentage of Canadian population	Average number of permanent residents per year (1995-2004)	Percentage of average of permanent residents per year (1995-2004)	Ratio of percentage of permanent residents to percentage of population
1. Toronto	4,682,897	15.60	99,727	45.67	2.93:1
2. Vancouver	1,986,965	6.62	35,471	16.25	2.45:1
3. Calgary	951,395	3.17	8,036	3.68	1.16:1
4. Montréal	3,426,350	11.42	28,485	13.05	1.14:1
5. Winnipeg	671,274	2.24	4,130	1.89	0.84:1
6. Halifax	359,183	1.20	1,825	0.84	0.70:1
7. Edmonton	937,845	3.13	4,568	2.09	0.67:1
8. Sherbrooke	152,811	0.51	718	0.33	0.65:1
9. Hamilton	655,060	2.18	2,988	1.37	0.63:1
10. St. John's	99,182	0.33	339	0.16	0.48:1
11. Saskatoon	225,927	0.75	765	0.35	0.47:1
12. Regina	192,800	0.64	588	0.27	0.42:1
13. Fredericton	81,346	0.27	236	0.11	0.41:1
14. Victoria	311,902	1.04	911	0.42	0.40:1
15. Québec	682,757	2.30	1,641	0.75	0.33:1
16. Kelowna	147,739	0.49	282	0.13	0.27:1

Source: *Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview Permanent and Temporary Residents 2004*, Produced by Research and Evaluation Branch, Canada, 2005.
Statistics Canada, *2001 Community Profiles*, retrieved May 4, 2006, from http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01/CP01/Index.cfm?Lang=E.

same as that of the province as a whole. In both cases, but particularly in Regina's case, that places them among Canadian cities with relatively lower retention rates. This situation is unlikely to change in an upward direction in the future, unless proactive initiatives are undertaken by various governmental and non-governmental stakeholders.

Provincial initiatives to increase attraction and retention rates

During the past decade, and particularly during the past five years, the lead role for increasing the attraction and retention rates of cities as well as other smaller communities in Saskatchewan has been assumed by the provincial government. Toward that end it has undertaken at least four major initiatives.

The first major initiative has been the commissioning of two reports designed to examine issues and options related to the attraction and retention of immigrants. Both reports were based on consultations with key governmental stakeholders, permanent and temporary residents, and members of the public. The first of these was *Meeting Needs and Making Connections: A Report on the Saskatchewan Immigrant and Refugee Settlement Needs and Retention Study* (2002), which produced 52 recommendations on how to improve immigrant attraction, integration and retention. The second was *Open Up Saskatchewan!* (2003), which produced a smaller set of recommendations but focused on similar issues and options as the previous report. The common overarching theme in these reports is that successful strategies for attracting, integrating and retaining immigrants require a focus on at least five key areas. The first is improving opportunities and eliminating obstacles to careers and career education and training. The second is the provision of support programs services such as housing, transportation, childcare, and counselling; and the creation of welcoming communities. The third is the development of community and organizational capacity in the immigration and integration sector through partnerships involving various governmental and non-governmental actors. The fourth is the review and revision of existing policies and programs that impinge on immigration and integration. The fifth is the development of an organizational infrastructure to provide the means by which to develop and implement immigration strategies and work plans. For this particular purpose, they envisioned the establishment of a network of settlement and integration coordinating committees both at the local and provincial levels.

TABLE 4

Temporary immigrants[*] to selected Canadian cities (1995-2004; ranked by ratio of percentage of temporary residents to percentage of population

City and rank	Population of city, 2001	Percentage of Canadian population	Average number of temporary residents per year (1995-2004)	Percentage of average of temporary residents per year (1995-2004)	Ratio of temporary residents to percentage of population
1. Vancouver	1,986,965	6.62	24,323	17.74	2.68:1
2. Halifax	359,183	1.20	2,074	1.51	1.26:1
3. Toronto	4,682,897	15.60	24,944	18.19	1.10:1
4. Calgary	951,395	3.17	4,671	3.41	1.08:1
5. Montréal	3,426,350	11.42	15,917	11.61	1.02:1
6. Fredericton	81,346	0.27	367	0.27	1.00:1
7. Sherbrooke	152,811	0.51	597	0.44	0.86:1
8. Regina	192,800	0.64	677	0.49	0.77:1
9. Edmonton	937,845	3.13	3,231	2.36	0.75:1
10. Victoria	311,902	1.04	970	0.71	0.68:1
11. Saskatoon	225,927	0.75	697	0.51	0.68:1
12. Winnipeg	671,274	2.24	2,101	1.53	0.68:1
13. Québec	682,757	2.30	1,921	1.40	0.61:1
14. Hamilton	655,060	2.18	1,778	1.30	0.59:1
15. Kelowna	147,739	0.49	367	0.27	0.55:1
16. St. John's	99,182	0.33	204	0.15	0.45:1

[*] "Temporary immigrants" refers to foreign students and workers in *Facts and Figures* document

Source: *Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview Permanent and Temporary Residents 2004*, Produced by Research and Evaluation Branch, Canada, 2005.

Statistics Canada, *2001 Community Profiles*, retrieved May 4, 2006, from http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01/CP01/Index.cfm?Lang=E.

The second major initiative has been the development and implementation of the Saskatchewan Immigration Nominee Program (SINP), signed in 2002 and incorporated into the Canada-Saskatchewan Immigration Agreement, originally signed in 1998 and renewed in 2005. Among the key provisions in the revised agreement were some that expanded the SINP in at least two important ways. First, it eliminated the limit on the number of provincial nominees under the SINP. Second, it permitted the provincial government to nominate a broader mix of immigrants who were needed to meet the province's need for more technical, trade and professional occupations. It did so by expanding the skilled workers category in a way that broadened eligible jobs for SINP nominees in Saskatchewan's employment market from 2% to 45%. It did so by eliminating references to 12 specific occupations and replacing them with references to five general categories of nominees, namely: skilled workers and professionals, health professionals, business persons, foreign students, and farm owner/operators (Saskatchewan 2005a).

The third major initiative, and closely related to the second, has been to increase the level of staffing and financial resources dedicated to immigration. Its staffing has increased from but a few, when the existing Immigration Branch was established in 2001, to two dozen mid-way through 2006. Among the new hires in 2006 was a new Associate Deputy Minister responsible for the Immigration Branch, recruited from Manitoba based on his familiarity with the successful provincial immigration nominee program in that province. During the past five years Saskatchewan has also substantially increased its financial commitment to immigration. Whereas at the start of that period it was devoting only a few hundred thousand dollars to that program, and by 2005-2006 it was devoting $1.7 million, for 2006-2007 it has committed $6.3 million for staffing and operating the SINP and for supporting immigrant serving agencies (Saskatchewan 2006b). The objective of the SINP program is to increase the annual number of nominations to 1,500 by 2008-2009 which, when combined with their spouses and children, would result in 5,000 new immigrants arriving to the province each year. If successful, this on its own would double the number of immigrants currently arriving to Saskatchewan. If the numbers are also increased outside the scope of the SINP, the number could well triple or even quadruple over a relatively short time, as it did for Manitoba.

The fourth major initiative has been negotiating agreements and partnerships designed to assist various categories of permanent and temporary residents to work and live in Saskatchewan's communities. This includes, for example, two agreements with the federal government related to foreign students, one of which extended the number of years that foreign students can work in Canada after graduation from one to two, and thereafter allow them to apply for permanent resident status through the SINP if they have a job offer, and the other permitted foreign students to work off-campus while pursuing their studies (Saskatchewan 2006c). It also includes the agreement with the federal government to offer Enhanced Language Training designed to provide newcomers with a higher level of career-related language training than had existed in the recent past (Saskatchewan 2004b). It also includes the partnerships with the Saskatchewan Trucking Association to nominate 200 long-haul truckers under the SINP (Saskatchewan 2005d), and partnerships with the medical and nursing programs at postsecondary institutions to increase access to training for foreign-trained doctors and nurses to get their provincial accreditation (Saskatchewan 2005c). In the case of nurses, arrangements have been made for them to take some classes through distance education before coming to the province (Saskatchewan 2006a).

Municipal strategic initiatives for influencing attraction and retention

Saskatchewan's cities have been slower than the provincial government to awaken to the importance of immigration. Furthermore, insofar as some cities have now awoken to this important matter, they have not all done so at the same pace or with the same degree of urgency and commitment. The fledgling efforts by some of them to begin to think about the need for municipal and community based initiatives to attract and retain immigrants have been relatively limited in scope. Notable examples of such efforts are those of the City of Saskatoon, which has undertaken to date two major initiatives in this regard. The first has been the development and implementation of its *Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Policy* (Saskatoon 2004a), designed to make Saskatoon a more welcoming, inclusive and socially cohesive community. Toward that end, the policy calls on the Saskatoon's City Council and administration to be leaders in the community, not only in articulating that policy's vision, but also in forming a working committee to develop joint strategies and action plans related to cultural diversity and race relations.

Saskatoon's second major initiative, and closely related to the first, has been to commission the production of a community based strategy and action plan for attracting and retaining immigrants. This initiative, approved by City Council on November 29, 2004, emerged from a recommendation made by its Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Committee (Saskatoon 2004b), which believed that properly managed immigration and integration strategies would benefit Saskatoon in several ways, including: population growth, larger pool of workers, business ventures and investments, increased tax base, tourism, and a culturally enriched city.

In keeping with that recommendation, the city entered into a partnership with the federal and provincial government to manage and finance both a set of consultations with governmental and non-governmental stakeholders and newcomers, and the production of a report. The major purpose of these consultations has been to determine the following: Saskatoon's need to attract and retain more immigrants; what must be done to attract and retain more immigrants; the needs of immigrants; improvements to policies and programs to meet the needs of immigrants; and the needs of various settlement and human services agencies in assisting immigrants.

At the time of writing, the consultations with Saskatoon's stakeholders and newcomers are being concluded. The consultations conducted to date reveal that there is a relatively widespread belief that for Saskatoon's community and economic development, there is a need to attract and retain more immigrants than in the recent past. There is also a widespread belief that various governmental and non-governmental stakeholders need to do more in order to build up the capacity within the community to attract and retain immigrants. It must be emphasized, however, that there is also a relatively widespread belief that all of this must be done within a policy framework that is mindful of the number of people already living in Saskatoon, both within the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, and who are unemployed, under-employed or in need of career training. To ensure that everyone moves forward and no one is left behind, many of those who have participated in the consultations have indicated that special efforts are needed to ensure that both appropriate job and training opportunities – and the means by which to link individuals with those opportunities – are available for everyone.

Although it is still too early to say what the report commissioned by the City of Saskatoon will recommend for purposes of producing the City's proposed community-based action plan for attracting and retaining immigrants, it is possible to say that it will be similar to the one that was produced for the City of Edmonton (Derwing et al. 2005). The focus of the report will be on three key aspects of attracting and retaining immigrants: what the City of Saskatoon can do on its own; what the City can do in partnership with various governmental and non-governmental stakeholders; and what they City can do to encourage such stakeholders to do on their own. The hope is that the report that will result from these consultations, together with the many good recommendations in the various reports discussed above, will provide a solid base on which to develop and ultimately implement such an action plan. Among other things, the report will include references to best practices in the immigrant attraction and retention policies, programs and projects of other Canadian municipalities that have been leaders, on such matters, in the municipal sector.

The need for future initiatives to increase attraction and retention rates

As is the case with cities in other provinces, Saskatchewan's cities cannot afford to leave any aspect of their development entirely in the hands of the federal and provincial governments. This includes the attraction and retention of immigrants. In this, as in other areas of vital importance to their development, they must develop the strategies and the means to become progressive and proactive. In considering what they need to do, they must look at the strategic initiatives of other cities – in other provinces and countries – that have been pioneers in this area and consider which initiatives may be appropriate for them, either in their existing or in some modified form. Indeed, they should go beyond being imitators to being innovators in this policy field. What they do will have significant implications not only for them as corporate entities but also for their communities in the complex and extensively linked political economy of the shrinking global village.

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When respondents were asked to consider choosing between alternate visions of their city in the next 20 years, the majority said they would want it to have a multicultural community where "different ethnic groups, including your own, are encouraged to retain their different cultures and lifestyles."

The Uniqueness of the Immigrant Experience Across Canada: A Closer Look at the Region of Waterloo*

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University of Western Ontario

A recent report by Citizenship and Immigration Canada[1] indicated a federal plan to encourage newcomer settlement outside Canada's largest immigrant destinations (Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal). This report looks at one of these alternative areas in particular: the Waterloo Region. The Waterloo Region compromises four rural townships[2] and three urban municipalities – Cambridge, Kitchener and Waterloo – with a population of 450,000.[3] We will first present statistics on immigrants in the region, followed by an exploration of attitudes toward diversity and immigration, and a presentation of the status of immigrants and the challenges they face. We will also provide a brief overview of the ongoing programs and initiatives on the integration of immigrants in the region, before ending with concluding remarks.

Immigration statistics

Percentage of immigrants in the Waterloo Region

In terms of the proportion of foreign-born population, the Waterloo Region ranks fifth in Canada behind Toronto, Vancouver, Hamilton, and Windsor.[4] According to the City of Kitchener, around one-fourth of the Waterloo Region population are immigrants,[5] totalling approximately 100,000 individuals.[6] In addition, the proportion of immigrants in the region has been on the rise, as evident in the fact that they compromised 20.8% of the population in 1991 and 22% a decade later[7] – see Figure 1. The Waterloo Region also ranked higher than the national immigrant-receiving average of 18.4%, pointing to the relative popularity of the region as a destination. Recent years have seen significant additions to the immigrant population, with 15% of immigrants having arrived within the past five years and 13% having arrived five to ten years before that.[8]

What about secondary migration?

The Waterloo Region is also a major destination for immigrants who are relocating within Canada, and approximately 40% of recent immigrants to this region arrived through secondary migration.[9]

What are immigrants' countries of origin?

The key source regions for immigrants to Canada between the years 1995-2004 were Africa and the Middle East, and Asia and the Pacific.[10] Furthermore, national statistics show that arriving immigrants predominantly belong to the "economic immigrant" category.

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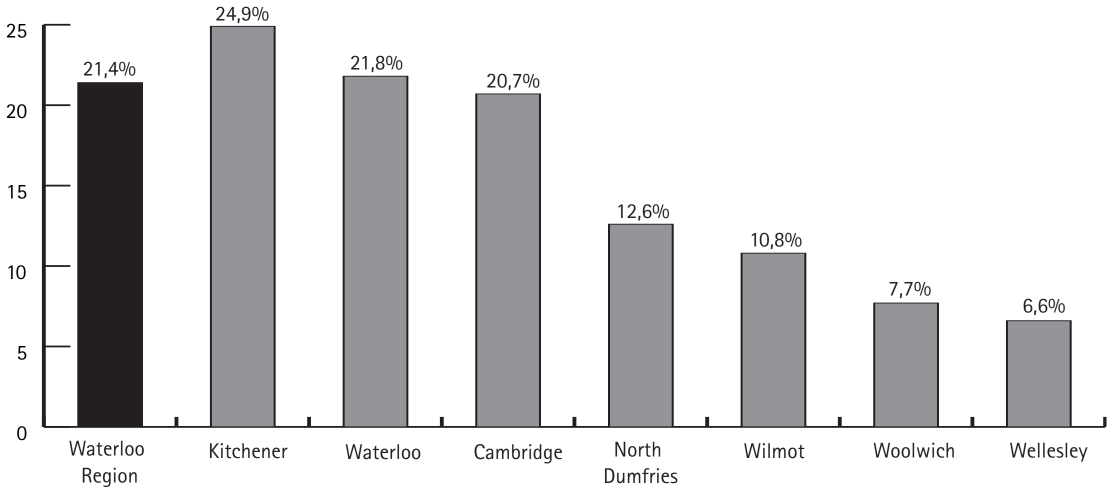
* Special thanks to Dr. Victoria Esses for her valuable guidance and to Matthew Maxwell-Smith for contributing references and reports.

FIGURE 1

Percentage of immigrants in the Waterloo Region broken down by municipality



Source: Region of Waterloo Public Health, *A Profile of Immigrants in Waterloo Region.*

In contrast, the top five source countries for newcomers who had arrived in the Waterloo Region between the years 1996-2001 were Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Romania, Croatia, and China.[11] It should be noted that this is at least partially attributable to the higher proportion of refugee arrivals, as opposed to economic immigrants, in the Waterloo Region.

Statistics show that immigrants from Europe tend to prefer smaller urban centres. In support of that, statistics spanning the years 1996 to 2001 show that about 32% of immigrants to the Waterloo Region were born in the former Yugoslavian states, Romania, and the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, there were also relatively large numbers of new arrivals in the 1990s from China, Vietnam, and India.[12]

What are the categories of immigrants?

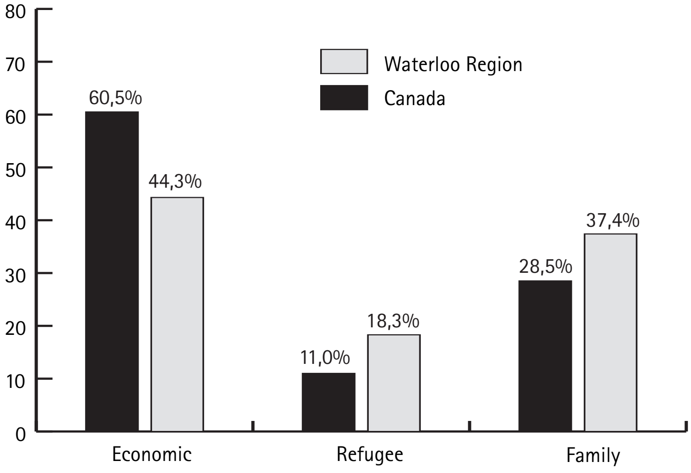
As in the rest of Canada, the categories of immigrants in the Waterloo Region include: "economic immigrants" (skilled workers, entrepreneurs or investors), "refugees and group-sponsored individuals," and "family-class immigrants." When comparing the categories of immigrants in the Waterloo Region to the national average, it is evident that the region has a disproportionately high number of refugees (see Figure 2). This has many implications for the barriers to integration that these individuals may face and the need for specialized programs, since reports show that refugees are more likely to experience health problems and exceed other categories in the number of teenagers and youth under 24 years old.[13]

Attitudes toward newcomers in the Waterloo Region

A survey commissioned by the City of Kitchener to 1,238 individuals looked at the attitudes of residents toward immigration and newcomers, and their vision for a diverse city 20 years from now.[14]

FIGURE 2

Comparison between categories of immigrants settling in the Waterloo Region and Canada figures – 2002



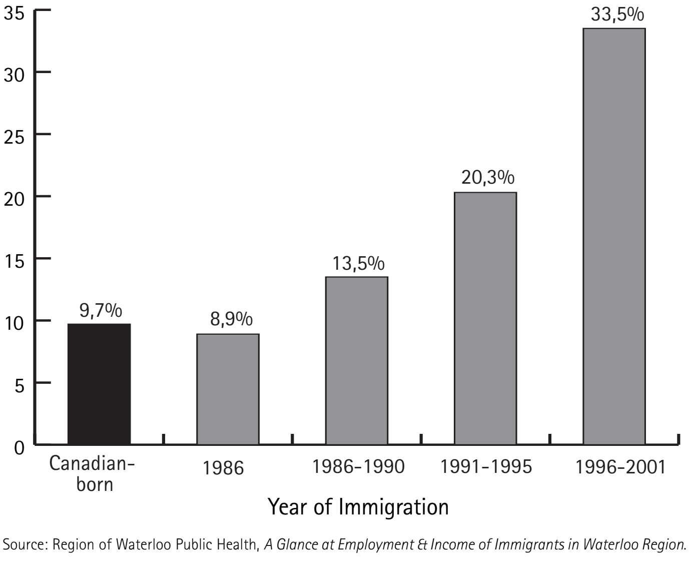
Source: Chart constructed based on figures from Region of Waterloo Public Health, *A Profile of Immigrants in Waterloo Region.*

Attitudes toward diversity and immigrants

Several items measured attitudes toward immigrants and diversity. One item asked respondents whether they agree with the statement that, "An indispensable way to learn is to be in contact and converse with very different kinds of people." Responses provided were 43% "totally agree," 45% "somewhat agree," 8% "somewhat disagree" and 2% "totally disagree." These results were similar to other items that measured openness to culture, where the aggregates of "agree" were greater than the "disagree" category, showing a positive attitude toward openness to cultural experiences. Similarly, in addressing the question of whether there is too much immigration, the majority of the respondents (69%) disagreed with the statement. When items specifically targeted attitudes toward immigrants and their acculturation, however, somewhat different results were evident. For example, for the item, "Immigrants of different races and ethnic groups should set aside their cultural backgrounds and try to blend into Canadian culture," the answers were: 20% "totally agree," 35% "agree somewhat," 30% "disagree somewhat" and 14% "totally disagree." In other words, the majority support assimilation. Items asking about retention of non-official languages for immigrants yielded similar results in that respondents do not generally support the promotion of non-official languages. Thus, in the specific cases of the culture and language of immigrants, respondents indicated a preference for the persistence of the dominant culture.

FIGURE 3

Comparison between immigrants living on low-income (according to year of arrival) and Canadian-born workers (during the year 2000)



Source: Region of Waterloo Public Health, *A Glance at Employment & Income of Immigrants in Waterloo Region.*

Respondents' vision for the City of Kitchener in 20 years time

When respondents were asked to consider choosing between alternate visions of their city in the next 20 years, the majority (57%) said they would want it to have a multicultural community where "different ethnic groups, including your own, are encouraged to retain their different cultures and lifestyles." On the other hand, when asked whether the city should provide programs customized to different groups and cultures versus a "common set of services for everyone," 67% indicated that a common set of services should be provided.

Summary

The results overall suggest that attitudes toward immigrants and diversity held by individuals in the Waterloo Region are quite favourable, though respondents want to see newcomers attempting to fit into their current community, rather than providing specialized services and opportunities for them. Nonetheless, as we describe in the next section, such services and opportunities may be required.

Barriers and Challenges Facing Immigrants

Employment

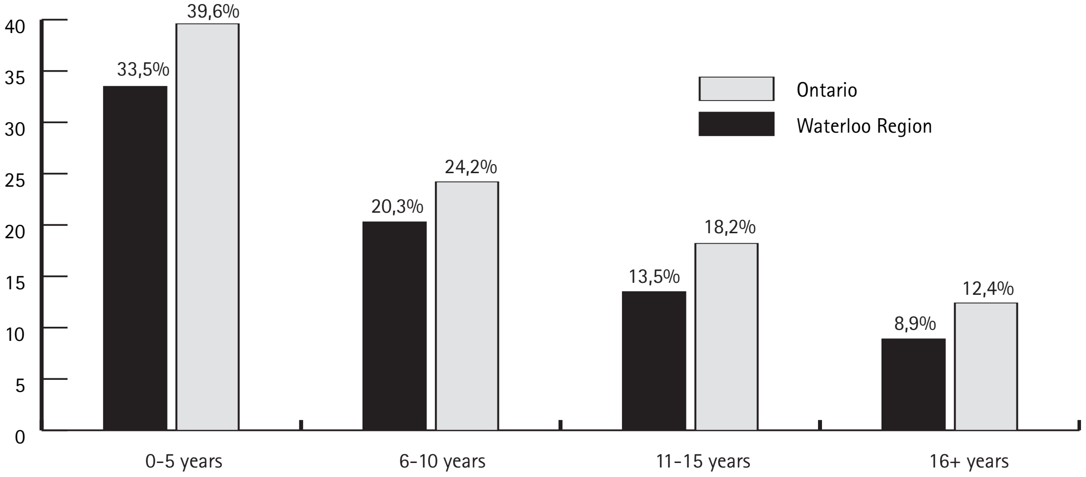
Vital to immigrant settlement is the issue of employment. *The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada* (LSIC) indicated that "credential and skill recognition is a major hurdle that many newcomers experience,"[15] and:

"Participation in the labour force is an important indicator of settlement. It is associated with economic integration, financial independence and with social integration. It is regarded by most immigrants of working age as central to their successful settlement."[16]

What about the Waterloo Region? Because it houses the "techtriangle," there is a need for skilled workers to fill vacant positions in the technology industry. Despite these vacancies, qualified newcomers are unable to fill these positions, highlighting the difficulties

FIGURE 4

The inverse relation between years since immigration and poverty rates: A comparison between the Waterloo Region and Ontario



Source: Public Health Briefs, *Immigrant Poverty* (Region of Waterloo Public Health)

immigrants face in having their skills and education recognized.[17] This trend can be seen in other fields. For example, a report in 2005 indicated that 124 immigrant physicians were looking for work in the Waterloo Region despite the evident shortage of at least 24 physicians.[18]

In further evidence of wasted immigrant skills, a survey of 198 immigrants living in the Waterloo Region revealed that over half were skilled in domains facing employment shortages, yet they were without jobs due to difficulties in transferring credentials. More specifically, 48.6% of newcomer men had university degrees in comparison to 19.8% of Canadian-born men; in addition, 36.6% of immigrant women had a university degree in contrast to 19.1% of Canadian-born women. However, the unemployment rate for recent immigrants is 13.7% in comparison to 5% for Canadian-born individuals in the region.[19]

Unemployment is not the only consequence of the "disconnect between skills and jobs." Additional problems are underemployment, low-income living, and an evident earnings gap. Of those 198 surveyed above, only 37% of those with employment worked full-time, and 45% were working in a field unrelated to the skills they had developed in their country of origin. With regards to low-income immigrants, the 2001 Census indicates that recent immigrants are the most likely to be living under the low-income cut-off in the Waterloo Region (see Figure 3).[20]

Poverty and housing affordability

A report studying poverty in the Waterloo Region found that immigrants were more likely to live in poverty, and their experience of poverty may be longer than those in the general population.[21] Figure 4 illustrates poverty rates experienced by the Waterloo Region immigrants in comparison with poverty rates in Ontario. According to this research, immigrants move out of poverty as the duration of their residence in Canada increases. Figures also show that immigrant unemployment rates in Waterloo Region are lower than those in Ontario.[22]

Refugees are particularly susceptible to problems of low-income living and poverty: the LSIC found that 85% had arrived with no savings, and 32 % (highest of all categories) spend 50% to 100% of household income on housing only.[23]

Youth

Of the immigrants in the Waterloo Region, 42% are under the age of 20. A report on challenges perceived by immigrant youth in the region lists seven challenges: cultural differences, language, lack of resources, racism/discrimination, absence of open communication, disappointment/ disillusionment, and other pressures. These challenges stem from having to overcome parents' barriers, reconcile contrasting cultures that may exist in their primary spheres of living (school and family), language struggles, peer pressure, bleak employment prospects for

Because the Waterloo Region houses the "techtriangle," there is a need for skilled workers to fill vacant positions in the technology industry. Despite these vacancies, qualified newcomers are unable to fill these positions, highlighting the difficulties immigrants face in having their skills and education recognized.

youth, and membership in minority groups that may face discrimination. They additionally face barriers gaining resources for further educational prospects.[24]

Studies also show that immigrant youth are highly susceptible to factors that significantly increase chances of dropping out of school: socioeconomic disadvantage and having a minority language (neither English nor French) as a mother tongue.[25] Other studies show that non-English speaking youth are 1.5 times more likely to drop out of school than their English-speaking peers.[26]

Proactive and reactive measures for retaining immigrants

The immigrant picture is not entirely bleak. During the last federal election, four out of the five party candidates in the Kitchener-Waterloo riding were immigrants,[27] a positive indicator of political participation by immigrant groups, which points to the status attained by these individuals. There are also numerous programs that have been set up in the region to help immigrants succeed in their new life, and though organizations targeting specific immigrant groups are not abundant in the Waterloo Region, organizations exist that provide a wide array of services to newcomers in need.

This report will wrap up by examining the framework that has been put in place to support newcomers to the Waterloo Region. In doing so, two broad categories will be presented: (1) general immigrant settlement services, and (2) specific proactive/reactive measures that have been put in place to address the issues facing the Waterloo Region.

General settlement services

Non-governmental organizations with a special interest in immigrants provide a wide array of services in the Waterloo Region. With regard to general immigrant services, newcomers have access to assessment services for their work experience, English language skills, and can get started on a job search. Once the language assessment is done, they have the option of taking English language classes free of charge in order to help them overcome language barriers. Other front-line immigrant services are available such as assistance in settlement, arrangement of childcare, and introduction to the local culture.

Seeing that the Region has a significant percentage of refugees, there are many services available to those who fall into this category: immediate housing for government-sponsored refugees, assistance for refugee claimants, assistance for churches considering the sponsorship of refugees, and counselling in several languages.

Proactive and reactive measures to address immigrant employment

There are a number of initiatives under way in the Waterloo Region to respond to the problem of immigrant unemployment, though their success cannot yet be determined. The Waterloo Region held an Immigrant Skills Summit on April 28, 2005, assembling 179 community members from labour, business, government, political, education, community-based organizations and immigrant groups to invite input and obtain commitment to a set of action plans to attract and integrate immigrant skills into the Region's labour market.[28] This summit led to the formation of the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network, a group of representatives from six stakeholder segments (funders, businesses, immigrants, governments, educational institutions and community-based organizations). The mission of this network is to attract immigrant talent and ensure that these immigrants become more visible and successful within recruitment and selection pools in the Waterloo Region.[29]

The Working Centre is addressing immigrant employment from a specific angle: employment in the health sector. This NGO offers sector specific information, counseling and training for newcomers looking for work in the field of health care, as well as a variety of mentorship positions in this sector.[30]

The University of Waterloo has also been involved in helping immigrants get their skills recognized, in one case working with the College of Optometrists of Ontario to offer courses for internationally trained optometrists, with the objective of obtaining their accreditation. Similar plans are taking place in the Pharmacy Department and Consetoga College's Centre of Engineering Studies.[31]

As for challenges facing youth, local school boards and research centres have become active in addressing them. The Waterloo Catholic School Board has set up a "newcomer reception centre" aimed at welcoming new immigrant students and their parents to school, providing initial academic assessments and referrals, and seeks to keep parents in contact with events at school.[32] Local NGOs also have settlement workers in schools to help youth adjust to cultural and language barriers. With regards to research, the Centre for Research and Education in Human Services published a report that presented an analysis of the challenges faced by immigrant youth, as derived from fieldwork and focus groups. The report concluded with a list of detailed and constructive suggestions for future support strategies, which included forming a regional immigrant youth council and immigrant representation on the school board.[33]

Conclusion

The specifics of the immigrant story in the Waterloo Region highlight the importance of acknowledging the fact that immigration experience is not uniform for all newcomers. Consequently, investing in services and policies that tailor to the needs of specific immigrant groups is vital to their success. This report has highlighted the unique circumstances surrounding immigration in the Region, such as the high proportion of refugee and youth, while pointing out the additional challenges facing these newcomers, such as psychological trauma, language barriers and social isolation, as well as the general challenges that immigrants face, such as unemployment and low income. The report concluded with a summary of proactive initiatives taking place.

At the time of putting this report together, there didn't seem to be any assessments on whether the existing services have been successful at addressing local immigrants' specific needs. There have been signs of progress in the initiatives that have been put in place to address employment and credential recognition, but this will hopefully continue to grow and address the other issues that immigrants face in this Region.

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[5] Individuals born outside Canada, and who are permanent residents in Canada

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[9] Ibid.

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[18] J. Tennant, "Immigrants Make Great Economic Impact," *Business Times* (January 20, 2005). Retrieved on 27 April, 2006 from http://www.techtriangle.com/viewnews.cfm?newsid=296.

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[20] "Unemployed": For the week prior to the census, the person did not have a job and was looking to obtain paid employment.

[21] Region of Waterloo Public Health, *A Glance at Employment & Income of Immigrants in Waterloo Region.*

[22] $15,757 for one individual and $29,653 for a family of four.

[23] Region of Waterloo Public Health, *A Glance at Employment & Income of Immigrants in Waterloo Region.*

[24] Definition of "poverty" derived from Statistics Canada's Low Income Cutoff calculation: the case when a household spends at least 70% of their income on necessities, and have little or nothing to spend on education, transportation, healthcare, and so forth.

[25] http://www.waterlooregion.org/poverty.

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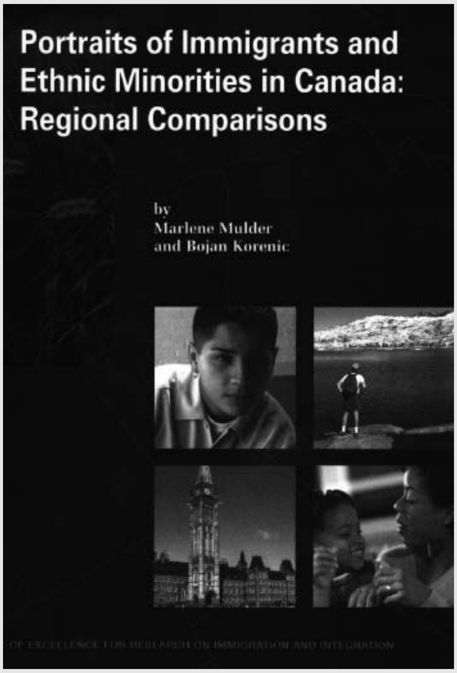

Portraits of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Canada: Regional Comparisons

by
Marlene Mulder
and Bojan Korenic

Regional Comparisons
Portraits of Immigrant and Ethnic Minorities in Canada

Portraits of Immigrant and Ethnic Minorities in Canada: Regional Comparisons (2005), by Marlene Mulder and Bojan Korenic, is a much expanded and updated version of the first such publication, which proved to be a very popular resource among the Prairie Centre's community partners and other stakeholders (*Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities on the Prairies: A Statistical Compendium*, published in 2000). The new publication is a compilation of statistics about newcomers to Canada. Unlike the previous volume, which focused only on the Prairies, this book has figures for Canada as a whole, Canadian regions (including the North), as well as detailed information relevant to the Prairies. There is also a chapter focusing on immigration to small communities such as Brooks and Brandon.

To order a copy, contact the Prairie Centre at (780) 492-6600.

The London Cross Cultural Learner Centre conducted a study with 14 immigrant physicians who were clients. None were working as medical doctors at the time. Half had been employed at some point while in Canada, but none as medical doctors. London has now lost most of these individuals to other communities because they were able to find employment in the medical field elsewhere.

Barriers and Strategies for the Recruitment and Retention of Immigrants in London, Ontario*

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The city of London, Ontario, Canada, affectionately known as "the Forest City," is located in between Windsor and Toronto. In 2001, the population of London totaled 336,860, and the city identified itself as the regional capital of southwestern Ontario (City of London 2001). Its main industries include manufacturing, health care and social assistance, retail trade, educational services, accommodation and food services, finance and insurance, and professional scientific and technical services. London is also home to the University of Western Ontario and Fanshawe College.

In many Canadian cities, an ageing population, along with a declining birth rate, indicates that there will be a shortage of skilled workers in the next few years (London Economic Development Corporation 2005). As suggested by the LEDC, this challenge may be even greater for London because the city's population has grown at a slower rate than other cities in Ontario. This phenomenon is due to a variety of related issues, including London's inability to retain 25 to 44 year olds, attract many immigrants, employ immigrants, or attract migrants from other Canadian cities. In fact, 50% of local companies surveyed by the LEDC indicated that they are currently experiencing a shortage of skilled workers or that they are concerned about the issue. In many discussions led by the City or local community agencies regarding immigrants, the focus is on workforce development and employment related issues.

Portrait of immigrants in London[1]

According to the 2001 Census, London was home to 69,175 immigrants. Thus, one in every five Londoners is an immigrant. The top five countries of birth for immigrants arriving in London between 1991 and 1995 are Poland, Vietnam, Iraq, the United States and Lebanon. The top five countries of birth for immigrants arriving in London between 1996 and 2001 are China, Yugoslavia, Bosnia, India and Iraq. According to the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre, the top countries of origin of immigrants settling in London between 2002 and 2005 are Colombia, China, Afghanistan, Sudan and Iran. The differences in these lists of top source countries may be attributed to shifts in the actual source countries of immigrants arriving in London, as well as to the method of data collection. Statistics Canada defines an immigrant as a person who is a landed immigrant in Canada, whereas the counts obtained by the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre also include refugees. London has the highest per capita

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[*] Special thanks to Dr. Victoria Esses for her guidance, knowledge, and assistance in preparing this article.

[1] The statistics presented in this section were obtained from the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre (2006) and the City of London (2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006).

population of refugees in Canada. In 2002, 27% of immigrants settling in London were refugees, compared to the provincial average of 9%.

Immigrants who settled in London between 1991 and 2001 (recent immigrants) are younger than the city's general population. In 2001, 60% of these immigrants were under 44 years of age, compared to 48% of London's general population. These immigrants also earn lowers incomes. The average total income of the general population of London is $31,021 per year, whereas the average total income of recent immigrants is $18,610. Additionally, recent immigrants who are employed earn 35% less than the general population of London who are employed. The average employment income of Londoners is $32,441, whereas the average employment income of recent immigrants is $21,075 per year.

London's total population growth from 1991 to 2001 was 33,375. The number of immigrants settling in London during this time was 8,130, representing 24.4% of London's population growth during this time. However, London's population has relatively fewer immigrants (20.5%) compared to similar municipalities including Windsor (27%), Hamilton (24%), Halton (22%) and Waterloo (21%).

Barriers to the integration of immigrants in London

There are many barriers to the integration and settlement of immigrants in London. Although these barriers are likely commonly experienced by immigrants in smaller cities across Canada, the specific characteristics of the City of London uniquely shape the experiences of its immigrants. As identified by Mary Williamson at the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre (2006), barriers inhibiting integration of immigrants are found in areas such as: 1) employment, 2) health care services, 3) affordable housing, 4) language training and 5) discrimination.

A large number of immigrants in London are either unemployed or underemployed. Many immigrants who were granted access to Canada because of their skills, trade or profession are hired in work unrelated to their training, such as taxi driver, cleaner, factory worker or farm hand. Compared to Londoners in general, recent immigrants also have higher unemployment rates. For example, the unemployment rate in London in 2001 was 6.7%, whereas for recent immigrants it was 14.7% (City of London 2005). The unemployment rate for recent immigrants in London is higher than the average for all Quality of Life Reporting System communities (10.5%), while the unemployment rate for London in general is comparable to the average for these communities (5.8%) and the national average (7.4%). However, the unemployment rate for recent immigrants in London in 2001 improved from the even higher level of 19.1% in 1991.

A study conducted in 1999 and cited in the Voices for Change (2003) report surveyed 1,678 immigrant professionals and tradespersons and found that London underutilizes immigrants' skills. Although 99% of the participants were between the ages of 20 and 49, and 99% were actively looking for work, their unemployment rate was at 40%. Further, of those who were employed, 76% were employed in areas outside their profession or trade. The top cited reasons for inability to secure viable employment included lack of Canadian work experience, lack of a Canadian certificate, lack of references and networks, and difficulties with the English language.

The London Cross Cultural Learner Centre also conducted a study with 14 physicians who were clients (Voices for Change 2003). It was found that none were presently working as medical doctors, and that only four were currently working. Half had been employed at some point while in Canada, but none as medical doctors. Half of the time, this employment was completely unrelated to their training, while the rest of the time, the work was somewhat related. However, the work found was typically short-term in nature. London has now lost most of these individuals to other communities because they were able to find gainful employment in the medical field elsewhere.

The unemployment and underemployment of recent immigrants in London plays a major role in these immigrants' standard of living. Among those who immigrated to London between 1996 and 2001, 50.7% lived in low-income in 2001 (City of London 2004b). Of those who immigrated between 1991 and 1995, 31.5% lived in low-income in 2001, indicating that immigrants may move out of poverty the longer they reside in the city.

London lacks health services, and is facing a severe shortage of family physicians, nurses, and other health care providers. London also lacks mental health support, particularly in providing services and resources to refugees who have experienced trauma and torture. Approximately 60 to 75% of refugees have high or special medical, physical or emotional needs (London Cross Cultural Learner Centre 2006). Simply put, health care is hard to come by for immigrants and newcomers. London also lacks affordable housing. Although this phenomenon is not new to any city that houses universities or colleges, the vacancy rate in London has dropped over the past few years, and the majority of units available are very expensive. Thus, it is additionally difficult to find quality, affordable housing for immigrants and newcomers.

Many newcomers to London experience difficulties with language. According to the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre, the top languages spoken by clients seeking settlement assistance in 2005-2006 were Spanish, Arabic, Farsi/Persian, Mandarin and Dari, with only 58 clients speaking English. There are many immigrants on waiting lists for English as a second language training, and many others are unable to access language training because of issues related to traveling distance and childcare. Further, there is a need for career-related language training.

Underlying barriers preventing immigrants from fully participating in society are stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. The darker an immigrant's skin, the stronger his or her accent, the more deviant his or her style of dress from Canadian custom, and the more his or her name deviates from normative European names, the less likely he or she is to be accepted. As relayed by Mary Williamson, many landlords will not rent to immigrants, many employers will not hire immigrants, and many service providers will not provide services to immigrants, simply because they are immigrants.

Each of these barriers provides separate indications of why London may be less successful at recruiting and retaining immigrants. Perhaps the most important barrier in this regard lies in employment. The City of London, along with many community partners, is actively seeking to develop strategies and action plans to make London a more welcoming and supportive place for immigrants. Many of the City's initiatives focus on improving employment opportunities and developing the workforce.

London's strategies for immigrant recruitment and retention

The Creative City Task Force Report was approved by London City Council in June 2005. The purpose of the report was to encourage London to become a creative city, by making it a better place to live and do business through the promotion of economic development, arts and culture, public art, capital projects, heritage and planning, funding sources, as well as healthy lifestyle and environment. It recommended several strategic goals for making London a creative city, with special focus upon recruitment and retention of immigrants, workforce development, and making London more welcoming to immigrants. In specific reference to immigrants in London, the report recommended "… enhancing London as an appealing business location for creative and immigrant entrepreneurs, internationally trained professionals, skilled workers, and investors … [that] welcomes and supports newcomers and persons representing a broad spectrum of diversity" (p. 19).

The Welcoming Cultural Diversity in London Plan (draft, City of London 2006) is seen as the action plan for immigrants and newcomers in London. It has developed five action strategies to make a significant, positive difference in the City of London as it seeks to better support immigrants. The identified priority areas include income, neighbourhoods (and clusters), social inclusion and civic engagement, services and supports, and systemic change. It is proposed that a London Summit be held to bring together key stakeholders and employers to begin implementation of an Immigrant Employment Council in London in order to address issues related to employment and income of immigrants. London will also host a Creative City Diversity Conference in 2007 to allow London's existing network of neighbourhood-based services to showcase local models of success, share ideas and empower communities to bring together London's neighbourhoods and clusters. The City of London is being encouraged to develop and implement a municipal plan that outlines its role as a community leader in fostering social inclusion and civic engagement of immigrants. Further, the City has been encouraged to examine how to better support neighbourhood services, maintain and develop successful culturally competent services and initiatives, and enhance expectations of funded service providers to provide culturally appropriate programs. Finally, there are plans for a workgroup to be struck to develop a "made in London" media and communications strategy that will educate Londoners about local diversity in order to inspire systemic change.

The LEDC (2005) has developed a London Workforce Development Strategy advising that London must attract and retain highly skilled workers, and not just increase the number of workers available. The strategy was launched in September 2004 and is currently being implemented. The workforce development strategy focuses on four main categories:

- Building workforce capacity – increasing the quantity and quality of London workers;
- Raising awareness of workforce development issues – informing local employers and education and training institutions of the workforce challenges ahead and ensuring they have the necessary information and resources;
- Improving workforce practices of small and medium enterprises – assisting these enterprises in developing better workforce practices to improve recruitment and retention of skilled workers; and
- Enhancing links between learning and working – maintaining and enhancing links between local employers and education and training institutions to help meet workforce needs.

One major aspect of the strategy advocates increased reliance on immigration. London must create an environment that welcomes and employs immigrants, including those who are currently in London and unemployed or underemployed, as well as attract quality workers to the city and develop programs to help immigrants gain the skills and certification they need.

Finally, a proposal for the development of a London and Middlesex Immigration Portal was successful in March 2006, and the City will be proceeding with its development this year. The Web portal will provide immigrants with a primary access point to immigration services and neighborhood-based venues available in the community. In essence, this immigration Website will provide information for a variety of target groups (including prospective immigrants, new immigrants who have settled in the area, recent and longer-term immigrants, and international students) about local immigrant organizations, government service providers, and ethnocultural groups. The goals of this portal are to market London and the surrounding area as a destination choice for immigrants and provide information and resources regarding integration, settlement and community engagement. This online resource will be a key tool for attracting and retaining immigrants to the London area.

Conclusion

Although the statistics regarding the employment and income of immigrants in London appear grim, the City of London is actively developing strategies and action plans to make it a more welcoming, employing and accommodating city to live and work in for immigrants and newcomers. The focus of many city initiatives lies in workforce development, employment of immigrants and recognition of the professional training, skills and trades of immigrants. Although this is a very important barrier that must be addressed, London and its community partners must not forget about the other barriers and needs facing immigrants. Problems regarding health services, affordable housing, language and discrimination must gain greater importance in future initiatives. Let us take down the barriers immigrants face in using their skills, engaging in the community and enjoying their newfound lives in London!

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Guelph is one of Ontario's fasting growing municipalities, boasting a substantial population of newcomers. Its growing economic sector and the existing foundation for settlement programs suggest that Guelph is a favourable destination for migrants considering an alternative destination in Canada.

Guelph: A Promising Destination for Newcomers

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In Canada, over two-thirds of recently arrived newcomers settle in Toronto, Vancouver or Montréal. This concentration of newcomers in Canada's three largest cities has led to an increase in research and policy discussions on immigrant "dispersion," or regional diversity in settlement, with a particular focus on the attraction and retention of newcomers in Canada's second and third-tier cities (Driedger 2003, Krahn et al. 2003, McIsaac 2003). Although these three larger cities continue to dominate policy and research discussion on immigration, there is a growing recognition of the diversity in Canada's smaller cities, their ability to attract newcomers and their institutional and economic capacity to settle newcomers. This article is an overview of how Guelph, one of Ontario's fastest growing cites, is currently engaged in this process of attracting and retaining newcomers and some of the major issues, successes and obstacles that are emerging. It provides an outline of the immigration history in Guelph, a landscape of Guelph's diversity, an overview of institutional capacity, a summary of some of the major themes in employment, health and education, and concluding remarks.

Guelph: A diverse city

Guelph is a city in southern Ontario, approximately 100 km west of Toronto, with a population of 106,107 (2001 Census, Statistics Canada). The city is home to the University of Guelph, one of Canada's leading research universities, particularly in the area of agricultural sciences and rural development. At the core of the University's specialization are the Ontario College of Veterinary Medicine, the Ontario College of Agriculture, and the School of Rural Planning and Development. Its major economic and employment sectors include manufacturing, educational services and construction. Guelph was founded in 1827 by John Galt, a novelist who worked for the Canada Company, which was a private land company commissioned to assist in the colonization of Upper Canada. As a result, the earliest settlers in the area were primarily English and Scottish settlers. Interestingly, in 1827 a group of destitute Scottish settlers, who had originally attempted and failed to establish a farming community in Venezuela, arrived in Guelph. The immigration and settlement of "La Guayra Settlers" was supported by John Galt who would later be dismissed for this and other humanitarian acts he undertook, at the perceived economic cost to the Canada Company (Vaughan 1979).

Guelph's early immigration history, dominated by English and Scottish settlers, was marked by a shift at the turn of the twentieth century with the arrival of immigrants from other parts of Europe, primarily from Germany, the Netherlands and Italy. In particular, Guelph witnessed several waves of Italian immigrants in the 20th century, which led to the establishment of a strong Italian community that continues to have a great deal of presence in the city's cultural landscape. The Italian Canadian Club, established in the 1950s, is one of Guelph's oldest ethnocultural community associations and hosts the Festival Italiano every July; this event is compared by locals to Kitchener's Oktoberfest.[1] In 2000, the Guelph

Civic Museum hosted Destinazione Guelph, an exhibit on the history of Guelph's Italian community in conjunction with broader celebrations marking 100 years of Italian migration to Canada. In addition to European immigrants, Guelph and its surrounding area was an important destination of the Underground Railroad as well as Black Loyalists.[2]

In the past 20 to 30 years, the source countries of newcomers to Canada shifted from Europe to Asia, Africa and Latin America. This shift is paralleled in Guelph with the arrival of new newcomers from China, South Asia and Southeast Asia. According to the 2001 Census, approximately 20% (21,385) of Guelph's population is foreign born with the majority migrating to the city before 1991. However, between 1996 and 2001 the immigrant population increased by 48% with the majority of immigrants coming from China, India, Afghanistan, the Philippines and the former Yugoslavia.[3] This new wave of immigration is transforming Guelph's diversity landscape. For example, 11% (12,155) of the population living in Guelph identify as visible minorities, with the five largest groups comprised of the Chinese (2,785), South Asians (2,745), Southeast Asians (1,400), Blacks (1,386) and Filipinos (1,105). Although Guelph is a small city and the majority of its population identifies as Canadian, Scottish or Irish, it does have sizable ethnocultural communities including German (12,770), Italian (10,170), Dutch (5,380), Polish (3,820), Chinese (3,115), East Indian (2,415) Ukrainian (2,400) and Hungarian (1,980). While the majority of the population (70%) is Christian (including Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox) the Buddhist (1,665), Muslim (1,645) and Hindu (1,045) communities have a combined population of approximately 4%. In 2000, Guelph was one of several cities in Canada that received Kosovar families fleeing war, conflict and persecution and has become a settlement area for other refugees as well.[4]

As a result of Guelph's shifting diversity landscape, there has also been an increase in active ethnocultural, religious and community organizations in the city. In addition to the well-organized Italian Canadian Club, Guelph is now home to other organizations including the Muslim Society of Guelph, the Iranian Canadian Community of Guelph, the German Canadian Club and the Kalpa Bhahra Buddhist Centre.

With the shift in demography to include larger numbers of newcomers and immigrant communities, multiculturalism has become an increasingly important aspect of Guelph's municipal identity. For example, 2002 marked the 25th anniversary of the Guelph and District Multicultural Centre (GMCD), which helps new Canadians, and 2006 marks the 10th anniversary of the Guelph Multicultural Festival, organized by the GMCD. In addition, in 2004 the Guelph Historical Society's essay contest focused on the immigrant influence on Guelph. Furthermore, ethno-specific festivals, such as Festival Italiano, are always popular and well-attended summer activities.

Due to the growing presence of ethnocultural and immigrant communities in Guelph, these communities are gaining a more prominent presence and recognition on the political landscape as well. In the last election, one newspaper article reported that the votes of these communities were becoming increasingly important in the electoral outcome and, as a result, ethnocultural and immigrant community organizations were becoming important stops on the election campaign. Several party candidates approached these community organizations asking either for the chance to speak to their membership or for their official endorsement. For example, the Italian, Iranian, Ukrainian, Vietnamese and Muslim associations were reportedly engaged in this fashion.[5]

Attracting newcomers: The challenge for Guelph

Most newcomers choose their destination in Canada based on employment opportunities. In their report "Immigrants in Ontario: Linking Spatial Settlement Patterns and Labour Force Characteristics" (2004), Sonia di Biase and Harald Bauder state that in order to attract newcomers to smaller places in Ontario, such as Kitchener, Guelph and Waterloo, these communities must:

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[1] *Guelph Tribune*, Guelph, Ontario, July 7, 2000, p. 6.

[2] For more information see the online exhibit on Black History on the Guelph Civic Museum Website: http://guelph.ca/museum/BlackHistory/

[3] *Daily Mercury*, Guelph, Ontario, October 21, 2005, p. A,10.

[4] *Guelph Tribune*, Guelph, Ontario, June 6, 2002, p. 6.

[5] *Greg Mercer*, "Candidates courting immigrant support," *Guelph Mercury*, December 10, 2005.

- Provide adequate settlement and employment services to immigrants;
- Co-ordinate the skills of immigrants with the opportunities in the local labour market;
- Market rural communities and small towns as attractive places of settlement to an international clientele of potential immigrants (2004: 10).

Although Guelph itself does not have a coordinated marketing initiative to attract newcomers, through a combination of federal, provincial, municipal and non-governmental activity, the City is attempting to meet many of the challenges inherent to attracting and retaining newcomers to Canada.

Government settlement services

A central tenant of Canadian integration policy is that this process is a "two-way street" where both newcomers and the host society adapt, shift and accommodate an increasingly diverse Canadian population. Through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), Canadian Heritage (PCH) and Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSC), the federal government supports locally-run immigrant service provider organizations (SPOs) and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as ethnocultural community organizations, health and well-being centres, employment counselling, human rights and race relations offices. In particular, CIC provides support to SPOs to deliver programs and services aimed at newcomers based on four major categories: 1) Official language acquisition handled by Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC); 2) the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP); 3) the Host Program; and 4) the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). There is also an Immigration Loan Program that provides small low-interest loans to immigrants. The most important program in the PCH portfolio for the integration of newcomers is the multiculturalism program. Aimed at both the host and newcomer populations, this program offers support for projects relating to identity, social justice and anti-racism (Mulholland and Biles 2004).

Most importantly for small cities, CIC also funded the development of a strategy for small centres to attract immigrants. *Attracting and Retaining Immigrants: A Tool Box of Ideas for Smaller Centres* was prepared by the National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies and funded by CIC. This report includes statistics, worksheets, Websites and action items for government, non-governmental and private sector stakeholders that want to encourage immigration to their region.

In 2005, the Ontario Government signed an immigration agreement with the federal government transferring both funding and responsibility for many of the settlement programs to the province. Currently, the provincial government runs a variety of programs that respond to a wide range of services required in attracting and retaining newcomers to smaller cities in Ontario. For example, in 2005 the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration announced it would invest over $4 million into the Newcomer Settlement Program including $51,130 for the GDMC, Guelph's leading immigrant serving organization. The province also runs the Business Immigration Services (BIS) that creates marketing strategies to attract business immigrants and to assist them in establishing themselves in Canada. In addition, the Ontario Ministry of Public Infrastructure and Renewal's program for urban renewal, titled Places to Grow, encourages immigrants to settle in the Greater Golden Horseshoe region.

While the City of Guelph has no specific programs directed at the attraction, retention or settlement of newcomers, it does offer several programs that would impact on the integration of newcomers in the area, in particular social housing, health, and recreation.

In the past few years there has also been an ongoing debate between the municipal, provincial and federal governments to have the Wellington Detention Centre become a federal immigration and refugee holding centre. This proposal eventually failed in 2005.[6]

Non-governmental settlement services

The leading NGO in Guelph that provides integration and settlement programs and services to newcomers is the aforementioned Guelph and District Multicultural Centre (GDMC). Established in 1977, the GDMC is not restricted to immigration and settlement issues, but is also active in anti-racism, human rights and multiculturalism (including its annual Multicultural Festival). Services provided for newcomers include employment assistances, LINC, translation and interpretation. There are also several active ethnocultural and religious community organizations and NGOs providing services in the areas of housing, employment, health and education with special programs for newcomers.

Employment

According to di Biase and Bauder (2004), one of the key recommendations for small cities to attract newcomers is to provide employment services and to match the skills of newcomers to the local economy. Guelph is a rapidly growing urban centre in Ontario with a strong manufacturing and industrial sector and the "City of Guelph estimates there will be 20,000 new jobs in the city by 2025, with 46 per cent of them in the industrial sector."[7]

In addition to Guelph's sound manufacturing and industrial sectors, the University of Guelph – one of the city's largest employers – offers many opportunities for those working in education, administration or the life sciences. One of the most exciting employment programs available to newcomers is the Veterinary Skills Training and Enhancement Program. Launched in 2005 with multi-year funding from the provincial Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, the program is offered by the University of Guelph and will assist newcomers in Canada with foreign veterinary training to qualify for employment as veterinarians in Ontario.[8] Perhaps only next to official language training, accreditation of foreign education and training remains one of the most significant obstacles facing newcomers' successful integration into the workforce.

Newcomers in Guelph are able to access a wide range of employment services, the majority of which the GDMC. For example, the centre provides different services including space and resources for a study group of foreign trained physicians preparing for accreditation. In addition, the Ball Lange and Associates Inc. runs a Job Finding Club that coaches newcomers on how to find a job, be competitive, self-market, and learn to access the job market.

Health and well-being

Although most immigrants and refugees have access to Canada's heath care system and are eligible for Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP) cards, accessing the system can be a daunting task. The Guelph Community Health Centre, established in 1988, is the city's leading health outreach organization. This community health organization provides health care and health promotion to over 4,000 people with a focus on low-income families, newcomers and women. Specifically, the centre runs the Cultural Interpretation Program that includes a pool of over 60 trained interpreters in 32 languages (or dialects) and employs a permanent Multicultural Outreach Worker. In 2005, the Centre "received $3,000 to support More Helping Hands For Art and culture – a multicultural women's activity group that participates in various art projects, as well as sharing their skills with other women from around the world."[9]

Other organizations working in the area of health and well-being provide services specifically targeted to newcomers. For example the Women in Crisis Guelph-Wellington provides translators to assist immigrant women in entering shelters, receiving health care after abuse and better understanding the province's justice system.

Housing

In 2005, the Social Services Department of the County of Wellington (which includes Guelph) developed an affordable housing strategy. Although Guelph's growing immigrant population was mentioned as the reason for the increasing demand for housing in the region, there were no specific recommendations or action items that addressed newcomers specifically. Newcomers looking for assistance in finding housing or dealing with concerns with renting, leases or landlords can use the services provided by the GDMC or the Fresh Start Housing Centre. The latter is a community project that provides a range of services including telephone, Internet and newspaper access and advice regarding applications and references.

Education

One of the major obstacles facing newcomers to Canada is the acquisition of official language skills, particularly at the level required for obtaining employment. There are several schools and SPOs that offer LINC assessment and English as a Second Language (ESL) education in Guelph. The GDMC assesses as many as 250 newcomers every year and assists them in finding adequate ESL classes and adult education classes. Both the Naylor McLeod Group Limited and the Continuing

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[6] *Guelph Tribune.* Guelph, Ontario, April 8, 2005, p. 6.

[7] *Daily Mercury,* Guelph, Ontario, October 21, 2005.

[8] See their Website for more information: http://www.vstepontario.org/

[9] *Guelph Tribune,* Guelph, Ontario, November 8, 2005, p. 2.

Education Program of the Upper Grand District School Board provide newcomers with ESL training.

Post-Secondary Education

A source of employment for newcomers, a destination for international students and a site for research examining immigration and integration in Guelph, the University of Guelph is an important site to promote, examine and assess Guelph as a destination for newcomers. Two major themes emerging from ongoing research on immigration at the University of Guelph is immigration to rural areas (di Biase and Bauder 2004) and the condition of migrant labourers in the area (Bauder and Corbin 2002). In particular, the Immigrant Labour Project brings both of these themes together by undertaking research, organizing seminars, and supporting graduate students.[10] For example, in 2005 this project in partnership with the Department of Geography hosted the Rural Immigration Seminar that included presentations on immigration to small cities and rural areas. However, with the exception of research by Harald Bauder and his graduate students, the majority of the research on immigration does not focus on the Guelph region.

Conclusion

To conclude, Guelph is one of Ontario's fasting growing municipalities, boasting a substantial population of newcomers. Its growing economic sector and the existing foundation for settlement programs suggest that Guelph is a favourable destination for migrants considering an alternative destination in Canada. Although the province of Ontario is active in the promotion and marketing of places outside of Toronto as destinations for newcomers, the City of Guelph does not appear to have any sustained or planned marketing approach. Minimally, it would be helpful to have access, on the City of Guelph's Website, to links directing to Settlement.Org or to the GDMC. Moreover, as Guelph's diversity continues to grow, there will be an increasing demand on those SPOs and community organizations currently active in newcomer settlement. In particular, the GDMC is the leading NGO working in the area of newcomer settlement and support for multiculturalism, human rights and anti-racism. The financial support for this organization will need to keep pace with the growing demand for its services. Finally, there is a dearth in academic research, with the exception of the Immigrant Labour Project, that examines the context of migration to Guelph. Thus, more research on ethnocultural and newcomer communities in Guelph would be welcome.

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[10] See their Website for more information: http://www.uoguelph.ca/geography/research/ffw/index.htm.

In 2005, Mayor Courtemanche affirmed that efforts to draw newcomers to Greater Sudbury must begin with economic diversification and job creation. He joined forces with other mayors in Northern Ontario to consider ways of stimulating the regional economy and to lobby the federal government to offer incentives for immigrants who move north.

Approaches to Attracting and Retaining Newcomers in the City of Greater Sudbury, Ontario

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Introduction

Most newcomers to Canada settle in Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver. Immigrants are drawn to, and remain in, these large cities for a range of reasons, including the presence of family and employment opportunities. For several years, the Canadian government has endeavoured to promote a more balanced geographic distribution of immigrants in this country.[1] Municipal and civic leaders in smaller cities and remote regions have also worked to find new ways of attracting newcomers to their communities. The City of Greater Sudbury in Northern Ontario has joined these efforts. In his 2005 State of the City address, Mayor David Courtemanche defined immigration as a "major priority" for Greater Sudbury, and as key to this city's present and future cultural, social and economic vitality.[2] This paper outlines the main approaches that have been undertaken to attract and retain newcomers in Greater Sudbury.

Immigration and diversity in Greater Sudbury: A statistical overview

Formed from the amalgamation of several smaller municipalities on January 1, 2001, Greater Sudbury is the largest city in Northern Ontario, with a population of 155,210. The ethnic and linguistic demography of Greater Sudbury differs in some significant ways from Ontario and Canada. Data from the 2001 Census indicates that in 2001, only 7% of the population of Greater Sudbury was foreign-born, as compared to 26.8% of Ontario and 18.4% of Canada (see Table 1). Greater Sudbury's foreign-born population declined from 8.1% in 1991 to 7% in 2001; by contrast, the proportion of foreign-born in Canada and Ontario increased in these years. The ethnic origins of immigrants in Greater Sudbury have altered substantially over the years. The city is drawing fewer immigrants from Europe than it once did, and more from Asia and Africa.[3] Of the total immigrants to Greater Sudbury between 1996 and 2001, 19.8% were born in China, 10.9% in Pakistan, 7.9% in the United Kingdom, and 5% in Somalia (see Table 2). In 2001, 2% of Greater Sudbury's population identified as visible minorities, a smaller proportion than any other census metropolitan area in Ontario (see Table 3). Blacks constituted the largest portion of the city's visible minority population at 34.4%, followed by the Chinese at 22.9% and South Asians at 17.1% (see Table 4). Greater Sudbury is home to fewer visible minorities than other Ontario cities, but a greater concentration of Aboriginals. In 2001, 1.7% of Ontarians identified as Aboriginal, as compared to 4.8% of people in Greater Sudbury.[4] The city is also characterized by a distinct linguistic and religious profile. Greater Sudbury is home to fewer non-Christians than Ontario and the nation. Approximately 88% of

Sudbury residents identify as Catholic or Protestant, as compared to 68% in Ontario and 73% in Canada as a whole.[5] The city contains a significant Francophone population; in 2001, 28.2% of Sudburians, 4.4% of Ontarians, and 22.7% of Canadians identified French as their mother tongue (see Table 5).

According to the Census, Greater Sudbury's population decreased by 6% between 1996 and 2001; this was a greater decline than all other census metropolitan areas in Canada.[6] This decrease partly reflects high rates of youth out-migration from the city: while the total population declined by 6% between 1996 and 2001, the youth population declined by 16% in the same period.[7] Greater Sudbury has also had trouble attracting immigrants. As we saw, the city's proportion of foreign-born residents declined between 1991 and 2001. Only 10% of Greater Sudbury's total immigrant population arrived in the city following 1991. The city has been described as a "non-magnet" for immigrants: in 2001, Greater Sudbury contributed 0.5% to Canada's total population, and only 0.1% to its total immigrant population.[8] In 2002, Greater Sudbury's population decline began to gradually reverse. Nonetheless, attracting and retaining newcomers remains a central priority for the sustainable growth of this city.[9]

TABLE 1

Proportion of foreign-born[32], Ontario census metropolitan areas, 2001, 1996, and 1991

	2001	1996	1991
Canada	18.4	17.4	16.1
Greater Sudbury	7.0	7.5	8.1
Hamilton	23.6	23.6	23.5
Kingston	12.4	12.8	13.5
Kitchener	22.1	21.8	21.5
London	18.8	19.2	18.8
Oshawa	15.7	16.5	17.2
Ottawa-Gatineau (Ont. part)	21.1	19.8	17.7
St. Catharines-Niagara	17.8	18.3	18.9
Thunder Bay	11.1	12.2	13.1
Toronto	43.7	41.9	38.0
Windsor	22.3	20.4	20.6
Ontario	26.8	25.6	23.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2001 Analysis Series, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic.* Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 2003. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.

TABLE 2

Total recent immigrants 1996-2001 by selected countries of birth, City of Greater Sudbury

Country of birth	% of Total Immigrants to Greater Sudbury
People's Republic of China	19.8
Pakistan	10.9
United Kingdom	7.9
Germany	7.9
United States	5.9
Somalia	5.0
India	4.0
South Korea	2.0
Yugoslavia	2.0
Mexico	2.0
Vietnam	2.0
Poland	2.0
All other countries of birth	26.7

Sources: City of Greater Sudbury, *Key Facts: Population*, 2006.http://www.city.greatersudbury.on.ca/keyfacts/; and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2001 Analysis Series, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic.* Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 2003. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.

Attracting and retaining newcomers in Greater Sudbury

A recent report commissioned by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Ontario Administration of Settlement and Integration Services found that while there are few groups in Northern Ontario dedicated specifically to assisting newcomers, such assistance is often provided as part of the broader mandate of many organizations.[10] This does seem to be the case in Greater Sudbury. All levels of government, as well as a range of non-governmental organizations, businesses, and researchers, have been involved in efforts to draw and retain immigrants to the city, but there are few groups that focus solely on this issue. The municipal government is at the forefront of promoting immigration to the city. When it comes to settlement and integration services for newcomers, Sudbury's Multicultural Folk Arts Association (SMFAA) has taken the lead. In addition to promoting cross-cultural acceptance and integration, this association helps newcomers find housing and employment, offers them language training and assessment, assists them in completing tax and pension forms, and acts as a centre of advocacy. Efforts to attract and retain newcomers to Greater Sudbury on the part of the SMFAA, the municipal government, and several other individuals and organizations, have centred on five areas: 1) creating a welcoming community; 2) drawing Francophone immigrants to the city; 3) expanding employment opportunities; 4) working with children and youth; and 5) stimulating diversity through arts and culture.

1. Creating a welcoming community

In recent years, efforts to attract and retain newcomers in Greater Sudbury have focused on promoting cross-cultural awareness and acceptance of diversity within the city itself. Studies point to significant levels of resentment and discrimination towards visible minorities, Aboriginals and the Francophone population in Sudbury.[11] Civic and government leaders have worked to eradicate systemic forms of racism and intolerance in the city. They have recognized that to attract and retain immigrants, Sudbury must strive to be a welcoming, respectful, and tolerant city. A number of initiatives have been undertaken to achieve this end. In 1989, the Advisory Committee to the Sudbury Regional Police Board on Racial and Multicultural Relations was formed. This Committee has worked to diversify the police force, and to enhance relations between the police and ethnic minorities in the city. In addition, the SMFAA has undertaken several projects to eradicate racism, and to nurture cross-cultural awareness and acceptance in Greater Sudbury. For instance, in 1999, the association received funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage for two projects: Creating an Effective Cross-Cultural and Anti-Racism Presentation, which promoted excellence in anti-racism education, and Building Participation, Building Our Communities, which identified and aimed to break down social barriers encountered by ethnocultural and newcomer communities.[12]

In recent years, the municipal government and community leaders have undertaken the "Diversity Thrives Here!" project, a central initiative for nurturing diversity and acceptance in Greater Sudbury. In 2003, the Mayor's Office established a community working group to devise a diversity plan for the city. In 2004, this group obtained funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage for the Diversity Thrives Here! project. This ongoing project aims specifically to ensure that Greater Sudbury is a "welcoming and inclusive community for all people."[13] Supported by all levels of government, and drawing on input from community members, researchers, and NGOs, the project has been described as a "launching pad to attract immigrants to Northern Ontario."[14] Collaborators on this project have worked to build coalitions between diverse ethnic groups, to establish greater diversity in public institutions, and to expand welcoming activities and settlement services for newcomers to the city. They have conducted youth forums, undertaken research on racism and discrimination in the city, and organized a community-wide Diversity Summit. In addition, the project has established regular "Conversation Cafés" which draw together people from different cultural, racial, linguistic and religious backgrounds to share ideas and strategies regarding the issues of social inclusion and exclusion in Greater Sudbury.

TABLE 3

Proportion of visible minorities, Ontario census metropolitan areas, 2001, 1996, 1991

	2001	1996	1991
Canada	13.4	11.2	9.4
Greater Sudbury	2.0	1.7	2.0
Hamilton	9.8	7.9	7.1
Kingston	4.7	4.5	4.0
Kitchener	10.7	8.9	8.4
London	9.0	7.4	6.6
Oshawa	7.0	6.0	5.9
Ottawa-Gatineau (Ont. part)	17.3	14.5	12.3
St. Catharines-Niagara	4.5	3.7	3.3
Thunder Bay	2.2	2.1	2.1
Toronto	36.8	31.6	25.8
Windsor	12.9	9.8	8.9
Ontario	19.1	15.8	13.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2001 Analysis Series, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic*. Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 2003. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm

2. Drawing Francophone immigrants to the city

There have been a number of specific initiatives aimed at attracting Francophone newcomers to Greater Sudbury. Research conducted by the federal government and other organizations reveals that most immigrants to Canada "are unaware that there are places outside Quebec where they can live and work in French." In 2003, Suzanne Roy, Executive Director of the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario du Grand Sudbury, urged the federal government to create a "welcoming package" for French-speaking immigrants to Sudbury. She noted that the "population of Sudbury, Ont., is 30% francophone. Yet immigrants are routinely directed to English-language services."[15] Recently, community and municipal leaders have undertaken a research project, funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, aimed at determining Greater Sudbury's potential to draw French-speaking immigrants. This research project, which seeks to develop a strategy to attract and retain Francophone students, immigrants, and refugees to the city,[16] is managed by Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury (CIFS), an organization established in 1998 by the Ontario Trillium Foundation to offer resources for Francophone newcomers in Northern Ontario. This organization, together with the Association culturelle et professionelle africaine de Sudbury, has done much to promote the interests and integration of non-traditional Francophone newcomers in Sudbury. In addition to offering practical settlement services for newcomers, these associations have engaged in anti-racist work and raised cross-cultural awareness in the wider community.[17]

3. Expanding employment opportunities

Greater Sudbury's municipal and community leaders recognize that the ability to attract and retain immigrants is tied, in large part, to economic development. Several studies have attributed youth out-migration and low levels of immigration in Northern Ontario to the relative lack of employment opportunities in the region.[18] In his 2005 State of the City address, Mayor Courtemanche affirmed that efforts to draw newcomers to Greater Sudbury must begin with economic diversification and job creation. Courtemanche has joined forces with other mayors in Northern Ontario to consider ways of stimulating the regional economy and to lobby the federal government to offer incentives for immigrants who move north.[19] Municipal, community and academic leaders in Greater Sudbury have called for the establishment of a Provincial Nominee Program in Ontario to attract newcomers with particular skills and experience to the city.[20] Greater Sudbury's City Council has created a working group to support the recruitment of internationally trained physicians and professionals. Local politicians, lobby groups, businesses, and human resources firms are working to speed up accreditation for professionals and tradespersons who immigrate to Greater Sudbury.[21] The city's Diversity Thrives Here! project has urged the creation of mentorship, co-op, and job-shadowing programs to help newcomers find and retain employment.[22]

TABLE 4

Visible minority population, Greater Sudbury census metropolitan area, 2001

	Number	% of total visible minority population
Total visible minority population:	3,125	100.0
Black	1,075	34.4
South Asian	535	17.1
Chinese	715	22.9
Korean	45	1.4
Japanese	75	2.4
Southeast Asian	70	2.2
Filipino	115	3.7
Arab/West Asian	170	5.4
Latin American	220	7.0
Visible minority, not incl. elsewhere	65	2.1
Multiple visible minority	40	1.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001. http://www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo53d.htm

4. Working with children and youth

Efforts to attract and retain newcomers in Greater Sudbury have also centred on children and youth. In 2004, the City of Greater Sudbury launched its Study, Stay, Succeed in Greater Sudbury youth strategy.[23] In addition to encouraging Canadian-born youth to stay in Greater Sudbury, government and community leaders have supported the establishment of international student programs in the universities and colleges of the city. Sudbury's 2005 Diversity Plan called for the creation of an international student attraction program.[24] This plan also urged the public schools of the city to educate their students about cultural diversity and anti-racism.[25] Two innovative projects that seek to nurture cultural inclusion among children are underway in Greater Sudbury. Although not specifically designed to attract

TABLE 5

Population by mother tongue[33] for Greater Sudbury census metropolitan area, Ontario, and Canada, 2001

	English[34]	French[35]	Non-official	Multiple
Greater Sudbury	62.8	28.2	7.7	1.4
Ontario	71.6	4.4	23.7	0.4
Canada	59.3	22.7	17.6	0.4

Statistics Canada: 2001 Census of Population, "Mother Tongue." http://www.census2006.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/LanguageComposition/CMA_Menu1.cfm?Lang=E

The Better Beginnings, Better Futures program helps to nurture diversity and acceptance in Greater Sudbury by holding community-wide celebrations on Ramadan, the Chinese New Year, and National Aboriginal Day. The Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury has also helped to enrich and diversify Greater Sudbury's arts and culture scene; it hosts a range of cultural activities, including the annual Cabaret Africain, which celebrates a different French-language African nation each year.

immigrants, these projects are working at the ground level to create a welcoming environment for newcomers in the city. In 1990, the Ontario provincial government initiated the Better Beginnings, Better Futures program, which seeks to strengthen family and community life for socio-economically disadvantaged children. This program has taken root in one of Greater Sudbury's ethnically diverse neighbourhoods; as part of their broader mandate, coordinators of the Sudbury program encourage cross-cultural awareness among children and strive to involve parents of all backgrounds in decision-making processes.[26] In late 2002, the Social Planning Network of Ontario, under the Social and Economic Inclusion Initiative and supported by the Public Health Agency of Ontario, launched a number of local Closing the Distance projects which aim to nurture cultural inclusion. In Greater Sudbury, the Closing the Distance project focuses on children, and aims to fulfill its broad mandate of making the city a "community where all kids belong." As part of its mandate, this project addresses the needs of immigrant children; the coordinators of the project note that: "Children of new immigrants find themselves confronted by people intimating that their place is with 'their own people.' They don't see themselves and their family experience represented around them, they don't feel that they belong."[27] The Closing the Distance project strives to create social connectedness among immigrant and other marginalized children in the community by facilitating cross-cultural interaction, offering safe spaces for discussion, and advising schools on the establishment of inclusive classrooms.

5. Stimulating diversity through arts and culture

Municipal and community leaders in Greater Sudbury have recognized that a vibrant and diverse arts and cultural life is important to attracting and retaining newcomers in the city. At the city's 2004 Diversity Summit, participants urged the creation of an annual multicultural festival in Greater Sudbury to make the city more welcoming and inclusive.[28] The Better Beginnings, Better Futures program helps to nurture diversity and acceptance in Greater Sudbury by holding community-wide celebrations on Ramadan, the Chinese New Year, and National Aboriginal Day.[29] The Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury has also helped to enrich and diversify Greater Sudbury's arts and culture scene; it hosts a range of cultural activities, including the annual Cabaret Africain, which celebrates a different French-language African nation each year.[30] The Sudbury Multicultural Folk Arts Association also endeavours to establish arts and culture programs that promote ethnoracial diversity and acceptance, including an international youth festival and ethnic dance programs. In 2004, this association received federal funding for its "innovative use of theatre to create awareness of human rights issues in the community."[31] Although there is no single program addressing immigration and the arts in Greater Sudbury, a range of initiatives have helped to nurture cross-cultural awareness in the community.

Conclusion

In recent years, several organizations have been involved in efforts to attract and retain immigrants in Greater Sudbury. Civic leaders have worked, in particular, to facilitate cross-cultural acceptance, draw Francophone immigrants, expand employment opportunities, nurture social-connectedness among immigrant children and youth, and stimulate diversity through arts and culture. Although a range of innovative projects and programs are underway, much remains to be done. Indeed, there is a need for more services specifically designed for immigrants in Greater Sudbury. Researchers and community leaders agree that the health and housing needs of newcomers require particular attention. In addition, more must be done to promote and facilitate the civic engagement of immigrants in the city. In order to sustain and enrich the population of Greater Sudbury, community leaders and residents must continue to seek new ways of drawing newcomers to the city, and of keeping them there.

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Notes

[1] See Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Towards a More Balanced Geographic Distribution of Immigrants*; Fariborz Birjandian, The Regionalization of Immigration; and Harvey Krahn et al. *The Retention of Newcomers in Second- and Third-Tier Cities in Canada*.

[2] Mayor David Courtemanche, "State of the City Address;" also see City of Greater Sudbury, "Mayor Courtemanche Speaks on the Importance of Immigration."

[3] Parveen Nangia et al., *Social Profile of Greater Sudbury, 2004;* and Jeff Outhit, "Region fades as migrant magnet."

[4] Ibid., p. 75; and Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

[5] Statistics Canada, *Selected Religions for Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations – 20% Sample Data*; also see Parveen Nangia et al., S*ocial Profile of Greater Sudbury*, p. 76.

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[8] Jeff Outhit, "Region fades as migrant magnet," p. A1.

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[12] Department of Canadian Heritage, "Government of Canada Supports Cross-Cultural and Anti-Racism Projects."

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[15] Michelle Astill, "Government Wants World to Know: Ici, on parle francais;" also see Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne, "Study on Francophone Immigration: More Resources for Francophone Immigrants Needed."

[16] Billy Lipanda, "CESOC's Programs: Settlement Services for Francophone Immigrants."

[17] Monique Beaudoin, "The Flavours of French Culture in Sudbury," p. 1, 8.

[18] Derek Wilkinson, *A Survey of the Needs of Immigrant, Visible Minority, and Native Women in the Sudbury Area*; and K. Tilleczek and J. Palkovits, *Helping newcomers settle in Sudbury: The Sudbury immigrant demographic database study: Phase 1 - national, provincial and community contexts*.

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[21] City of Greater Sudbury, "Backgrounder: Federation of Canadian Municipalities Quality of Life Reporting System Highlights;" also see City of Greater Sudbury, "Mayor David Courtemanche Meets With Other Ontario Mayors and Federal/Provincial Ministers on Immigration;" Ian Ross, "Time to Shine"; and Bill Bradley, "City hopes to attract talent from around the world."

[22] City of Greater Sudbury, *The Diversity Thrives Here! Project*, p. 22.

[23] City of Greater Sudbury, "Backgrounder: Federation of Canadian Municipalities."

[24] City of Greater Sudbury, "International Students Welcomed to Greater Sudbury at Civic Reception;" also see City of Greater Sudbury, "Backgrounder: Federation of Canadian Municipalities;" and City of Greater Sudbury, "City Council Unanimously Adopts Diversity Plan."

[25] See *Conversation Cafés Report: May - September 2004*, p. 5; and Carol Kauppi and Parveen Nangia, *Report on Attitudes and Perceptions of Race Relations*, p. 51.

[26] Monique Beaudoin, "Better Beginnings, Better Futures: Taking Direction from the Community," p. 4, 8.

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[28] Bill Bradley, "City Hopes to Attract Talent."

[29] Monique Beaudoin, "Better Beginnings, Better Futures," p. 4, 8.

[30] Monique Beaudoin, "Flavours of French Culture," p. 8; and Department of Canadian Heritage, "The Government of Canada Announces Funding for the Francophone Community."

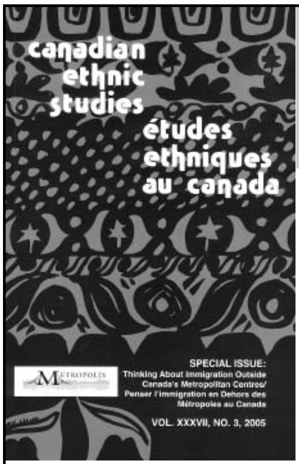
[31] Department of Canadian Heritage, "Government of Canada Partners in Program Promoting the Legacy of Raoul Wallenberg."

[32] "Foreign born": people who are, or have ever been, landed immigrants to Canada.

[33] "Mother tongue": the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood.

[34] Includes English only, and English and non-official language.

[35] Includes French only, and French and non-official language.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Thinking About Immigration Outside Canada's Metropolitan Centres

Special issue of Canadian Ethnic Studies

A recent special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada* (Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, 2005) looks at the regionalization of immigration. It was guest edited by Michèle Vatz Laaroussi (Université de Sherbrooke), Margaret Walton-Roberts (Wilfrid Laurier University), John Biles (Metropolis Project) and Jean Viel (Social Development Canada). The issue includes articles on regional dispersal in British Columbia, immigrant settlement in local labour markets in Ontario, on the settlement of refugees in Québec City and in smaller cities in British Columbia, on francophone Acadians, interculturalism and regionalization, and on the services available to new immigrants in Halifax. There is also a conference report from "Immigration and Out-migration: Atlantic Canada at a Crossroads."

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Recent immigrants who landed after 1995 are more likely to have university level education than the Canadian-born. Slightly more than 80% of very recent immigrants in Ottawa between the ages of 25 and 44 years had a post-secondary diploma or degree compared to almost two-thirds in Hamilton and Winnipeg and slightly more than 70% in Calgary and Edmonton.

Recent Immigrants in Canada's Second-Tier Metropolitan Areas: Highlights Based on the 2001 Census*

MARY SHANES
Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Although the majority of Canada's immigrants live in Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal, many – 15% of all immigrants – are residing in the five second-tier metropolitan areas of Calgary, Ottawa, Edmonton, Hamilton, and Winnipeg. In 2001, recent immigrants[1] living in each of these five cities numbered between 40,000 and 100,000 in comparison to the more than 250,000 in each of the three primary immigrant destinations.

This overview presents highlights describing the recent immigrant population living in the five census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of Calgary, Ottawa, Edmonton, Hamilton, and Winnipeg at the time of the 2001 Census.[2] Information is provided on their origin and background, the structure of their families and households, their labour force participation, income and housing situation. More detailed descriptions are provided in Citizenship and Immigration Canada's series of publications, *Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas.*[3]

Recent immigrant population

Settlement: In 2001, there were 92,000 recent immigrants living in the metropolitan area of Calgary, 85,900 in Ottawa, 65,200 in Edmonton, 51,100 in Hamilton and 39,700 in Winnipeg – each representing less than 4% of Canada's recent immigrant population (see Table 1).[4] Recent immigrants accounted for approximately one-half of the immigrant population living in Calgary and Ottawa, 40% of immigrants in Edmonton and approximately one-third in Hamilton and in Winnipeg.

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

[1] The term "recent immigrants" refers to persons who became permanent residents or "landed" after 1985 (immigrated between 1986 and 2001) and who were living in the country on May 15, 2001, when Canada's Census of Population was held. Very recent immigrants are persons who landed after 1995 (immigrated between 1996 and 2001).

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, all data presented in the tables and figures accompanying this article originate from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census of Population.

[3] These profiles for Canada and 13 CMAs – Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, Calgary, Ottawa, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Victoria, Québec, Halifax, Saskatoon and Regina – are available on the CIC Website at: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/menu-recent.html.

[4] Numbers are rounded to the nearest 100 and as a rule no decimals are shown for percentages. Percentage shares may not add to 100% because of rounding.

TABLE 1

Number of immigrants and Canadian-born by place of residence, Canada and selected Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001 Census

	Canadian-born	Immigrants	Immigrated before 1986	Immigrated 1986-2001	Immigrated 1996-2001	Total*
Toronto	2 556 900	2 033 000	954 400	1 078 500	415 500	4 589 900
Vancouver	1 199 800	738 600	321 800	416 700	169 600	1 938 400
Montréal	2 724 200	621 900	328 100	293 900	114 200	3 346 100
Calgary	738 300	197 400	105 500	92 000	36 400	935 700
Ottawa	619 100	168 100	82 200	85 900	34 400	787 200
Edmonton	756 000	165 200	100 100	65 200	21 000	921 200
Hamilton	494 800	154 700	103 500	51 100	18 700	649 500
Winnipeg	549 000	109 400	69 700	39 700	13 400	658 400
Victoria	247 000	57 600	43 400	14 300	4 800	304 600
Québec	651 400	19 700	8 500	11 200	5 300	671 100
Halifax	329 600	24 400	14 700	9 700	4 400	354 000
Saskatoon	204 400	16 900	10 200	6 700	3 200	221 300
Regina	175 100	14 000	9 100	5 000	1 800	189 100
Big three CMAs	6 480 900	3 393 500	1 604 300	1 789 100	699 300	9 874 400
Five second-tier CMAs	3 157 200	794 800	461 000	333 900	123 900	3 952 000
Five third-tier CMAs	1 607 500	132 600	85 900	46 900	19 500	1 740 100
Rest of Canada	12 746 300	1 127 600	805 400	321 900	120 600	13 873 900
Canada	**23 991 900**	**5 448 500**	**2 956 600**	**2 491 800**	**963 300**	**29 440 400**

Note: Non-permanent residents are not included in totals provided in this table.

Recent immigrants comprised approximately 10% of the total populations of Calgary and Ottawa – slightly higher than their share in Montréal – and between 6% and 8% of the populations of Edmonton, Hamilton and Winnipeg (see Figure 1).

Who are the recent immigrants?

Source countries: Recent immigrants living in second-tier metropolitan areas come from all over the world. Asian origins are dominant among immigrants who landed after 1985, and even more so among those who landed after 1995. China and India are among the top three source countries for very recent immigrants in all five cities along with the Philippines (Calgary, Edmonton, and Winnipeg), Yugoslavia (Hamilton) and Somalia (Ottawa). One-quarter of Canada's Somali-born recent immigrants reside in Ottawa. One-fifth of Ottawa's very recent immigrant population were born in China; approximately one-quarter of Winnipeg's very recent immigrants were born in the Philippines.

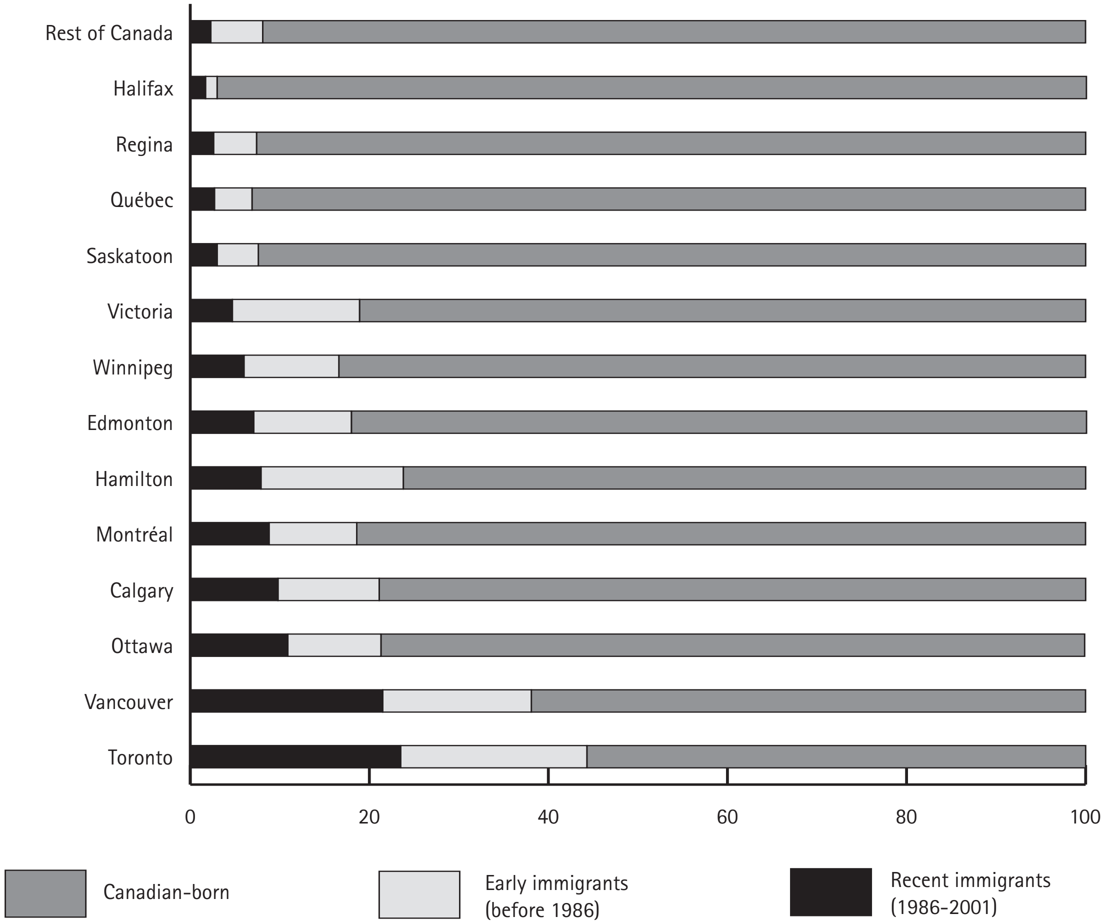
Immigration flow: Statistics published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada show that a large share of very recent immigrants was admitted to Canada as economic immigrants – from 44% of those intending to settle in Hamilton to 60% of very recent immigrants destined to Calgary. Most were skilled workers and their dependants. Approximately one-third were family class immigrants. Refugees comprised approximately 20% of very recent immigrants intending to settle in Ottawa, Winnipeg and Hamilton and 10% of those destined to Calgary and Edmonton.

Religious affiliation: Recent immigrants are changing the religious landscape of Canada including all five second-tier metropolitan areas. In 2001, the proportion of immigrants reporting affiliation with a non-Christian religion was significantly higher for very recent immigrants in comparison to earlier immigrants. Taken together, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs make up 22% of the recent immigrant population in Winnipeg, approximately 30% in Calgary, Edmonton and Hamilton and 37% in Ottawa. Among second-tier metropolitan areas, Ottawa had the highest rate of very recent immigrants reporting no religious affiliation (26%) and only Ottawa had a higher proportion of very recent immigrants than Canadian-born reporting no religious affiliation.

Age distribution: In 2001, approximately one-half of recent immigrants in all five second-tier metropolitan areas were 25 to 44 years of age in comparison to about one-third of the Canadian-born population. Slightly less than one-quarter of very recent immigrants and the Canadian-born were under 15 years of age. There are relatively

FIGURE 1

Percentage of immigrants and Canadian-born as share of population, selected Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001 Census



fewer middle-aged and older persons among very recent immigrants.

Knowledge of official languages: Nine out of ten very recent immigrants 15 years of age and older reported being able to conduct a conversation in English or French. The majority of recent immigrants – and more than six in ten very recent immigrants – reported that the language most often spoken at home is a language other than English or French.

Level of education: Recent immigrants who landed after 1995 are more likely to have university level education than the Canadian-born – and much more likely in the case of Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton. Slightly more than 80% of very recent immigrants in Ottawa between the ages of 25 and 44 years had a post-secondary diploma or degree compared to almost two-thirds in Hamilton and Winnipeg and slightly more than 70% in Calgary and Edmonton (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Percentage of immigrants and Canadian-born, 25 to 44 years of age, with post-secondary diploma or degree, Toronto and second-tier metropolitan areas, 2001 Census

	Toronto	Calgary	Ottawa	Edmonton	Hamilton	Winnipeg
Canadian-born	65%	63%	69%	58%	59%	56%
Immigrants	60%	61%	72%	59%	57%	55%
Immigrated before 1986	58%	59%	69%	55%	55%	52%
Immigrated 1986-1995	55%	55%	67%	57%	56%	55%
Immigrated 1996-2001	72%	73%	82%	71%	64%	62%

Families and households

Living arrangements: Recent immigrants are more likely than the Canadian-born to live with relatives and they are about twice as likely to live in extended families.[5] Only one in ten recent immigrants 65 years of age and older live alone, compared to three in ten of their Canadian-born counterparts.

Presence of children in household: Recent immigrant families are more likely than Canadian-born families to have children at home, in particular when the oldest family member is 45 years of age or older. There are fewer lone-parent families among recent immigrants than among Canadian-born families.

Recent immigrant households: Households in which at least one adult is a recent immigrant account for one in ten households in each of the second-tier metropolitan areas. About two out of five of these households in Calgary, Ottawa and Hamilton have at least one member who immigrated after 1995; one in three in Edmonton and Winnipeg.

Household composition: Households of recent immigrants are much more likely than Canadian-born households to consist of extended families or more than one family. They also tend to be larger, with almost one-half consisting of four or more persons, compared to almost one-quarter of Canadian-born households with four or more persons.

Participation in the economy

Participation rate: The more recent their arrival, the lower the labour force participation rate and the higher the unemployment rate of immigrants. Earlier immigrants participate in the labour force at more or less the same rates as the Canadian-born.

This pattern of increasing convergence to the Canadian-born with longer stay in Canada occurs across all age and gender groups and all but the lowest level of education. The disparities between recent immigrants and the Canadian-born are smaller for men than for women.

Knowledge of an official language and labour force participation: Lack of knowledge of an official language is a major barrier to labour force participation. However, it accounts for only a small part of the disparity in labour force participation of very recent immigrants, as lack of knowledge of either official language is rare. In Ottawa, women who speak French participate in the labour force more than those without knowledge of either official language, but they have substantially higher unemployment rates than those without knowledge of either official language.

Change in labour force participation: Labour force participation was generally higher and unemployment lower among immigrants in 2001 than in 1996. The Canadian-born as well as recent and earlier immigrants of all ages and education levels generally showed gains. Immigrants who landed in the five years before the census showed significant gains compared to their counterparts in 1996. Many recent immigrants were drawn into Ottawa's high-tech sector during the late 1990s.

Occupation groups: In comparison to the Canadian-born, recent immigrants were more likely to be employed in processing occupations, health and science occupations and sales and services occupations. They are less likely to work in administrative occupations and in management and social occupations.[6]

Industry sector: Recent immigrants were more likely than the Canadian-born to work in the manufacturing sector in all five second-tier cities as well as in hospitality and other services in Calgary and Edmonton. Very recent immigrants in Ottawa were more likely than the Canadian-born to work in business services. A smaller share of recent immigrants than the Canadian-born held jobs in construction and transportation industries and the public sector.[7]

Skill levels: While the jobs of recent immigrants require a relatively low level of skill, the very recent cohort held jobs with higher skill requirements than their predecessors did in 1996. In comparison, the jobs of very recent immigrants in Ottawa require a relatively high level of skill.

Income

Average income: Although the income of recent immigrants is lower than that of the Canadian-born, the difference between the two groups is generally much smaller on average in second-tier metropolitan areas than it is in Toronto (see Table 3). For example, average income of very recent immigrants living in second-tier metropolitan areas ranges from $17,630 to $24,810 – income is in the upper end of this range in Ottawa and Calgary. For the same metropolitan

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[5] The "nuclear family" household is defined as a lone parent living with children, or a husband-wife family with or without children living at home. An "extended family" includes the addition of aunts, uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, or other relatives to the nuclear family household.

TABLE 3

Average income (in 2000) of immigrants and Canadian-born, 15 years of age and over, Toronto and second-tier metropolitan areas, 2001 Census

	Toronto	Calgary	Ottawa	Edmonton	Hamilton	Winnipeg
Canadian-born	$39,100	$36,640	$37,870	$30,550	$31,800	$28,000
Immigrants	$29,810	$30,850	$34,900	$28,120	$29,270	$26,640
Immigrated before 1986	$36,150	$36,410	$41,880	$32,010	$32,170	$29,340
Immigrated 1986-1995	$23,850	$23,320	$26,790	$21,430	$23,280	$21,230
Immigrated 1996-1999	$20,030	$21,380	$24,810	$18,760	$17,630	$18,520

TABLE 4

Percentage of immigrant and Canadian-born households spending 30% or more of income on shelter, Toronto and second-tier metropolitan areas, 2001 Census

Households	Toronto	Calgary	Ottawa	Edmonton	Hamilton	Winnipeg
Canadian-born	25%	22%	20%	22%	25%	21%
Immigrated before 1986	24%	18%	17%	18%	20%	16%
Immigrated 1986-2001	35%	27%	28%	25%	30%	19%

areas the income of Canadian-born ranges from $28,000 to $37,870. In Toronto, very recent immigrants made on average $20,030, while the income of the Canadian-born was $39,100.

Incidence of low income: In three of the five second-tier metropolitan areas, less than three out of ten very recent immigrants have low income or live in low-income families (i.e. with income below one-half of the median) – about twice as large a share as for the Canadian-born. In Winnipeg, one-quarter of very recent immigrants is in a low-income situation, compared to 15% of the Canadian-born. This compares to one-third of very recent immigrants in Toronto and close to four in ten in Montréal and Vancouver.

Housing

Household crowding: About one in five recent immigrant households in second-tier metropolitan areas (15% in Calgary) live in crowded conditions—that is, have one person or more per room—compared to 2% to 4% of Canadian-born households. In Toronto, 27% of recent immigrant households live in crowded conditions compared to 3% of Canadian-born households. Among households in second-tier metropolitan areas consisting of very recent immigrants *only*, one in three lives in crowded accommodations (about one in five in Calgary and Edmonton). In Toronto, the incidence of crowding is 37% for this group.

Cost of shelter: Compared with those living in Toronto, a much smaller share of recent immigrants in second-tier metropolitan areas spend 30% of more of their income on shelter. Slightly more than one in four recent immigrant households in Calgary, Ottawa and Edmonton spend 30% or more of their income on shelter compared to three in ten in Hamilton and one in five in Winnipeg (see Table 4). In Toronto, this is slightly more than one in three (35%) or 10% higher than the proportion of Canadian-born. Among the second-tier metropolitan areas, the widest disparities between the proportion of recent immigrants and Canadian-born households spending 30% or more of their income on accommodations were found in Ottawa, Hamilton and Calgary (5% to 8%).

Housing quality: The state of repair of the housing stock of recent immigrants is comparable to that of the Canadian-born.

Home ownership: Recent immigrant households living in Calgary are much more likely to own their homes than recent immigrant households in all of Canada. Although home ownership is quite rare among households consisting only of very recent immigrants throughout the country, almost one-half of Calgary's very recent immigrant households own their homes. This compares to about three in ten in Edmonton and Winnipeg and about one in five in Ottawa and Hamilton. Approximately two-thirds of Canadian-born households in second-tier metropolitan areas own their own homes.

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[6] Occupations are subdivided into six broad groups based on the 2001 National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S).

[7] Industries are subdivided into six broad groups based on the 1997 North American Industry Classification System (NAICS).

Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne

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La problématique du pluralisme religieux
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Following earlier international comparative editions of this publication, which focused on Multicultural Futures and National Identity and Diversity, Metropolis supported in 2005 a special issue of this magazine focused on "Negotiating Religious Pluralism: International Approaches." This special issue, guest edited by Matthias Köenig (University of Bamberg, Germany), includes over twenty articles on how Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway address issues arising from religious pluralism.

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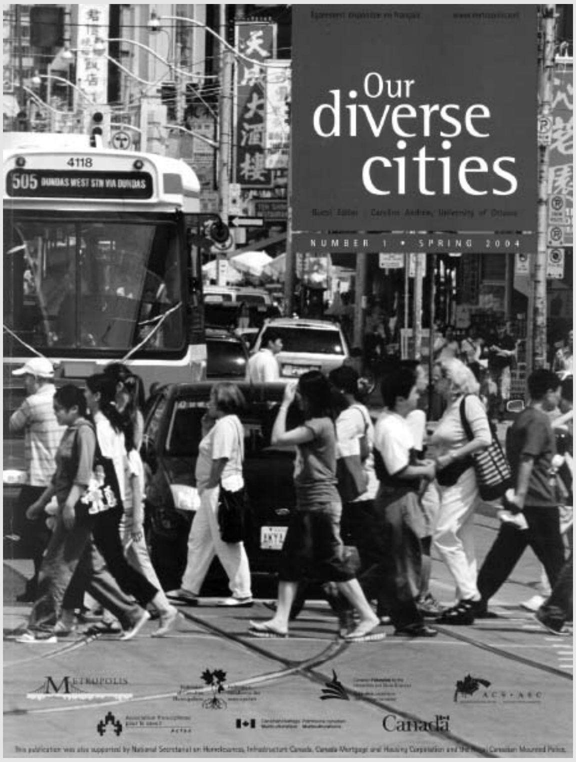
Our diverse cities
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The inaugural issue of *Our Diverse Cities / Nos diverses cités* was distributed to over 30,000 policy-makers, researchers and NGOs. It has also been assigned as course material for classes in a range of disciplines (anthropology, architecture, geography, political studies, social work, sociology, and urban studies) at several universities. A few copies remain.

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Community involvement is an important source of support, resources, sense of well-being, connectedness, and self-worth. In Winnipeg's inner city, opportunities for community engagement abound but adequate social networks have to be in place to ensure new arrivals – Aboriginals or immigrants and refugees from abroad – are connected to such networks.

Winnipeg's Inner City: Research on the Challenges of Growing Diversity

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University of Winnipeg

Much of the research on immigration and integration of refugees and immigrants in recent years has been focused on Canada's tier-one cities: Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. This is not surprising as combined, these three cities have been the destination for over 70% of new arrivals during the decade ending in 2001 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005). In recent years, Canada's second-tier cities have also become the destination for an increasing number of new arrivals. In the province of Manitoba, new arrivals have increased from just over 3,000 in 1998 to over 8,200 in 2005 and provincial policy is promoting a target of 10,000 new arrivals annually. Winnipeg, a tier-two city, is the destination for 70 to 80% of these new arrivals each year (Manitoba 2006).

A city divided

Historically, Winnipeg was the destination of significant numbers of British and European immigrants and the City has always grappled with the diversity and division associated with race and ethnicity. The ethnic plurality of the "North End" versus the more homogenous concentration of those of British descent South of Portage Avenue historically played a role in city politics. The Winnipeg General Strike in 1919 characterized the significant divide between the labour leaning "North End," and the prosperous and politically dominant business focused Anglo-Saxon south. Following the strike, business interests gerrymandered the ward system to prevent labour from gaining control of City government. Although a few radical mayors and aldermen were elected following 1920, the "Citizens' League" representing the business community retained a majority on council for many years. Ethnic tensions eased over the 1920-1960 period as immigration declined. The decrease in political divisiveness was apparent when Stephen Juba, a "North End" Ukrainian, was elected mayor in 1956 and was joined by an increasing number of non-Anglo-Saxon members of Council (Artibise 1988).

Increasing diversity in Winnipeg's inner city

Today with an increasing number of immigrants and refugees from many countries, Winnipeg again faces the challenges of growing racial and ethnic diversity. In 2001, those foreign-born made up approximately 110,000 people or 16.5% of total population and the city was home to 82,600 people considered visible minorities (non-white, non-Caucasian) or 12.5% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2002). Over 70% of the immigrants who came to Winnipeg in the 1991-2001 period were visible minorities (Statistics Canada 2003). Projections by Statistics Canada (2005) suggest that by 2017 the visible minority population in Winnipeg will increase to 115,000, a 37% increase. The largest groups represented in the visible minority category are Filipino (45%), Black (14%), Southeast

TABLE 1

Growing diversity in Winnipeg's inner city

	Winnipeg CMA			Inner city		
	1996	**2001**	% change	**1996**	**2001**	% change
Population	667,210	671,274	0.6	124,530	119,665	- 3.9
Foreign-born	111,690	109,385	- 0.2	22,385	26,530	18.5
Visible minority	73,315	82,560	12.6	18,130	23,935	32.0
Aboriginal identity	45,750	55,760	21.8	18,185	22,995	26.4

Source: Statistics Canada.

Asian (12%) and Chinese (11%). The Winnipeg census metropolitan area (CMA) had the highest proportion of Filipinos among the 27 metropolitan areas in Canada in 2001. Of the 327,500 Filipinos living in Canada, 31,210 or about 10%, lived in Winnipeg (Statistics Canada 2003).

Both visible minorities and the foreign-born are much more concentrated in the inner city where they constitute 20% and 22% of the total population respectively. Over the 1996-2001 period the foreign-born increased by 19% in the inner city, the visible minority population increased by 32% (City of Winnipeg 2004). Over the last decade approximately 20% of new arrivals in the province have been refugees with little money and often few skills. Again, the majority of refugees settle in Winnipeg and most live within the inner city where housing is most affordable.

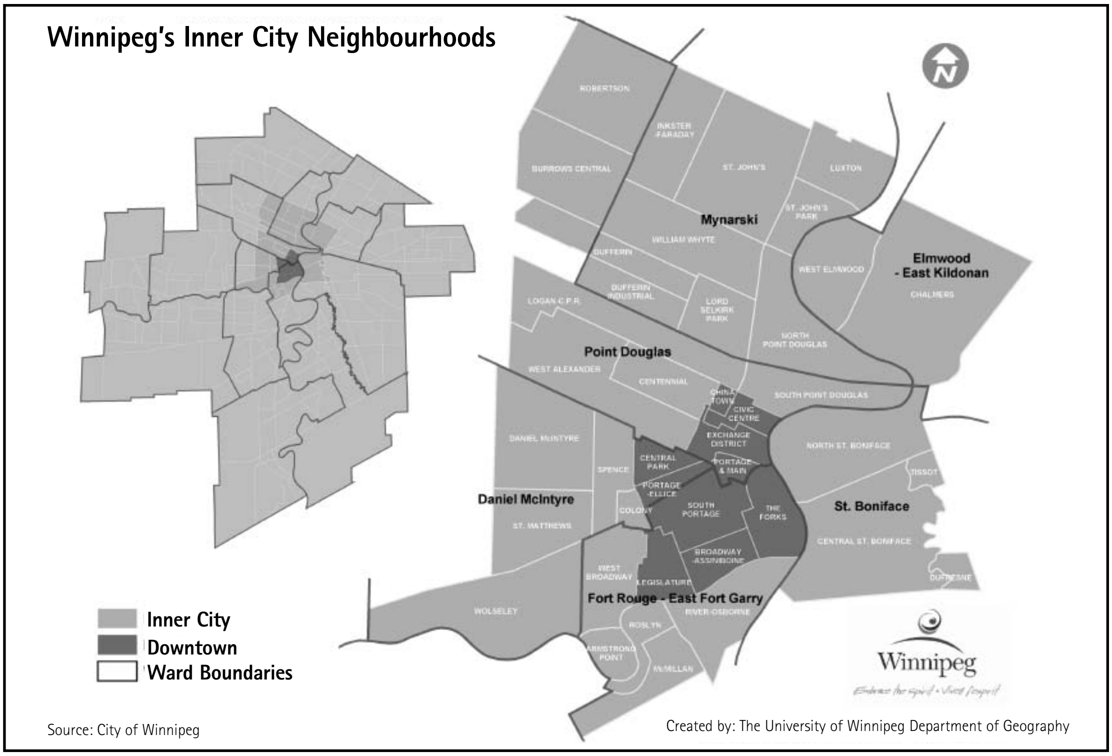
A large and rapidly growing Aboriginal population, 56,000 or 8.4% of the total population in 2001, also adds to the diversity (Statistics Canada 2002). The inner city is home to 42% of the City's Aboriginal population constituting 20% of the total inner city population. In some neighbourhoods the proportion of the total population that is Aboriginal rises to over 40%. The Aboriginal identity population grew by 22% in Winnipeg during the 1996-2001 period, and by 26% in the inner city (Carter and Polevychok 2003). Young Aboriginals are expected to comprise up to a quarter of those entering the workforce by 2015 (United Way of Winnipeg 2004). Successful inclusion of Aboriginals, many of them marginalized by poverty, low skill levels and discrimination, poses significant challenges for City government. Accommodating Aboriginal self-government and urban reserves will also be key issues for City government in the 21st century.

The experiences of Aboriginal people who arrive in Winnipeg from the north and reserves parallel, in many ways, the experiences of newcomer refugees and low-income immigrants. Both groups come from cultures very different from that of Winnipeg and many have low levels of literacy and English competency. They tend to have skill levels and work histories not formally recognized and have limited resources and incomes. They may face considerable racism in daily life and often lack family supports. These shared and compounding characteristics mean that both groups often face multiple forms of socio-economic marginalization.

Inner city research initiatives

In recent years a considerable amount of research has focused on socio-economic marginalization in the inner city and the plight of low-income immigrants, refugees and Aboriginals. Research conducted under the Winnipeg Inner City Research Alliance (WIRA), a partnership of academics and community practitioners, has highlighted the diversity that exists in Winnipeg's inner city. With funding from a Community University Research Alliance grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the University of Winnipeg, the partnership has focused on participatory research that highlights the considerable degree of marginalization that exists within sectors of this diverse population.

The inner city's shortage of affordable housing poses difficulties for low-income immigrants, refugees and Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. Rooming houses and residential hotels, often described as being "only one step up from living on the streets" become home for many. Two reports, *Out of the Long Dark Hallway: Voices from Winnipeg's Rooming Houses and Beyond a Front Desk: The Residential Hotel as Home* (Distasio et al. 2003, 2005), detail the often


Winnipeg's Inner City Neighbourhoods

Inner City
Downtown
Ward Boundaries
N
ROBERTSON
INKSTER FARADAY
BURROWS CENTRAL
ST. JOHN'S
LUXTON
Mynarski
ST. JOHN'S PARK
WILLIAM WHYTE
DUFFERIN
WEST ELMWOOD
Elmwood - East Kildonan
CHALMERS
DUFFERIN INDUSTRIAL
LORD SELKIRK PARK
LOGAN C.P.R.
NORTH POINT DOUGLAS
Point Douglas
WEST ALEXANDER
CENTENNIAL
CHINA TOWN
CIVIC CENTRE
SOUTH POINT DOUGLAS
EXCHANGE DISTRICT
DANIEL McINTYRE
CENTRAL PARK
PORTAGE & MAIN
NORTH ST. BONIFACE
SPENCE
PORTAGE -ELLICE
TISSOT
Daniel McIntyre
COLONY
SOUTH PORTAGE
THE FORKS
St. Boniface
ST. MATTHEWS
BROADWAY -ASSINIBOINE
CENTRAL ST. BONIFACE
WEST BROADWAY
LEGISLATURE
DUFRESNE
Fort Rouge - East Fort Garry
WOLSELEY
RIVER-OSBORNE
ROSLYN
ARMSTRONG POINT
McMILLAN
Winnipeg

Source: City of Winnipeg

Created by: The University of Winnipeg Department of Geography

unpalatable characteristics and conditions of these two types of housing. The reports also highlight the contribution of these units to the affordable housing stock in Winnipeg, providing shelter for hundreds of people who might not be able to afford other types of accommodation and would be "on the street" if these options were not available. These two studies also provide recommendations on how these low-rent alternatives could be improved.

The experience of some of those "on the street" is highlighted in *Voices from the Margins: Experiences of Street Involved Youth in Winnipeg* (Higgitt et al. 2003). The study closely examined the realities of the lives of street youth, offering insights into causes and consequences of street life, plus recommendations for policy and program change. The disproportionate representation of Aboriginal youth among the street involved youth population is also noted in the study.

A number of WIRA research projects have revealed the pressing need in Winnipeg's inner city for the adoption of culture perspectives in service provision, organizational development and overall social development approaches. This issue was highlighted in a report entitled *Finding Our Way Home: Housing Options in Inner-City Winnipeg for People with Disabilities Who are Dying*, by Stienstra and Wiebe (2004). The report describes the socio-economic marginalization of First Nations individuals who fall in this category. Overwhelmingly they experience low income, substandard housing conditions, high unemployment and reliance on social assistance. The study found that although the low-income Aboriginal population is far more likely to have disabilities and illness than those of European descent, palliative care continues to be a middle class non-Aboriginal phenomenon. Very few palliative care patients are First Nations people. These findings highlight a need for more culturally accessible long-term care services designed specifically for First Nations persons.

Visible minorities, newcomers (immigrants and refugees) and Aboriginals were also the focus of a number of research projects in the education field. The life chances of marginalized children were examined in *Male Reading Teachers: Effects on Inner-City Boys* (Sokal et al. 2004). The children who participated in the study were primarily boys living in poverty in an inner city neighbourhood who shared general indicators of future early school leaving and failure. Literacy skills, it was found, are especially important to these children as a means of self-direction, self-expression, social mobility and

Most newcomers do not know what their, or their landlords' rights and responsibilities are, or where to learn that information. As a vulnerable, marginalized population this puts them at great risk of exploitation.

more effective integration in society, school success, and future economic opportunities.

Youth mentorship can also be an effective approach to breaking out of the poverty cycle that begins with low educational attainment. *In Mentoring: One Pathway to Aboriginal Talent Development*, researchers McCluskey and Torrance (2003) illustrate the value of mentoring to Aboriginal youth in particular, and marginalized minority youth in general.

Winnipeg's Career Trek program is a university/public school joint initiative that targets young people from traditionally marginalized communities who are at risk of school failure or dropout. The program encourages them not only to stay in school, but also to explore possible future careers should they choose to attend university or college. Career Trek's effectiveness was examined in *Impact of a Career Exploration Intervention on School Motivation* (Sutherland et al. 2006). This research revealed that among the most common reasons that teachers recommended students to the program were low social economic status, English as a second language, member of a visible minority, a newcomer, or an Aboriginal. Findings indicated that, as a result of participation in the Career Trek program, these inner city and minority children were more likely to be academically successful as a result of their improved cognitive abilities and individual motivation.

The incorporation of cultural values and perspectives is of utmost importance in Winnipeg's educational system. The research project *Aboriginal Education in Winnipeg Inner City High Schools* (Silver et al. 2002) found that the educational system marginalizes Aboriginal students, does not adequately reflect their cultural values and their daily realities, and feels alien to many. In order to engage and retain Aboriginal students, there is a need for changes to the educational system that are culturally relevant and meaningful and meet the educational needs of Aboriginal people. Early school-leavers are at a disadvantage when it comes to future employment and as a result find themselves facing low-income and further marginalization.

Engagement in the community was highlighted as an important factor for marginalized populations. A report entitled *Shared Responsibility: Building Healthy Communities in Winnipeg's North End* (Brown, et al. 2004) revealed that marginalized populations face multiple barriers to becoming fully involved in their communities, but that such involvement is an important source of support, resources, sense of well-being, connectedness, and self-worth. In Winnipeg's inner city, opportunities for community engagement abound but adequate social networks have to be in place to ensure new arrivals – Aboriginals or immigrants and refugees from abroad – are connected to such networks.

A study funded by Metropolis and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada currently underway, entitled *Evaluating the Housing Careers of Recently Arrived Refugees in Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg* (Enns and Carter), documents refugee housing experiences. In each of the three cities, interviews are being conducted with refugees who have come to Canada within the past year. Preliminary findings from the Winnipeg portion of the study, based on 70 interviews, indicate that although some new arrivals are appropriately housed, many are living in unsuitable, overcrowded and unsafe housing in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.

Research participants have overwhelmingly expressed a concern about the difficulties of finding housing that is suitable, safe and affordable in Winnipeg. Upon arrival refugees are provided with up to three weeks transitional housing. During that time they work with housing counsellors to find long-term subsidized social housing or private market housing. These efforts are sometimes unsuccessful and they remain in transitional housing for several months. Government assistance given to refugees during their first year of settlement allows very little for housing costs. Shelter assistance rates are the same as those provided for people on social assistance: $271 for one person; $387 for two people; and $471 for four people, including allowances for utilities (Province of Manitoba, 2005). Average market rents, which may or may not include utilities, for one and two bedroom units in Winnipeg, are $539 and $683 respectively (CMHC 2005). Market rents, which are so much higher than social assistance rates, force people into lower quality private rental housing, usually in the inner city.

Refugees qualify for subsidized housing in which rent is geared to income (currently 27% of gross income) but wait times can be up to two years and there are few three and four bedroom units available for large families, which are common amongst arriving refugees. There are examples of private housing that are affordable, well kept, and safe with landlords and caretakers who make a special effort to help, but overall the conditions of private rental housing are much worse than those of subsidized housing. When interviewers visit their homes, some refugees have shown and described unacceptable conditions including cockroach infestations, leaks and holes in ceilings, broken doors, mould growth on walls, rotting cupboards under sinks, filthy carpeting and most commonly, insufficient heating in winter.

The research undertaken to date indicates that the housing conditions of those in subsidized housing, although often sparse and simple, are clean and well maintained and of suitable size for household numbers. Private rental housing is considerably more expensive than subsidized accommodation and therefore puts a strain on the budgets of newcomers. Because rent is always the first priority, this expense can leave them short for other monthly expenses. Many have to take money from their allowance for food, clothing and other basic necessities to cover the rent, as shelter allowances are so low. Those who have searched for better housing within their price range are often unsuccessful.

Newcomers' relationships with caretakers and landlords are mixed. Some have developed close relationships. Others feel taken advantage of. A common complaint is that when desperate for housing some signed housing agreements they couldn't read or understand, only to find out later they had signed a one-year lease, tying them to housing they weren't happy with. Most newcomers do not know what their, or their landlords' rights and responsibilities are, or where to learn that information. As a vulnerable, marginalized population this puts them at great risk of exploitation.

Preliminary findings in this study also reveal the significant role of housing in overall quality of life for newcomers. Some respondents described how poor living conditions have had a negative "spill-over" effect to other aspects of their lives, adding considerable stress and worry, and in some cases affecting school performance and even forcing them to give up jobs.

The majority of respondents live in the downtown area and indicated an appreciation for the convenience of the location, particularly during the early stages of their settlement. Most, however, hope to move out of the inner city in the future, once they are familiar with the city, are earning a good income, and own a vehicle. Almost exclusively, the reasons stated for wanting to leave the area were related to fears for their personal safety.

In Winnipeg it seems that immigrants and refugees do not make up a significant proportion of the homeless, however, there is no thorough research to substantiate this. In some cases, young, single males have resorted to living in rooming houses at the "bottom rung" of affordable housing options. There are also many cases where families and friends double up and live in very crowded circumstances.

Conclusion

A combination of national and provincial immigration policies and continued migration of Aboriginals from reserves and northern communities means Winnipeg will be the destination for a growing number of new arrivals. Much more research is required to document the challenges that growing diversity will bring to second-tier cities like Winnipeg. Work is also required to structure appropriate policies and program approaches to address the needs of refugees and immigrants, and in Winnipeg the Aboriginal population that has similar characteristics and face many of the same barriers. Successful integration of these groups is essential to both social and economic stability in the city.

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[1] Winnipeg Inner City Research Alliance publications can be found at http://ius.uwinnipeg.ca/wira_publications.html

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Intrinsic religious diversity within a single group might be more prevalent within congregations in small- and medium-sized cities in Canada than in larger metropolises. The Muslim community in Kingston is comprised of Sunnis, Shi'ites and Ismailis, all representing various countries of origin and speaking different languages. Because of their small numbers they must stress, amidst their own diversity, a central Islamic unity that they share in common.

Religious Diversity in Kingston, Ontario: "Is There Any?"

WILLIAM CLOSSON JAMES
Queen's University

A generation ago, people used to talk as if religion would die away, or at least become superfluous, as Canada became more secular. Instead, personal spirituality, a multihued religious pluralism, and new issues about religion and public policy have emerged as notable features of a transformed religious situation. The nature and extent of religious diversity in multicultural Canada has firmly impressed itself on many observers, even as religion has often been relegated to consideration as a subset of some other aspect of "culture." While this transformed religious scene has mostly been examined in Canada's large urban centres, it is also happening in smaller cities, where it has not been much studied to this point.

Only nine cities in Canada have a population of more than a half-million people. But the next 20 cities range in size from 500,000 down to 100,000 people. Though we almost never use such terminology, is this where "middle Canada" is to be found? When compared with Canada at large, Kingston (pop. 146,838) mirrors the national distribution of population by age, but with fewer immigrants, a larger proportion of highly educated people, and more employment in health and social services and in education. In the popular view Kingston epitomizes Upper Canada's Anglo-Celtic customs and values. Kingston is "an institutional town" that has changed little over the past 300 years. How do these factors show up in religion? What does religion look like in the city's university, military, hospitals, and prisons, and how do these institutions affect religion in the city generally? Has increased ethnic and religious diversity of the past generation altered the traditions of religious sites and groups within this mostly unilingual city (see James and Gashinski 2006)?

Supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Religious Diversity in Kingston project, now beginning its fourth year, has been attempting a total mapping of all aspects of religion in the city, particularly in three areas. First, we study the groups and record the activities present at various religious sites representative of major world religions. The visible monuments of downtown ecclesiastical architecture, many originating from the 19th century, represent "mainline" Christian denominations: Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Baptist. Several dozen more buildings throughout the larger city house "non-mainline" groups, mostly having some connection with Christianity: Brethren, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Christian Reformed, Unitarian, Free Methodist, Seventh-day Adventist, Missionary Alliance, Mormon, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc. Some Christians assemble to worship on the basis of shared ethnicity: the Chinese Alliance, Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic, Coptic Christian, or South Indian churches; additionally, there are Korean, francophone Roman Catholic, and Dutch congregations. For almost a century there has been an orthodox synagogue in Kingston, while a reform congregation with its own rabbi has become established in the last generation. In the last decade an Islamic Centre was built in the suburban area north of Highway 401, while the Kuluta Buddhist Centre has just moved to renovated space downtown.

The second objective of Religious Diversity in Kingston is to map the alternative religions present in Kingston, most of which lack dedicated space for their uses. Many groups in Kingston use temporary space, members' homes, or meet infrequently, such as Spiritualists, Bahá'í, Hindus, Wiccans, Rosicrucians, Sri Chinmoy, Sai Baba, and other New Religious Movements. As well, people assemble for meditation, tai chi, yoga, or come together for personal growth or consciousness-raising in response to ads placed in a public library, a bookstore, or a health food store. Students on the campus of Queen's University gather for meetings of Navigators, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, the Newman, Geneva, or Hillel houses, or for special lectures sponsored by Transcendental Meditation, the Raelians, Krishna Consciousness, or Soka Gakkai International. In addition, religious activities, including services provided by institutional chaplains, take place in schools, hospitals, and prisons, at the Royal Military College, at the Spirituality Centre run by the Sisters of Providence, and on the armed forces base. All these deserve a place in the account of the religious variety to be found in Kingston. Among the issues being explored are the shifts that have taken place over the past decade or so as more such options increase and attendance at some long-established worship sites decreases. How have the changing roles of women in society, or an aging population, or the generation of baby boomers affected religious groups?

To gauge the manner and extent of religion's departure from the public sphere to become resituated in the private self is the project's third objective. Recent trends, confirmed by a Statistics Canada report, indicate that religious life and practice are marked by an increased personal spirituality (see Valpy 2006). If so, how have extant religious traditions adapted to this less social or communitarian and more personalistic and individualistic turn? Perhaps an eclectic multilayered spirituality, in which people "mix and match" several different modes of religiousness, alters a previously exclusive commitment or loyalty to a single tradition (see James 2006). Or, substitute forms of religion might supplement, but without replacing, that ongoing religious commitment. Yet, even as more personal spirituality becomes evident, another perhaps unexpected phenomenon is occurring too as religions become engaged in the public sphere, raising policy issues for municipalities (James and Gashinski 2006).

Each year the Religious Diversity in Kingston project employs three or four student researchers. When one of them, an M.A. student from Toronto, told her father what she was doing, he queried: "Religious diversity in Kingston? Is there any?" And, in some ways, that is an excellent, challenging question to raise. The Statistics Canada census data from 2001 show that about 12% of Kingston's population is foreign-born, as contrasted with Toronto's 44%. Visible minorities in Kingston comprise less than 5% of the city's population (6,735 out of 142,770), whereas in the province of Ontario as a whole visible minorities amount to almost 20%, and in Toronto about 37%[1]. In Kingston, then, there are not many people who are, to use the language by which Statistics Canada defines visible minorities, "non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." "Religious diversity," rather than referring specifically to a diversity of religions, tends to be understood as an aspect of this kind of ethnocultural diversity, one of the results of diversified immigration (see Germain 2004). But when a religion is more or less inseparable from other aspects of cultural practice, it might not be studied or reported very much at all. The largest visible minority group in Kingston consists of the Chinese, but their "religion" remains largely invisible (or unreported, as almost 60% identify themselves as having "no religion") to census-takers, and to the general public (see Lai, Paper and Paper 2005).

Frequently the standard of whether a particular place counts as fully diverse or representatively multicultural gets measured against the examples of Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver (see, e.g., Derouin 2004). These three cities were the destination of more than 70% of the immigrants who came to Canada during the 1990s (Justus 2004). Recent immigrants – in fact, 90% of them – have preferred to live in a metropolitan area. But Kingston ought not to be compared with these three great metropolises, or even with such larger centres as Ottawa-

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[1] Data for Kingston, as for other cities, may be found on the Statistics Canada Website for the 2001 Census at http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/home/index.cfm. Search under "Community Profiles."

Gatineau, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Kitchener-Waterloo, Windsor or London, all of which have about 20% of their population foreign-born. Many more properly comparable cities such as Saskatoon, Regina, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Saint John, Sherbrooke, Québec, etc. have a lower proportion of foreign-born inhabitants than Kingston's 12.4%. An exception is Abbotsford, B.C., roughly the same size as Kingston, but where 22% are foreign-born. Notably, 80% of the immigrants to Abbotsford in the 1990s were Asian, with about 60% of the arrivals in that decade having been born in India, a phenomenon described as a continuation of "a longstanding pattern of South Asian settlement in that region" (Justus 2004). Does such a large number of recent immigrants from one part of the world living in a small Canadian city necessarily contribute to a full range of multicultural variety?

What, then, of religious diversity as such considered apart from country of origin, ethnicity, or the representation of visible minorities? About 77% of Kingstonians are either Protestants or Roman Catholics; in Toronto these two major Christian groups amount to 58% of the city's population. And, whereas Jews and Muslims, each group having less than a thousand adherents reported, together add up to just 1.2% of Kingston's population, in Toronto they are 15% of the whole. Kingston has only 475 Buddhists, 465 Hindus, and 130 Sikhs – again, an under-representation as contrasted with Toronto. The only dedicated space for any one of these three groups in Kingston is the Kuluta Buddhist Centre, part of the Kadampa tradition, consisting mostly of western followers of this adaptation of a branch of Tibetan Buddhism. The majority of the practitioners are not of Asian descent, nor is their ancestral religious tradition usually Buddhist. While the Kuluta Buddhist Centre adds to the religious diversity of Kingston, its members and adherents probably reflect the ethnic makeup of the city of Kingston. So, the question remains: Is there any? Religious diversity in Kingston, that is. And what constitutes religious diversity?

Intrinsic religious diversity within a single group might be more prevalent within congregations in small- and medium-sized cities in Canada than in larger metropolises. Kingston's Muslims are a case in point. The Kingston Islamic Centre is not a "mosque," and is currently searching, after more than a decade of existence, for its first imam. As its Website makes clear, this Centre "is for the benefit of all Muslims." The Muslim community is Kingston is comprised of Sunnis and Shi'ites, and some Ismailis, all representing various countries of origin and speaking different languages. Because of their small numbers (less than a thousand) they must stress, amidst their own diversity, a central Islamic unity that they share in common. No group could afford to go its own way. Meanwhile, on the Queen's University campus, as many as a half-dozen different Muslim groups exist for students, the large majority of whom come from outside Kingston, who want to continue the specifics of their own practice of Islam while at university.

Hindus in Kingston present a parallel case. Of perhaps 150 families in Kingston with origins in India, about 100 families are Hindu (the others are Muslim, Sikh, Parsi or Christian). Some of Kingston's Hindus are from countries other than India, such as Burma, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Guyana, Fiji and Sri Lanka. One longstanding member of this community, asked about the possibility of having a temple for Hindus in Kingston, replied that such a measure would create divisions and factions, especially once a leader was brought in who might have specific ideas about deities and worship practices not widely shared in Kingston. Meanwhile, Hindus in Kingston wanting specific rites travel to Toronto to visit a temple there, or bring in a priest from elsewhere for special occasions (Personal Interview, 11 July 2005).

The present situation of meeting informally in people's homes has been in place for several decades, requiring flexibility and adaptation. In India Vaishnavas would not normally have anything to do with another sect, such as Saivites, that did not have Vishnu as its main deity. The person we interviewed pointed out that "in India they could do that, but it's impossible to practice that same thing over here." Some of the Hindu families in Kingston who are used to silent meditation might disagree with the singing of hymns when the group meets. Yet, part of the customary devotions of the majority includes the singing of a hymn: "And when we sing it, we are singing it all together and it's kind of loud, with all those bells and everything, because we are actually pretending that we are waking up the deities. We are invoking their presence into us." (Personal Interview, 11 July 2005)

Religious identity and community may be based on other factors than ethnicity. Religious diversity can exist within a single religious tradition or denomination – or even within a single congregation – and not simply among faith traditions explicitly differing from one another. A distinction could be made, along these lines, between extrinsic and intrinsic religious diversity.

If one looks for ethnic (rather than theological or doctrinal) diversity within Christianity, that too exists in Kingston, and includes some congregations comprised chiefly of visible minority members. Kingston has two predominantly Afro-Canadian Christian congregations, Faith Alive, a house church that has been in the city for some time, and the Church of Pentecost which for several years had a mission in rented space at the municipal Portsmouth Olympic Harbour. The Website for the Ghana-based Church of Pentecost (www.pentecost.ca) continues to list Kingston as a branch assembly with two services held every Sunday, with contact information, but without its current location being specified. A Korean congregation uses space within a Free Methodist church, and a Chinese Missionary Alliance church has its own building. About 30 Egyptian families support the Coptic Church that rents two adjacent store spaces in a suburban strip mall. If one includes the religious diversity brought to the city over the years by European immigrants, the list can be extended. The Greek Orthodox Church has a prominent building downtown across from the Public Library. The Roman Catholic Church in Kingston has Portuguese, Polish and French congregations. There is a small Ukrainian Catholic Church, and one of the two Christian Reformed congregations continues to be the church home of many Protestants of Dutch background. And, of course, those of German descent from an earlier wave of immigration are to be found in the local Lutheran church. Such a list reveals far greater diversity within Christianity than one might have expected 150 years ago, when perhaps the greatest religious division imaginable was between Scottish Presbyterians and Irish Catholics.

Perhaps it is not surprising that a liberal Protestant minister might have more in common with, say, a Reform rabbi than with a theologically conservative member of the same church. Both clergy might be willing, for instance, to conduct same-sex marriages, a practice that some – even many – of their own congregants might disapprove of. What is being suggested here for consideration, then, is that religious identity and community may be based on other factors than ethnicity. Religious diversity can exist within a single religious tradition or denomination – or even within a single congregation – and not simply among faith traditions explicitly differing from one another. A distinction could be made, along these lines, between extrinsic and intrinsic religious diversity.

One United Church minister interviewed for this research project commented that issues to do with sex (celibacy, contraception, sexual orientation and gender) have become the test of orthodoxy within Christianity. He continued, pointing out other aspects of this intrinsic diversity: “The greatest difference, in the church, and I think also in the world today, is not between people who believe different things, but between people who believe in the same things, but believe in them differently.” He explained: “I can be much closer with a Muslim, with a Jew, with a Buddhist, than some of my own people who look at the Bible differently, who look at Jesus differently, who don’t recognize that maybe ... God is blessing the *distinctiveness* in religions.” (Personal Interview, 3 October 2003)

In the context of Kingston, as in most of the rest of Canada, one of the great challenges is to appreciate that distinctiveness while creating, amidst the existence of diversity, a positive form of religious pluralism (see, e.g., Eck 2004; Biles and Ibrahim 2005). One of the expressions of such pluralism (we are still researching this possibility), perhaps more attainable in a small city than a large one, are the comprehensively inclusive multifaith events that seem to be increasing in Kingston. The question about Kingston’s religious diversity – “Is there any?” – can be qualified and finally affirmed, and when answered in full, taken further to show that possibilities of achieving various kinds of rapprochement amidst diverse groups are also evident.

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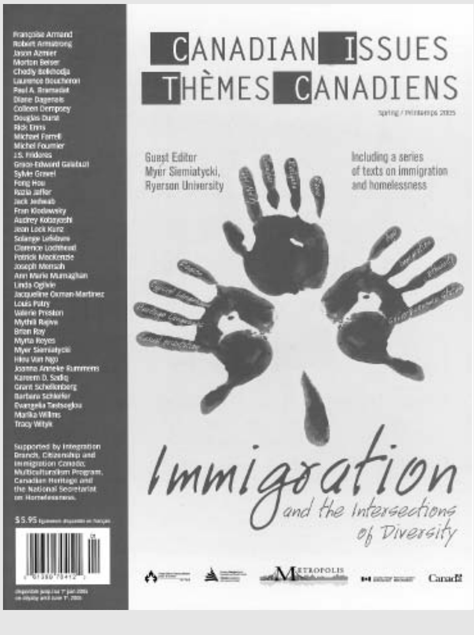
Immigration and the Intersections of Diversity



Special issue of
Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens

A special issue of *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* was produced focusing on immigration and the intersections of diversity. Guest edited by the head of Ryerson University's Masters program in immigration studies, Myer Siemiatycki, the magazine includes twenty-five articles by researchers, policy-makers and NGOs exploring the heterogeneity of the immigrant experience in Canada. In addition, the magazine includes a trio of articles on homelessness and immigration.

To obtain a copy in English or French, please contact canada@metropolis.net.

While both publicly funded and private research continually report that there is systemic racism in Canada, be it institutional or in the workplace, there is a consensus amongst the general public that Canadians are not racist, as compared to other nations. The general public believes that marginalized people, the unemployed and the working class are at a disadvantage because they simply lack skills, aptitudes or credentials.

"The Blind Spot": Racism and Discrimination in the Workplace*

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According to Alberta Economic Development, Edmonton is rated as one of the top major cities in western North America.[1] The provincial capital region continually attracts businesses from around the world, is a tourist destination of choice, and is notorious for its diversity and festivities. Edmonton is no doubt part of the "Alberta Advantage" and is currently in the phase of an economic boom thanks to the oil and gas industry. While Albertans have reasons to celebrate, businesses are in a critical situation as they continue to experience major shortages of skilled and non-skilled workers across all sectors. To combat the issue, the Alberta government has announced that it is going to try to increase immigration to Alberta. The Minister of Advanced Education and Community Development recently announced that Edmonton will attract immigrants to alleviate some of the labour shortages. This new wave of immigrants will be arriving mainly from non-traditional source countries such as China, India, Pakistan and Philippines (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2003) resulting in greater visibility of "races," ethnicities and cultures. As a result, workplaces will mirror similar demographics and will be forced to tackle issues of "race" and racism, necessitating anti-racism education in the workplaces. Non-racialized workers and managers will have to re-examine social relations, historical events and take ownership of racism in Canada. Consequently, employers will have to "open up" spaces for racialized workers to share their experiences. Employers will be compelled to place anti-racism under "good business practices," thereby offering anti-racism training and education to all their workers. To tackle the issues of organizational racism in Edmonton, we need a national framework, a larger picture.

Is there racism in Canada?

The Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS),[2] reported that 65% of visible minorities experience racism in their workplaces. Federal government reports, along with academic literature (Alboim 2002, Reitz 2001) and anecdotes, continuously suggest that members of visible minorities

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[*] The opinions and ideas expressed in this article are that of the writer and do not reflect the opinions and ideas of the Board of Directors or staff of the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers.

[1] For reference please see: www.edmonton.com.

[2] The Ethnic Diversity Survey was conducted by Statistics Canada to help us better understand how people's backgrounds affect their participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life. For more information visit: www.statcan.ca.

experience systemic racism in Canadian workplaces. For example, Leslie Cheung's report for the Canadian Labour Congress, titled *Racial Status and Employment Outcomes* (2005), which examines data from the 2001 Census and the *Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics*, clearly demonstrates that racialized minorities are subjected to discrimination and racism and the findings are valuable: "[There is] evidence that there remains large and consistent gaps in economic security for workers of colour compared to other workers. These differences are not based on real differences of skills and education, but rather on perceived differences based on race. Racial discrimination is a large contributing factor to the poor labour market outcomes of Canada's racialized workers. Lower incomes, higher unemployment, and precarious work status are prevalent for workers of colour as a whole, and not just recent immigrants. In fact, it is the non-immigrant, racialized population, who are more highly educated than average, which has the most difficulty finding steady employment at decent wages. The fact that Canadian-born workers of colour are doing badly cannot be explained away by reference to lack of Canadian credentials and experience." (Cheung 2005, p. 1).

While both publicly funded (Cheung 2005; Ethnic Diversity Survey) and private research (Ipsos-Reid Surveys) continually report that there is systemic racism in Canada, be it institutional or in the workplace, there is a consensus amongst the general public that Canadians are not racist, as compared to other nations (Schick and Verma 2005). Hence, the general public believes that marginalized people, the unemployed and working class are at a disadvantage because they simply lack skills, aptitudes or credentials. This lack of awareness, ownership and denial of organizational racism leads to unexamined social relations, workplace policies and practices that may, in fact, perpetuate the status quo. Consequently, dialoguing around issues of race and racism in the workplace is a challenge for anyone catering to the ideals of human rights and equity.

The situation in Edmonton

In January 2005, the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration (PCERII) and the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (EMCN) conducted a small study investigating issues around racism in the workplace. The research was initiated and funded by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC). The research is part of a larger project titled Racism Free Workplace and it is important to note that it was replicated in five centres across Canada. The straightforward process involved contacting eight employers and three labour leaders in the Edmonton Area. Almost all the companies were part of either the Federal Contractors Program (FCP) or the Legislated Equity Program (LEEP). Both of these programs require companies to make certain commitments to employment equity. The interviews lasted between 30 to 90 minutes and contained questions relating to employment equity, policy, recruitment practices, challenges in recruiting members of visible minorities, complaint processes and other issues relating to organizational racism.

Once the data was collected, collated and transcribed, it was presented at a stakeholders meeting which was attended by the funders, participating researchers and their respective organizations, businesses, union representatives, civil society, and academia. The participants discussed issues of racism in the workplace, reflected on the findings and made recommendations. The findings from the study along with the discussion/dialogue for the stakeholders meeting were presented at the 8th annual Metropolis conference in Vancouver in March 2006 (www.riim.metropolis.net).

It is worth noting that employers did not view racism as a problem within their organizations. In fact, most employers emphasized the importance of "respectful work cultures," embracing diversity, and referred to numerous workplace policies that protected the workers from all sorts of harassment. However, none of the employers were able to highlight any specific policy that addressed issues of racism in the workplace or protected the racialized worker. In fact, most did not have a protocol to address informal or formal complaints of organizational racism. The two union leaders on the other hand received numerous complaints from racialized workers, during their term in office. In fact, one union leader had to take steps outside the company's mandate, to educate both the employer and the racialized worker on issues of equity and racism.

Analyzing the findings

Based on our findings and similar research conducted across Canada, one can conclude that Canadians view racism as something that happened in the past, done by other nations; hence racism is not a contemporary Canadian problem (Schick and St. Denis 2005). Our case study exemplifies institutionalized and internalized racism, where employers are uncritical of their practices, and although they meet the criteria for employment equity quotas, are oblivious to racism in their workplaces. Another explanation is "defensive complacency," where quite simply, employers do not either take time or initiatives to investigate complaints that are raised by racialized workers, and conclude that there is no racism in their workplace. The non-recognition of organizational racism is also due to White workers' lack of awareness of their class/race privilege and power (Hurtado and Stewart 1996). Furthermore, the rhetoric of Canadian multiculturism – sentiments such as "Canada is a saviour" and "Canadians embrace and celebrate diversity" – lead employers to believe that their business policies and practices are color-blind, benevolent and innocent. This innocence, however, must be critiqued and questioned because if left unchallenged, it can lead to the reproduction of racial privilege (Schick and St. Denis 2005).

Denial of organizational racism exists perhaps to avoid guilt, ownership and responsibility and in fact, may be a backlash. Whites are now being seen as the new victims, consequently equity programs are perceived as a nuisance and a new discourse is emerging, called "reverse discrimination." Perhaps, many of the employers in our case study witness racism in the workplace, but it's the "code of silence" and "White solidarity" (Hurtado and Stewart 1996), that keep people from exposing wrongdoings. I concur with Lopes and Thomas who suggest that organizational racism is mostly internalized racism, hence we should investigate how "White Power and privilege work in the ordinary, daily moments of organizational life" (2006, p. 1). Furthermore, employers often work under the "code of silence" and color-blindness (Hurtado amd Stewart 2004), acting polite and continuing to be racist.

Employers often claim that they are open to diversity, which in their view means they are open to anti-racism education. Sefa Dei and Calliste (2000, p. 21) caution us against this naivety as he clarifies the difference. "[Multiculturism] works with the notion of our basic humanness and downplays inequities of difference by accentuating shared commonalities. Anti-racism shifts the talk away from tolerance of diversity to the pointed notion of difference and power. It sees race and racism as central to how we claim, occupy and defend spaces." I believe that employers are reluctant to place anti-racism education under "good business practices" because it would mean dialoguing around issues of racism, examining one's own position, privilege and power. Therefore, it is much too safe to adhere to discourse on multiculturism, and celebrate the "three D's" : dress, dance and dinner. I agree with Schick and St. Denis who warn us that "celebration of cultural difference and the narrative of the nation as raceless, benevolent and innocent has implications for the reproduction of racial privilege … [in fact], multicultural discourses are not only insufficient but even counter-productive." (2005, p. 296) In keeping with this argument, I suggest that unless employers acknowledge and employ anti-racism strategies in the workplace, the effects of colonization will continue.

Referring back to our case study, it is interesting to note that all eight companies are legislated under the *Employment Equity Act*, hence they must meet the criteria of hiring from the four designated groups. Surprisingly, there were no systemic approaches in hiring diversity, in anti-racism strategy or in training offered to their staff. Hence, we can argue that a policy on equity does little to change attitudes, eliminate systemic barriers or reduce racism in the workplace. On the contrary, it is my position that equity programs are a numbers game, where companies hire designated numbers mostly in entry level positions, thus fulfilling equity criteria, yet maintaining the status quo.

Interestingly enough, the aforementioned report on Racism Free Workshop indicates that union leaders acknowledged equity issues and organizational racism. As a matter of fact, in one instance, the union leader published a booklet for members of visible minorities to educate them on human rights issues, gender equality and organizational racism. Furthermore, these leaders were also well aware that marginalized workers experience multiple challenges in substantiating their claims. For example, the racialized worker needs to keep a strict record of interactions, dialogue between workers, supervisors and daily incidents of racism. This is to suggest that the victim is expected to produce evidence of their marginalization, and gain support of colleagues before they can file a grievance. Hence, "the burden is placed on the victim to overcome such barriers." (Schick and St. Denis, 2005, p. 296)

Why is there a disconnect between self-reported cases of racism, unions' observations and employers' perception of racism? Lopes and Thomas (2006) argue that it is because those in power often do not see, feel or hear racism; only the people of colour know it exists. Furthermore, organizational racism is a result of the mere operation of established procedures of recruitment, hiring and promotion. The discrimination is then reinforced by the very exclusion of the disadvantaged group and exclusion results from "natural" forces (Lopes and Thomas 2006). For example, if there is a belief that a black woman cannot serve in a supervisory role, the organization creates a climate where women do not feel positively about their leadership skills. Then any challenge to the status quo is automatically resisted and challenged.

Recommendations

Can anti-racism education alone eradicate organizational racism? While this topic requires an in-depth analysis and on-going dialogue, merely offering training is insufficient. Whereas we need commitment from employers, the initiative has to come from the racialized workers. I concur with Hurtado and Stewart's notion of "research as empowerment", where "... people of color learn to systematically observe the behavior of Whites ... [they] develop expertise in judging how Whites behave toward them. They also gain insight into the White delusion of superiority and the ideology defining people of color as inferior. They have daily opportunities to test new insights, because they have contact with all sorts of Whites everyday." (1996, p. 308)

For starters, we require certain pre-conditioning – an effective anti-racism education that "breaks away from the fixed/rigidity of the self/other and either/or dichotomies. ... [and] views two constructs as interdependent and intersecting." (Sefa Dei 1997, p. 50) Furthermore, the researched, i.e. the racialized workers need to study the researchers (Hurtado and Steward 1997). Workers need to question "whiteness," construction of the "others," employers' claim of neutrality, willingness to celebrate diversity, and denial of organizational racism. As Sefa Dei convincingly argues, anti-racism education "is not simply a study of racist intent. It is a core study of racist effect. The study of racism delves into the obvious outcomes, that is, the social consequences and effects of actualizing individual intent, as well as the structural conditions that foster social discrimination." (1996, p. 46) Anti-racism education must also question Whites' claim of color-blindness and neutrality. The rhetoric of employers in our case study exemplifies employers' attitudes that suggest they are race-neutral and cater to the ideology of meritocracy.

Furthermore, boards, management and staff need to work with racialized workers, and open a dialogue around issues of equity and racism in the workplace. Lopes and Thomas, in their book *Dancing on Live Embers* (2006), suggest that human resources and management need to first familiarize and recognize symptoms of racism in their workplaces, raise equity-related issues in team meetings and supervision, and use all-staff meetings to influence implementation of anti-racism policy. It is our position that racialized workers must also prepare themselves and learn about good anti-racism practices. The racialized worker also needs to be more critical of the discourse on multiculturism, equity programs and racism strategies. Hence, when and if there is space available to discuss issues of equity and race, the worker is prepared to voice their subjective realties.

Conclusion

While academic literature clearly indicates that there is a racial divide in Canada, and social construction of race leads to unequal treatment toward racialized workers, employers continually deny the existence of racism (Alboim 2002, Carl 1999, Foote and Khan 2006). The case study described in this paper demonstrates that employers have internalized eurocentric ideology, and by merely meeting the criteria for employment equity along with celebrating cultures, they perceive their workplaces as equitable and racism-free environments. Hence, combating racism in the workplace is clearly a complicated issue that necessitates cooperation and commitment from both management and racialized workers. Unless employers take ownership of the issues, they are likely to conclude that they are not part of the problem, and thereby do not need to look for solutions. Racialized workers need to be part of their own liberation, they need to open up spaces, engage in dialogue, and form alliances with colleagues and other stakeholders. In keeping with the rhetoric of "civil society," the least employers should do is recognize that racism is part of Canadian history and is still prevalent in our workplaces – be it in Edmonton or any other city in Canada.

About the author

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Racism is a common experience for visible minority employees at work; complaints are low because there is no expectation for action.

Employment Equity in Halifax: Issues of Race, Inclusion and Vitality[*]

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Summary

Employers, unions and employment equity consultants report that employment equity (EE) in Halifax companies and educational institutions contributes to more innovative workplaces and makes positive contributions to employers. This Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) sponsored research is reported in the context of public policy in Nova Scotia and related research. Three models are evident in how employers interviewed are approaching the implementation of EE: reformulation, compliance and engagement. Findings support EE and direct attention to the usefulness of increased union involvement and studies to explore employee experience and learn more about companies who do not respond to requests for interviews.

Introduction

Canada has one of the most culturally diverse populations among industrialized nations. We also have the greatest potential for rewards from our success in promoting cultural diversity, social and economic inclusion and integrating immigrants. These rewards include social cohesion, labour force expansion, business confidence and most important community vitality.

Immigration and diversity are important city issues. In his work on regional economic development, Richard Florida has directed attention to the creativity and vitality that diversity can bring to cities when business, government and community embrace inclusion.[1] The cultural and ethnic diversity, which is believed to characterize Canada, is found in cities, and primarily in the larger cities.

Most recent immigrants migrate to Canadian cities. Overall, recent immigrants are ten years younger than the Canadian population average, which makes them an important community and labour force.[2] This makes cities a key site for the implementation of public policy and programs that enhance participation, inclusion and recognition of cultural and ethnic difference. Equality seeking initiatives are central to such enhancement.

John Porter's[3] notion of Canada as a cultural mosaic is confirmed in the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (Figure 1)[4]. Notable is that 46% of Canadians report themselves to be of mixed ethnic heritage, which at the general level would imply inclusion and social cohesion.

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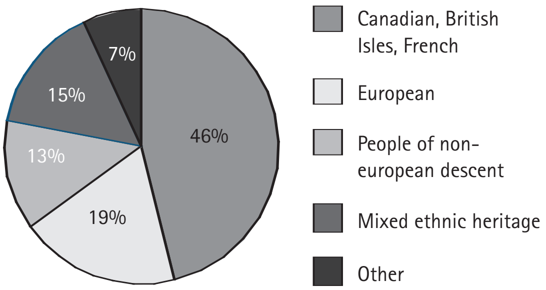
[*] We gratefully acknowledge the grant from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (Labour) Racism Free Workplace Initiative for the field study we are reporting, the Atlantic Metropolis Centre and in particular Dr. Marjorie Stone, facilitators and assistants Stacy Burton M.P.A. 2006, Dr. Rick Fullerton, Peter Milne M.B.A. 2006, and Viki Samuels, and advisors A. J. Preece and Daniel Tucker, Executives in Residence at the School of Public Administration at Dalhousie University. Dr. Cassin acknowledges the support of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission and in particular Mayann Francis and Viki Samuels for her more general work cited here.

FIGURE 1

Canada's ethnic mosaic

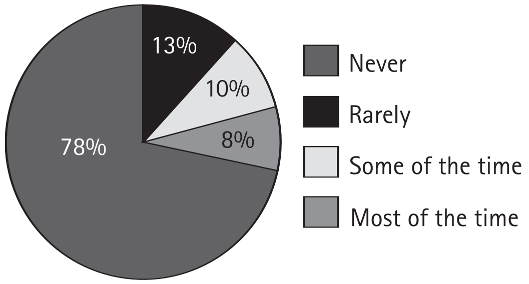


Source: The Ethnic Diversity Survey (Statistics Canada 2002)

In a similar theme, the Ethnic Diversity Survey asked people how often – all of the time most of the time, some of the time, rarely or never – they felt out of place in Canada because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion. The findings, summarized in Figure 2, suggest that the majority of Canadians have a sense of belonging across perceived dimensions of ethnicity.

FIGURE 2

Inclusion in Canadian society



However, the Ethnic Diversity Survey findings on discrimination or unfair treatment show that Canadians of African origin ("Black" Canadians) were more likely to report feeling that they had been discriminated against or treated unfairly by others because of their ethnocultural background. Almost one third of Black Canadians (32%) said that they had had these experiences "sometimes" or "often" in the past five years compared with 21% of South Asian Canadian and 18% of Chinese Canadians. While these findings are non specific, they do indicate an experience of marginalization and this has implications for both community and economic vitality.

Marginalization has important economic costs. It is estimated that if the labour market experiences of immigrants were identical to those who are born in Canada and if women had the same labour market experiences as men, the result would mean an extra 1.6 million employees across Canada and an extra $175 billion in personal income.[5] Naturally, supply and demand conditions would have to adjust gradually to realize this untapped potential but the point is that processes of marginalization are a detriment to both social and economic vitality.

Cultural diversity and immigration in Halifax

Halifax is a Canadian city with comparatively low ethnic diversity. It is the major city in Nova Scotia and accounts for the great deal of the economic activity and diversity in the province. Figure 3 shows Canadian cities plotted by ethnicity and foreign-born populations. Halifax has both a small foreign-born population and a small share of ethnicity. It does however have a number of ethnic groups represented.

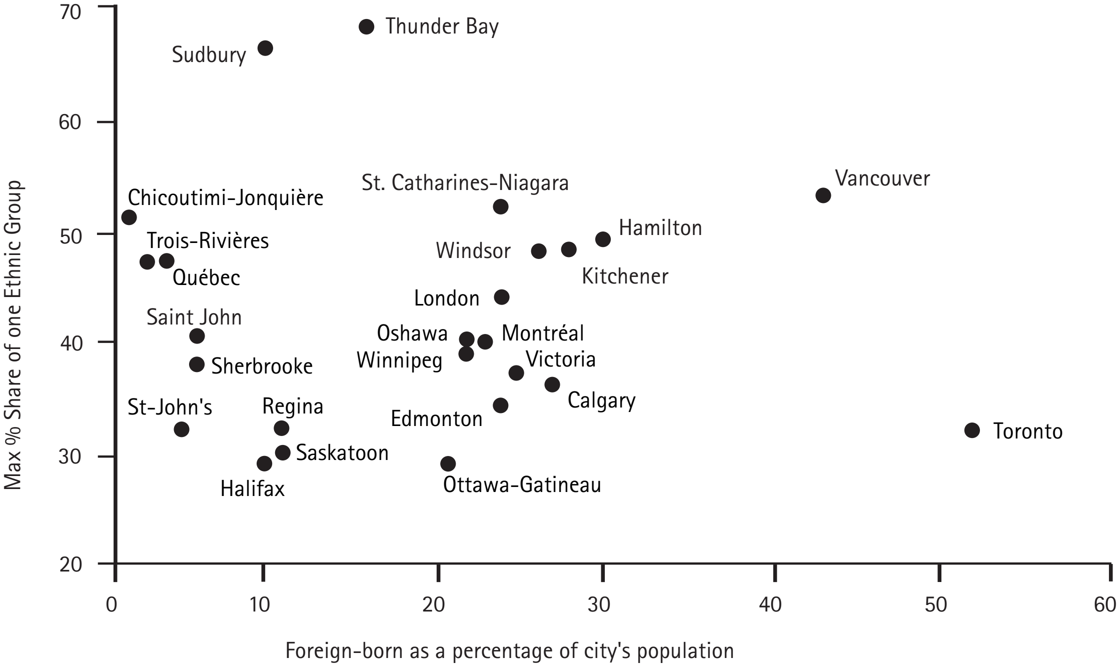
Nova Scotia overall has official blemishes on its record of human rights and inclusion in employment, equality in the delivery of public services and equality in the administration of justice. More generally it has had a reputation for weak public policy and implementation. Several recent premiers (Donald Cameron, John Savage and John Hamm) have devoted attention to the quality of the public service, and strengthened public service policy and delivery.

Beyond settlement, Nova Scotia has not had strong immigration and it has had overall poor retention of immigrants. Premier Hamm has given support and leadership to the new Nova Scotia initiative on immigration. There has been a public discussion on immigration, which has been followed by the establishment of an immigration program and an Office of Immigration led by a highly respected public servant, Elizabeth Mills.

At the same time, human rights are important issues for women, persons with disabilities, African Nova Scotians, visible minority persons more generally, and Aboriginal peoples. Figure 4, from a report for the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission on Trends, shows on what basis people address complaints to the Commission.[6]

FIGURE 3

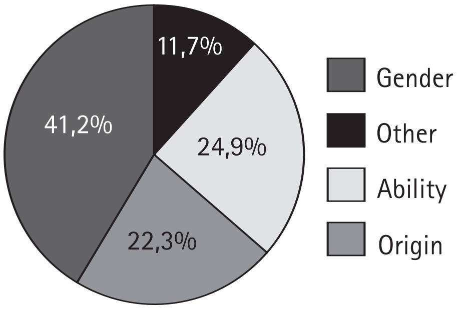
Ethnic diversity in Canadian cities



Source: Statistics Canada, RBC Economics Department

FIGURE 4

Percentage of complaints by general category[7]



Definitions:	**Nova Scotia Human Rights**
Origin:	Aboriginal Origin, Ethnic/National Origin, Race/Colour
Gender:	Sex (Gender), Sexual Harassment, Pregnancy, Sexual Orientation, Marital Status, Family Status
Ability:	Physical Disability, Mental Disability, Irrational Fear
Other:	Religion/Creed, Age, Political, Retaliation, Association, Source of Income

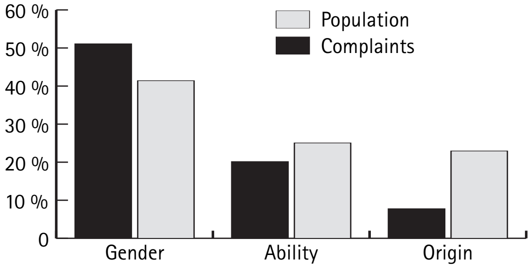
The implications suggested are:

"Over this five-year period, the largest proportion of complaints involves discrimination on the basis of gender in society. This suggests that issues of women's inequality and more generally gender inequality remain an important issue for people in Nova Scotia. The second most frequent complaints involve discrimination on the basis of Aboriginal origin or visible minority status. This includes both women and men. Ability is the third most frequent basis for complaint. It also includes both women and men. Similarly complaints categorised 'other' include both men and women. Both men and women face issues of discrimination on the basis of origin, disability, and affiliation. The point here is not to create a hierarchy of discrimination, but rather to point out that the complaint areas tell a definite 'story' of people, public consciousness and exercising rights. People in Nova Scotia do experience discrimination and this tells us about areas in which we need general social improvement in the way we treat one another in everyday life." (Cassin 2004, p.12)

When the complaints are considered in view of the population distribution, Figure 5, using general categories, gender, disability and origin (visible minority), we can see a pattern of inequality.

FIGURE 5

Human rights track record



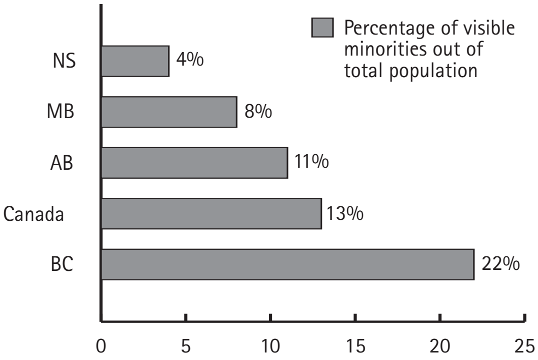
Source: 2001 Census and Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission Annual Reports.

In particular, while visible minorities compose 4% of the population of Nova Scotia, they account for 22% of human rights complaints. Nova Scotia indeed has a comparatively small visible minority population.

As important as who are issuing human rights complaints, is what people bring to the Human Rights Commission. The vast majority of complaints (78.2%) are about employment.[8] This makes human rights an economic as well as social issue for Haligonians.

FIGURE 6

Visible minorities



Source: 2001 Census

The Human Rights Complaint and Census data depict Halifax as a city of current economic prosperity and growth. At the same time it displays patterns of marginalization and inequality in particular for visible minorities and immigrants. Indeed, the same general processes that marginalize women, visible minorities, Aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities, also marginalize immigrants. This encourages visible minority immigrants to move in order to seek more compatible life and work in more diverse environments.

The general issues of equality and inclusion, which we can see in the examination of Canada, are particularly important in Halifax. It is clear that Halifax will have to compete for its labour supply in the future. However, as a result of its record on immigration and human rights, some predict that Halifax will be less able to compete, and the city's vitality and prosperity will decline. This makes equality-seeking public policy and programs timely and meaningful for Halifax.

Employment Equity

Canadian democracy has a number of equality-seeking provisions, these include the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, human rights legislation, administering commissions nationally and in the provinces and territories, and various positive action programs including Employment Equity (EE).

Employment Equity is a strategic approach to encouraging the creation of a national workforce that "looks like Canada," and is particularly representative of designated groups in the population. In addition to the program for the federal departments (of government), there are two Government of Canada EE initiatives, Legislated Employment Equity Programs (LEEP) for federally regulated organizations, and Federal Contractors Program (FCP) for companies doing business with government. These programs require organizations to conduct a workforce census, diversify their workforce in accordance with the Statistics Canada reported population of designated groups, review their employment systems and appoint an employment equity officer.

As discussed earlier, the inclusion of visible minorities and persons of aboriginal origin in the labour force is important for reasons beyond aspirations for social equality. In recognition of the importance of the quality of working experience for visible minorities and persons of aboriginal origin, and the inequality faced in barriers to advancement, HRSDC (Labour) has initiated a program Strategies for a Racism Free Workplace. The program currently includes consultations, education and research.

Here we report upon research conducted on employment equity, race and organizations in Halifax conducted between January and March 2006. The research was contracted by HRSDC (Labour) and sponsored by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre.[9]

Research Design

The research design makes use of work in sociology developed by Dorothy E. Smith (1990, 2004, 2006). In her work on institutional ethnography, she recommends an approach to empirical investigation of relations among people, which takes into account mediating institutional practices embedded in texts, the creation of social consciousness and mediate methods of knowing. Our design treats the interviews and the consultation as opportunities to explore EE and race through the following dimensions:

- How LEEP and FCP are entering and affecting organizations;
- How "leaders" understand and experience LEEP and FCP;
- What challenges and innovations arise for LEEP and FCP organizations as a result of their experience with EE?;
- How unions are being involved in EE and more generally what agendas do they have for social inclusion.

The interviews and consultation are not treated as a survey and the resulting data is not discussed in terms of generalizations. Rather, the interviews and consultation are examined for what they can tell us about the experience and practices of employers, unions and civil society participants with respect to EE.

Field Research

The field research consists of interviews and a half-day consultation. There were 12 interviews, 9 with employers drawn from organizations covered by LEEP and FCP, and 3 with union leaders whose unions have collective agreements in LEEP and FCP organizations. The engagement session brought people together from a variety of organizations and experiences. Many were equity and human rights specialists.

Findings

Implications of difficulty of securing interviews

Most companies and organizations that were approached declined to participate in interviews. The short time frame accounts in part for this. However, the topic EE in general and more particularly race, appear to be the major reasons for declining interviews. Race is a sensitive issue among Halifax employers and EE is not a main priority for employers who declined interviews.

Results from interviews[10]

Summarizing, we can see from the interviews three models of implementation of EE: compliance, reformulation and engagement.

FIGURE 7

Compliance

- Count and report
- Hire HR Specialists
- Increase numbers

Equity Means Compliance

In this model, employers are focusing on meeting the conditions of the law and regulations. They count and report, hire an HR specialist responsible for EE, and attempt to increase numbers as required. For them, equity means (contract) compliance and in this respect, is the same as any other contract requirement.

FIGURE 8

Reformulation

- High Commitment to EE Professinalized HRM
- Do not talk about race
- Focus on healthy workplacce
- Neutral Language

Equity Means Reformulation

In this model, organizations exhibit a high policy commitment to EE and have statements of principle. They include EE with already professionalized human resources management. They report that they do not talk about race but focus upon a healthy workplace and develop neutral language. Here equity means reformulation of inequality issues to develop a language that is neutral and aims to be inclusive.

FIGURE 9

Engagement

- Leadership
- Ideas of 'right thing' or 'good for business'
- Increase numbers
- Mandate HR Specialists
- Innovation

Equity Means Engagement

The model of engagement generally has a lot of leadership from within the organizations. EE is motivated by both practicalities and ethics. While there is a focus on increasing numbers there are broad mandates for HR specialists and a great deal of innovation. Here equity means engagement with the intent of the EE legislation and policy.

Results from consultation

The consultation provided a rich resource of feedback on the research and experience from participants. Highlights of the findings are: racism is a common experience for visible minority employees at work; complaints are low because there is no expectation for action; the data on compliance needs to be explored through employee experience; and "mentality and attitude" are huge barriers to overcome. It is the view of consultation participants that key areas of work include a careful review of hiring and expansion of organizational capacity. They also pointed out that HR professionals' turnover, employee resentment, misunderstanding and conflict are huge limiting factors in making progress. The Canada Revenue Agency and Pier 21 have models that are dynamic and innovative.

Analysis: Implications of models of implementation of equity

The models of equity we can see from the employers suggest a range of results.

FIGURE 10
Implications reformulation

- Highly professinalized HRM
- Limited skills in working with race
- No names for experiences
- Limited organizational learning

Race is and Remains a Sensitive Issue

The reformulation approach is sophisticated and long-term; tacitly, it seeks an organizationally neutral basis for EE. We suggest that the general results of the reformulation approach, from the point of view of race, are at least problematic for employees of colour. The difficulty encountered is that it does not provide a language for the experience of inequality. Race remains unexplored and therefore a sensitive issue. The strength of this approach is that it is seeking to establish a routine practice of organizational inclusion.

FIGURE 11
Implications compliance

- Assume neutrality of workers
- Assume Organizational Culture
- Open to organizational learning

Problem of the main Business

The compliance model assumes both the neutrality of workers and the complexity of the organizational culture. While engaging in EE opens the organization to learning, it is not viewed as part of the main business of the organization. The difficulty that arises in this approach is that other research suggests that EE challenges workplace norms.[11]

FIGURE 12
Implications engagement

- Increase Capacity
- Seek Organizational Learning
- Increase Professinalization of HR

Learning Innovation and Challenges

In the engagement model, the increase in organizational capacity and innovation is most marked; significant benefits are experienced in innovation and learning. Major challenges are also present.

In general, the reformulation approach focuses on fostering neutral language (there is no talk about race, programs for workplace respect and health). The compliance approach focuses on numbers and professionalization of HR, while engagement approach focuses on leadership, skills and innovation.

Outcomes

All models have merit and make contributions. Reformulation is limiting because it contains rather than fosters racial harmony and equity – race remains a sensitive issue. Compliance prevents equity from joining the routine business of the organization. Engagement fosters learning and innovation and may have the unintended consequence of increased complaints for periods of time as people gain the space and confidence to speak of their experience.

What is clear for Halifax is that EE is an initiative bringing change in the area of equality. This is highly desirable for Halifax as a city.

About the authors

MARGUERITE CASSIN is Assistant Professor of Public Administration at the Dalhousie University School of Public Administration, and a specialist in equality studies and the social organization of knowledge.

ANN DIVINE is a human resources manager, a specialist in leadership development on equality and inclusions and a member of the Board of the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association and the YMCA Newcomers Program.

Notes

[1] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books, 2002. Conversely exclusion and oppression are costing cities their vitality as shown in the city rankings provided by Dr. Florida. See rankings on line: http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2001/0205.florida.html.

[2] *The Diversity Advantage: A Case for Canada's 21st Century Economy* (RBC Financial Group, Oct. 20, 2005).

[3] John Porter, *Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

[4] The figures and analysis of census data were prepared by Tamara Krawchenko, M.P.A. 2005, currently a Labour Market Analyst with the N.S. Department of Education.

[5] *The Diversity Advantage: A Case for Canada's 21st Century Economy* (RBC Financial Group, Oct. 20, 2005).

[6] A. Marguerite Cassin, *Trends in Creating Quality of Life in Nova Scotia: Human Rights in Community, Workplace and Governance*. Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, 2004.

[7] Source: Annual Reports, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. The data was organized and presented by Andrea Howard, M.P.A. 2004, currently with the Government of Canada.

[8] A. Marguerite Cassin and Mary Kilfoil, *Brief to Nova Scotia Consultation on Immigration*, 2004.

[9] This work is drawn from our report. A. Marguerite Cassin and Ann Divine, *Employment Equity Initiatives in Race and Inclusion: Progress, Culture and Change in Halifax LEEP and FCP*, Halifax: Atlantic Metropolis Centre, 2006.

[10] The details of the interviews are available in our report.

[11] A Marguerite Cassin, "The Revolving Door of Equity," forthcoming.

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Building on the work of the Political Participation Research Network starting with the Third International Metropolis Conference, Anver Saloojee (Ryerson University) and Anja van Heelsum (University of Amsterdam) collaborated as guest editors for Vol 3. No. 2, which focused on the "Civic Participation by Newcomer Communities." This special issue includes six articles from Belgium, Canada, Israel, the Netherlands and the United States.

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Sherbrooke became the first city to adopt an immigrant reception and integration policy. This policy was the product of several months of consultation and joint deliberation among the various local players involved in receiving and integrating newcomers to Sherbrooke. It enabled the city to set goals, clarify its vision and state its mission, in order to better respond to the needs of immigrants and of the population of Sherbrooke as a whole.

Sherbrooke: A Team Approach to Intercultural Understanding

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Evolving diversity in a changing city

In Quebec in recent years, the regionalization policy of the ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles has assisted the development of new centres of attraction for immigration outside Greater Montréal. The city of Sherbrooke has served as a pilot in this regard, and this has significantly changed the face of the city and its relationship to diversity.

The Sherbrooke area has always known cultural diversity. Historically, it was characterized by an English/French linguistic duality that led its citizens to identify with one or the other of those communities. In the course of the 20th century, immigrants from the United States and Western Europe settled in Sherbrooke and elsewhere in the Eastern Townships, further diversifying its population. After the arrival of the "boat people" in the 1970s, it was in the early 1990s that the flow of immigrants began to swell, bringing newcomers from West and North Africa, the Near and Middle East, the Caribbean, and Latin America to settle in Sherbrooke. The resulting cultural diversification has affected local and municipal activities in recent years.

Our purpose here is to offer a portrait of the city of Sherbrooke, focusing on municipal practices in the management of diversity, the interaction with the groups and associations concerned, and how local stakeholders of various origins view the dynamics of intercultural understanding as experienced in the Sherbrooke area. In discussing "municipal practices in the management of diversity," we can take an original approach to local policies that address immigration and diversity with reference to five key factors in describing how a locality and local stakeholders deal with diversity: 1) the political, consultative and administrative structures put in place by municipalities in relation to diversity; 2) the projects, activities, programs, services and policies proposed in response to ethnic and cultural diversity; 3) the procedures for joint action and partnership shared by the various local stakeholders, including municipal agencies and local administrations; 4) representation of the main players in diversity, integration and local development; and 5) how the effects of these municipal policies, practices and strategies are perceived by those active in the local ethnic, religious and cultural minorities.

For the first three factors, we will describe the findings of a number of studies (Vatz Laaroussi 2004, 2006), including one now under way on municipal practices and the management of diversity (Vatz Laaroussi, Belkhodja, Poirier, Gallant, Garcea: SSHRC, multiculturalism). For the last two factors, we will refer to a recent study of intercultural understanding in Sherbrooke and other localities in Quebec and New Brunswick (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2005), and endeavouring to grasp how those involved believe the kind of understanding that builds a harmonious intercultural social climate can be achieved.

A brief portrait of diversity in Sherbrooke

According to 2005 data, the population of Sherbrooke is 147,426. Of that figure, about 5% are immigrants and refugees. The immigrant population of Sherbrooke represents over 1% of the total immigrant population of Quebec, and the provincial government and municipalities want to increase it substantially in the years ahead.

Sherbrooke's immigrant population has grown and diversified considerably in recent years. In terms of continent of origin, in 2001, 27.3% of the immigrant population was from Africa, followed by Asia, the Americas (over 25%) and Europe (21.6%). Visible minorities constituted almost 3% of the population of Sherbrooke and 39% of its immigrants. They include various groups, the main ones being Black and Latin American, with over 1,000 members apiece, followed by Arab with over 400. According to 2001 Census data, of the 6,295 immigrants in Sherbrooke, 2,985 arrived before 1991 and 3,310 between 1991 and 2001, and the number has been growing strongly over the last five years (about 1,300 arriving each year since 2003). Notable also since the late 1990s – and more so over the last five years – has been the influx of North Africans, who in Quebec account for the second-ranked country of origin (Morocco) and the third (Algeria), and of whom a significant proportion has settled in Sherbrooke as either their first or their second destination. Lastly, there has been a large influx of Colombian refugees since 2000 (now more than 1,000 in Sherbrooke) and refugees and immigrants from the Great Lakes region of Africa (whose numbers are still rising steadily), and a new wave of independent immigrants from Argentina.

In Quebec, the main immigrant classes in order of importance as targeted by the provincial government are independent immigrants, family reunification, and refugees. In Sherbrooke, the proportions are reversed, with refugees forming the most numerous class between 1998 and 2003. However, in accordance with the provincial government's wishes, the number of independent immigrants has increased significantly since 1999, and even more since 2004. There continues to be very few business immigrants. Almost 75% of immigrants are under the age of 50. A majority of those who come to settle in Sherbrooke are active young adults, both male and female, with young children.

Finally, a strong majority of the immigrants and refugees settling in Sherbrooke are highly educated, with professional skills in their respective fields. Moreover, having gone through the textile plant closings of the 1970s, Sherbrooke has now become both a city with a service economy and a university city (more than 20,000 students a year enrol at the Université de Sherbrooke), while also relying on the development of certain high-technology industries. The last five years have seen further closings of a number of medium-sized businesses employing skilled engineering workers and unskilled workers, with the resulting job losses. The unemployment rate is above the Quebec average and rising (the employment assistance rate was 9.5% in 2005). Similarly, like many other regions of the province, the Eastern Townships – l'Estrie –have a negative interprovincial migration balance (157 in 2005), and Sherbrooke's population is ageing (more than 20% is over 65). Thus, while the local context is very active academically and in terms of cultural diversification, it is somewhat stagnant economically and demographically.

Mobilizing municipal stakeholders to support reception and integration

In Sherbrooke, mobilization of all those with a stake in diversity has been based mainly on strategies to welcome and integrate newcomers. A number of ethnic and multiethnic community organizations have been formed to assist their social and economic integration.

In the process of decentralizing immigration authority to the regions of Quebec, a number of specific agreements have been signed in recent years between the Ministère de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles and various regions and cities, including Sherbrooke. In 2004, Sherbrooke thus became the first city to adopt an immigrant reception and integration policy. This policy was the product of several months of consultation and joint deliberation among the various local players involved in receiving and integrating newcomers to Sherbrooke. It enabled the city to set goals, clarify its vision and state its mission, in order to better respond to the needs of immigrants and of the population of Sherbrooke as a whole. The

A society whose development is based in part on the settlement of immigrant families should ensure that the public is made aware of the realities of the migration process, and of the significance of immigration for the future of Quebec.

goals of the policy are "to provide city council and the administration with a tool to support more integrated action in the area of immigration; to show leadership in assisting the city's immigrant population to exercise and enjoy full-fledged citizenship; to develop the city's capacity to receive, integrate and retain immigrants; and to prepare the people of Sherbrooke to live in a more heterogeneous society and to assist them in this process." [*Translation*]

Thus, the City of Sherbrooke seeks to attract, welcome and integrate immigrants, recognizing the richness to be found in ethnocultural diversity and promoting it to the people of Sherbrooke. The aim is to build a community where the process of intercultural exchange is harmonious and where citizens of every origin can enrich each other's lives.

To realize this vision, the City has set out to ensure that the people of Sherbrooke, regardless of origin, have access to city services and city jobs, and to the various areas of municipal life, and to foster the development of a feeling of belonging to the Sherbrooke community, in cooperation with the various parties involved.

The mission is to be realized mainly in four areas of activity: promoting access to city services for immigrants, encouraging representation of immigrants in all areas of municipal activity, fostering closer relations between people of different cultures, and developing partnerships.

The policy is intended to be comprehensive and is designed to mobilize all local stakeholders in raising awareness and opening minds to ethnic and cultural diversity. The action plan to give practical expression to the policy has been slow to emerge (initial presentation scheduled for May 2006, with consultation on the plan to take place from 2007 to 2009), however, two years after its release, it is still an expression more of desire than of reality.

Participation in association activities

The diversification of the origins of the population of Sherbrooke, and the agreements concluded with the City, have been accompanied by the formation of numerous cultural and intercultural community groups. First among them is the newcomer reception and adjustment service (Service d'aide aux néo-Canadiens – SANC). Funded by the ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, it operates with the aid of numerous Canadian-born volunteers but also has a large roster of about 50 interpreters. The service has been in existence for more than 50 years, offering historical evidence of the local interest in immigration. It now employs a small staff, and has a branch that works to enhance immigrant employability. While a number of its workers are Spanish-speaking, the board of directors is still dominated by Quebeckers.

Sherbrooke also has about ten multiethnic associations that have been established since the early 1990s, most of whose directors and members are immigrants. These associations work in the areas of defence of immigrant rights, employment coaching, peer assistance, and social and cultural integration. Some are devoted more specifically to serving certain groups, such as refugees, families and women. There are also a number of ethnic associations whose profiles rise and fall over time, the most active of which since the late 1990s in serving their respective communities have been the Serbs and the Ismaeli Afghans, the oldest in the new wave of immigration. More recently, the Colombian and Argentinian associations have seen strong involvement among newcomers. Lastly, there are also some associations that tend to encompass a number of ethnic communities, such as the AfroCanadian community.

There are also religious groups that incorporate a number of ethnic and cultural communities: the Orthodox Christian churches, evangelical groups, the Université de Sherbrooke Muslim student association, and other Arab and Muslim groups like the Institut du monde arabe et musulman, and the Association culturelle islamique de l'Estrie. There are other community organizations active in the intercultural field or that have members representing cultural communities: street worker groups, organizations serving young families, neighbourhood associations, women's groups and the like. There is thus a proliferation of opportunities for those active in the immigrant community to come together, to get involved and to help each other. Such organizations are, however, social in nature and provide very little if any political representation for immigrants. This is where the line is drawn in public life between groups and associations characterized by cultural diversity, the political world where decisions are made and the world of the caseworker, both of which are still strongly homogeneous. An effort has begun to try to bridge the gap, with the start-up in the fall of 2005, through the efforts of an intercultural community organization, the Rencontre interculturelle des familles de l'Estrie, of a Table de concertation des organismes en interculturel de l'Estrie, which will seek to coordinate the work of intercultural agencies in the Eastern Townships.

The social climate and intercultural understanding in Sherbrooke

What then is the status of the social climate and intercultural understanding as experienced by the various local stakeholders, Canadian-born and immigrant? In Sherbrooke, among members of both groups, intercultural understanding finds a common meaning. It implies recognition of and mutual respect for differences and similarities in the values, principles and behaviour of all concerned. According to the participants, this recognition requires such key elements as an open mind, curiosity, tolerance, time, a sense of humour and the ability to see one's own values as others may see them. While the responsibility is shared by members of the host society and by immigrants, it nevertheless seems that on the whole, local stakeholders attribute the responsibility first to the immigrants, and then to the host society, whereas for immigrants, the effort has to be made first by members of the host society, and then by the immigrants.

In the last 15 years, Sherbrooke has achieved something of a critical mass in the area of immigration. A number of services have been set up and have developed over the years, in an attempt to respond as well as possible to the needs of immigrants, and particularly to those of refugee groups in more recent times. In 2004, the city's immigrant reception and integration policy was added to the existing local initiatives. Gradually, relations between immigrants and the host society have developed mainly within the organizational structures in which such services operate. Intercultural understanding is much more of a group experience than individual-to-individual. When talking about this, local activists refer to failures of intercultural understanding as resulting more from the cultural allegiance of immigrants than from individual personalities as such.

Since the pool of immigrants is fairly large, the concept of cultural community is well established and serves as a benchmark for the collective symbolism that is associated with immigrants. People refer to the Colombian community or the Moroccan community, or people from the former Yugoslavia and so on. Moreover, a number of cultural festivals have come into existence in recent years in Sherbrooke: excellent initiatives for promoting the culture of immigrants and doubtless calculated to develop closer relations between communities. One example is the Festival des traditions du monde, or festival of world traditions, which attracts more and more participants every year. This type of activity promotes culture in the folklore sense of the term and can be an excellent starting point for mutual discovery, but immigrant spokespersons point out that it does not generate genuine dialogue between communities or between individuals, because it tends to portray the culture of others without, however, trying to identify and understand the underlying dynamics. Unless it takes the initiative further, the movement for real intercultural understanding is in serious danger of remaining unproductive. While such events definitely have their place in Sherbrooke, the creation of new spaces in which genuine dialogue can develop is needed so that intercultural understanding can emerge. Despite the efforts of the various bodies involved and those of local agencies, including the municipality, a space for personal as well as intercommunity dialogue leading to mutual recognition has yet to be structured and exploited.

Local activists are fully aware of this and want to learn what immigrants expect of them – what type of collaboration and commitment they seek. They are also aware that there must be a proactive political will in order to achieve better coordination in service delivery and the development of new services for immigrants, but they note the difficulty of moving from political will to the creation of a genuine place for ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in Sherbrooke.

Developing intercultural awareness and education

Immigrants have a good grasp of immigration issues in Quebec and realize that local activists do not always have the means to achieve their goals. They feel, however, that in general there are shortcomings in terms of education about intercultural realities in Quebec. A society whose development is based in part on the settlement of immigrant families should ensure that the public is made aware of the realities of the migration process, and of the significance of immigration for the future of Quebec.

The schools constitute the ideal place to learn about intercultural realities, but collective education of this kind also requires greater awareness in the entire population and specialized training for those who work with immigrants so that their actions are better attuned to the experiences immigrants undergo and to the specific problems they face. The media are also singled out as bearing a large share of the responsibility for educating the citizenry about intercultural relations.

While immigrants have featured more often in local newspapers in the last few years, there is more about what makes them different and the difficulties they face and still too little about their involvement as citizens and their participation in local life. It is all these awareness and collective intercultural education measures that have to be developed if Sherbrooke is to take up the challenge of accommodating and retaining newcomers, and of establishing a harmonious model of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity.

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Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens

CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS
Newcomers, Minorities and Political Participation in Canada
Getting a Seat at the Table
La participation civique des nouveaux arrivants et des minorités au Canada
Se tailler une place à la table
METROPOLIS

Metropolis, the Political Participation Research Network and the Integration Branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada collaborated with the Association for Canadian Studies to produce a special issue of the ACS magazine, *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens*, on the subject of “Newcomers, Minorities and Political Participation in Canada: Getting a Seat at the Table.” Guest edited by John Biles and Erin Tolley (Metropolis Project Team), this issue includes interviews with the leaders of all major federal Canadian political parties (except the Bloc Québécois, which declined an interview), and twenty-two articles by researchers, policy-makers and practitioners from across the country.

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Research on Chinese-American and Korean-American students indicated that students whose families valued the acculturation process, defined as "adapting to the mainstream culture while preserving their language and culture," had superior academic achievement levels to those who were most interested in the assimilation process and who adopted the values and lifestyles of the dominant culture.

Families of Asian Children Adopted by White Parents: Challenges of Race, Racism and Racial Identity in Canada

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International transracial adoption on the increase

In the last decade Canadians adopted 21,973 children from abroad. Over 60% of all international adoptions during this period were from East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia, with China being the number one source (Adoption Council of Canada 2005).

China has also been the leading country of birth among recent adult immigrants to Canada. With the exception of government-sponsored refugees and provincial nominees, adult newcomers to Canada are free to choose where they want to live, and that choice has been overwhelmingly Canada's first-tier cities: Vancouver, Montréal, and Toronto (Krahn 2003: 1).

The vast majority of families choosing to adopt internationally, however, reside outside Canada's largest urban centres. In 2004, close to 70% of families who adopted children internationally were from smaller, much less culturally diverse communities than Vancouver, Montréal and Toronto. Forty per cent of all adopted children found homes in "other regions," which include third-tier cities and rural communities (Adoption Council of Canada 2005).[1]

Research outlining the experiences of Aboriginal children raised outside of their traditional communities in White-adoptive homes documents the problems that can arise when children adopted transracially are raised by middle-class, White parents. Many of these children suffered identity problems, which contributed to an onslaught of personal problems and difficulties connecting with their adoptive families. They also had difficulties relating to mainstream society because they were often discriminated against (Bennet 2002).

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[1] Citizen and Immigration Canada compiles statistics on international adoptions by census metropolitan area. In 2004 data released to the Adoption Council of Canada on May 27, 2005, slightly over 44% of international adoptees were placed in families residing in Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto. Just less than 14% of internationally-adopted children went to second-tier cities identified in these statistics as Québec, Ottawa, Calgary, Hamilton, Edmonton, Gatineau and Winnipeg. Just over 40% moved to smaller centres identified simply by the term "other regions" (Adoption Council of Canada, 2005).

The experiences of many Korean adoptees in North America during the 1950s also confirm the problems that can arise when visible minority children grow up in an almost all-White environment that focuses on assimilation. These children experienced racial prejudice from schoolmates, strangers, or even relatives of their adopted family, and because their families could not shield them from these experiences nor could they adequately understand or support their feelings, many of them experienced an "identity crisis" (Bishoff and Rankin 1997).

Assimilation has other negative effects on individuals who are racially different from the dominant culture. Research on Chinese-American and Korean-American students indicated that students whose families valued the acculturation process, defined as "adapting to the mainstream culture while preserving their language and culture," had superior academic achievement levels to those who were most interested in the assimilation process and who adopted the values and lifestyles of the dominant culture (Lee 2002: 220).

Families with children from China have formed the next "wave" of transracial adoptions across North America. Despite the lessons learned from the difficulties experienced by transracial adoptions in the past, it is still a challenge for adoptive families in Canada, especially outside larger urban centres, to integrate Chinese culture (including language) and strategies to combat racism into their everyday lives.

Understanding "White privilege" and racism

One of the first steps adoptive parents should take to assist their children of colour in developing a positive racial and cultural identity is to acknowledge the concept of "White privilege" because many White people have never considered the benefits of being White. Some are unknowingly, as well as others who are knowingly, the beneficiary of racism (Frankenberg 1993; Tatum 1997).

Holding fast to a perspective that "love is colour blind" ignores the realities of institutional, societal and internalized racism and can be damaging to children. The reality is that White parents lack first-hand experience with racial bias and stereotyping directed towards them. They need to make efforts to understand and anticipate the experiences their children will face with racism (Steinberg and Hall 2000: 17).

For Asian Canadians the most pervasive stereotype is that of the "model minority" – hard workers, really quiet, very intelligent. While this stereotype might initially seem to be a positive and beneficial one, it has negative effects (Lee 2002; Prasso 2005; Tatum 1997). For example, it acts as a way of concealing the needs and problems of Asians in North America who have not experienced success by obscuring the reality of racism in their lives and encourages their silence about it. As Tatum notes: "The process of finding oneself in the face of invisibility, silence and stereotypes is not an easy one" (p. 164). Therefore, she adds, "if educators and parents wish to foster these positive psychological outcomes for the children in our care, we must hear their voices and affirm their identities at school and at home. And we must interrupt the racism that places them at risk" (p. 166).

Patch-work quilt of pre- and post-adoption services

Prior to any adoption, whether it is transracial or not, all prospective families must undergo a "homestudy" to demonstrate their ability to raise children. Practice varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction on how much emphasis, if any, is placed during this assessment on the unique challenges in adopting children of a different race.

It appears clear that most parents and professionals give some recognition to the importance of these issues, but it is less clear about the best ways to acknowledge issues related to race or cultural heritage and the right amount of attention that should be paid. As one scholar has noted, "very limited research exists to inform parents and scholars about the *normal* or average range of thoughts, emotions, and practices of adoptive families on this issue" (Rojewski 2005: 134).

Researchers in the United States have developed a Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale that measures the cultural competence of transracial adoptive parents. Such a tool could be used to assist parents and those involved in assessing their preparedness to parent a child of a race different from their own (Massatti, Vonk, and Gregoire 2004).

Vonk's (2001) definition of cultural competence was used as the basis for the development of this parenting scale. She suggests that there are three components to cultural competence, around which parents need to develop strategies to increase their knowledge and skills: 1) racial

Holding fast to a perspective that "love is colour blind" ignores the realities of institutional, societal and internalized racism and can be damaging to children. The reality is that White parents lack first-hand experience with racial bias and stereotyping directed towards them.

awareness, 2) multicultural family planning, and 3) survival skills (p. 249).

Racial awareness is referred to as the degree to which a person is aware of how race, ethnicity, culture, language, and related power status operate in your own and other's lives. It also includes an awareness of the dynamics of racism, oppression and other forms of discrimination. Multicultural planning refers to the exposure and opportunity for the adopted child to experience and learn about their birth culture. Survival skills are suggested to be the recognition of the need and the ability of parents to prepare their children of colour to successfully cope with racism (Vonk 2001: 249-51).

Some adoption agencies offer educational seminars or workshops to families. For instance, The Children's Bridge, a non-profit, federally incorporated adoption agency based in Ottawa, Canada, now requires that all families adopting through their agency attend a two-day adoption parenting workshop. The "Adopt-Talk" workshop covers such topics as interracial issues in adoptive families; talking to children about adoption; bonding and attachment; and other topics of importance to people adopting internationally and transracially. The Adoption Families Association of British Columbia also offers similar workshops for transracial families.

The Minnesota Department of Health and Human Services has gone further than many provincial or state jurisdictions in educating their adoption case workers and adoptive families by developing a comprehensive workers assessment guide for Families Adopting Cross-Racially or Cross-Culturally. This guide provides social workers with a comprehensive tool to assess the special needs of children placed cross-racially or cross-culturally and the capabilities that are desirable of persons wishing to adopt children of a different race than their own. It also provides suggestions for study techniques parents can undertake to prepare themselves for an assessment (Minnesota Department of Human Services).

Cultural socialization strategies

A number of cultural socialization strategies can be employed by families created through transracial adoption, none of which are mutually exclusive. A strategy that has been rejected by most adoption researchers as not being in the best interest of adopted children is that of cultural assimilation. This approach focuses on downplaying the unique racial and ethnic experiences of transracially-adopted children, and parents practice what Lee (2003) calls a "colorblind" orientation or view of humanity.

Current research suggests that "enculturation" – where children are provided with opportunities to learn about their birth cultures and heritage – is a strategy that more and more White adoptive parents are practicing. Differences within the family are acknowledged and a concerted effort is made to provide educational, social and cultural opportunities to help promote positive ethnic identities and knowledge and pride in their backgrounds (Lee 2002: 722).

Travel to their children's birth country with their children is another way to help promote a positive racial identity, as is choosing to reside in multi-ethnic communities. Of course, such strategies are easier to employ for some families than others. Those living in small, rural communities with predominantly homogeneous White populations often do not have the choice to relocate to a more diverse community, even if this is something they recognize would be beneficial to their children. And of course, those families with more financial means have a greater ability to travel and expose their children to their birth culture than families from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Twine 2004: 893-894).

Another strategy which can be employed to assist children manoeuvre through the complex realities of being a member of a transracial family and being a visible minority is that of "racial inculcation," where children are actively taught coping skills on how to deal with racism and discrimination. Even more limited research has been done in this area (Lee 2003: 722).

Prominent social worker and adoptive parent Jane Brown recommends that transracial adoptive families address attitudes on race early, consistently and head on:

> "Sometimes parents want to celebrate, even exoticize, their child's culture, without really dealing with race ... It is one thing to dress children up in cute Chinese dresses, but the children need real contact with Asian-Americans, not just waiters in restaurants on Chinese New Year. And they need real validation about the racial issues they experience." (Brown, as cited in Clemetson 2006: 13-14)

Again, regular contact with Asian-Canadians is not an option for most families living in third-tier cities, let alone small towns and rural communities.

A fourth socialization strategy has also emerged in recent years. This has been referred to as the "Child Choice" strategy where parents adjust their socialization efforts according to their children's interests and wishes. They may initially provide their children with cultural opportunities but ease off on this once their children get older and begin expressing their own opinions on what activities they wish to engage in (Lee 2003: 723).

Challenges in developing healthy racial identities in smaller communities

How can transracial adoptive families practice "enculturation" when they live in communities that are not culturally diverse? If they live in smaller centres or rural communities that do not have the same kind of access to cultural activities and there are fewer opportunities for their families to get involved with members of their birth culture, will this have a negative effect on their self-image or racial identity?

Does a child from a visible minority growing up in a culturally diverse community in the Greater Toronto Area, Vancouver or Montréal have a proportionately higher chance of developing a healthy identity than the child living in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, Corner Brook, Newfoundland and Labrador, or Brooks, Alberta? If a child adopted transracially attends a predominantly White school will that have a negative effect on his or her identity? Will he or she suffer greater racism than if he or she were to live in a more diverse community and attend more diverse schools?

Families with Children from China chapters and some of the larger adoption agencies and other associations offer a variety of programs that serve the best interest of transracial adoptive families. Outside the major centres, however, families are largely left on their own, with little or no opportunity for guidance or support. Families with financial means may be able to go on homeland visits with their children, hire private Chinese caregivers or attend culture camps or educational events in larger centres. Families of more modest backgrounds, even if they do live in more culturally diverse cities, are often less able to participate in such activities.

Worse yet are the situations where families are *not* concerned about these issues – White parents and those in the adoption profession that believe race is not an issue for adopted Chinese children. These are the families that need to be reached out to. Families need to be properly educated about the unique challenges of raising children of a race different from their own prior to the adoption occurring. They also need to be provided additional support to help them support their children as they raise them. Currently, the lack of pre- and post-adoption services throughout the country seem to be failing to meet the needs of a new generation of transracially adopted children.

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It is customary for Canadians to visit Detroit for music and sports – we all support the Detroit Red Wings – and for Detroiters to come to Canada to "trick or treat" at Halloween or walk in the parks because Windsor is perceived to be safer and more racially tolerant.

Being Accountable on the Big Stage: Joining the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination*

MELINDA MUNRO
City of Windsor

On March 21, 2006, Windsor, Ontario signed a Declaration of Intention to join the UNESCO Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination. Taking this step represented both the end and the beginning of a complex community development process. For other municipalities considering joining the Coalition, I want to describe the experience in Windsor with a view to opening a dialogue on best practices in development and implementation of municipal diversity policy.

Windsor, Ontario is a municipality with a population of 224,500. It is the largest city in Essex County, representing approximately 55% of the area population. The city is also one of the only places in Canada that is actually south of a portion of the northern United States territory. Metropolitan Detroit has approximately 5 million people in its catchment area. The City of Detroit proper is 951,000, of whom 81% are African American.

Windsor, from its beginnings in the 18th century, has developed as a major transportation and manufacturing hub and as a result has been an immigrant receiving city for a very long time. The 2001 Census determined that Windsor is the fourth most ethnoculturally diverse city in Canada, representing a broad diversity of European cultures who came to the area after the Second World War. New immigrants are now more likely to hail from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Windsor continues to be a popular destination for immigration due to its continued connection with manufacturing, its university and its proximity to Detroit. One can be a Canadian citizen while enjoying the benefits of a large market catering to a variety of specific ethnocultural wants and needs.

Proximity to Detroit also highlights the risks of diversity gone wrong. While Detroit has ably tried to overcome the history of the riots of the 1960s, the events of that time remain in the consciousness of residents of Windsor and Essex County. As well, Windsor and Essex County are blanketed with American media, which tend to paint issues of diversity as having only three faces: Black, White and Hispanic. Therefore, the American discourse about race relations flavours the debate about diversity in Windsor.

Windsor, however, remains staunchly Canadian and markets itself as Canada's Gateway and a good neighbour to Detroit and Michigan. One

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* The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Corporation of the City of Windsor.

> *The City and region have been closely aligned to the manufacturing and domestic North American auto industries. [...] The region has faced a downturn in investment and employment. immigration and diversity will be one aspect of a resurgent economy through development of a workforce that can attract investment by being multicultural, multilingual and "creative."*

interesting manifestation of this relationship is that Windsor and Detroit jointly celebrate Canada Day and Independence Day by having a fireworks festival on the Detroit River. The festival commences with two helicopters doing a fly past, each with the nation's respective flag accompanied by competitive cheering. It is customary for Canadians to visit Detroit for music and sports – we all support the Detroit Red Wings – and for Detroiters to come to Canada to "trick or treat" at Halloween or walk in the parks because Windsor is perceived to be safer and more racially tolerant.

Windsor embraced Official Multiculturalism in the 1970s like much of the rest of Canada. For the past 30 years, Windsor has celebrated a festival known as the Carrousel of Nations that takes place over three weekends in June. One weekend is celebrated along the Detroit River with music, food, and vendors or information booths. The following two weekends are celebrated through local "villages," providing distinct ethnocultural experiences of cultural arts, food and information. The villages are located throughout the city. Some are in community centres and others in neighbourhoods that have been traditionally populated by particular ethnocultural groups. For example, Via Italia, also known as Erie Street, is an area that has been the traditional heart of Windsor's Italian-Canadian community. The Carrousel is often pointed to when people comment on the success of Windsor's diversity.

In the same era, Windsor City Council formed a Race Relations Committee that is now called the Race and Ethnocultural Relations Committee. The role of the committee is to advise City Council on matters of cultural diversity and conflict as well as to act as a pressure valve of sorts when issues of racial conflict or harassment arise in the community. The work of the committee has waxed and waned over the years but is currently quite strong. Even in the times when the committee was not particularly active, the members of the committee, chosen by the community, still felt strongly that the committee should remain in existence. In 2005, the Committee created a brand for Windsor's diversity policy, called "One City, One People." This brand has been very well received in the community and is increasingly incorporated into political speeches.

Windsor continues to be an ethnoculturally diverse community. In 2001 the population makeup was 17% visible minorities, 35 distinct faith groups, 60 language groups[1] and approximately 30% of residents with a non-official first language. About 30% of adult Windsor residents are also first-generation immigrants.[2] It is anticipated that these numbers will have increased by the 2006 census. One interesting statistical note is that more migrants come to Windsor from out of Canada than from within Canada.

UNESCO Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination

In March 2004 the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) launched the Coalition of Cities Against Racism initiative, with a goal of establishing regional coalitions in Africa, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean, Arab States, Asia-Pacific and Europe. The initiative was to focus on the intractable international problem of racism; despite international treaties, national charters and policies like Official Multiculturalism, racism still persists.[3]

In 2005, the Committee for UNESCO in Canada developed a Call for a Canadian

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[1] Anecdotal information from the Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County suggest that this number is now well over 100.

[2] Statistics Canada, Census 2001.

[3] Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Policy and Guidelines on Racism and Racial Discrimination*, June 2005 (http://www.ohrc.on.ca).

[4] Canadian Commission for UNESCO, *Call for a Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination*, January 2006.

Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination. The Ten Common Commitments of Coalition cities represent, in large measure, areas within the sphere of influence of a Canadian municipal government.[4]

COMMITMENT 1: Increase vigilance against systemic and individual racism and discrimination.

COMMITMENT 2: Broaden accountability and monitor racism and discrimination in the municipality and monitor municipal actions taken to address racism and discrimination.

COMMITMENT 3: Increase support for people who experience racism and discrimination.

COMMITMENT 4: Inform and involve all residents in anti-racism initiatives and decision-making.

COMMITMENT 5: Support measures to promote equity in the labour market.

COMMITMENT 6: Provide equal opportunities as an employer, service provider and contractor.

COMMITMENT 7: Support measures to challenge racism and discrimination in housing and implement measures to promote diversity and equal opportunity.

COMMITMENT 8: Support measures to challenge racism and discrimination in the education sector, as well as in other forms of learning, and promote diversity and equal opportunity.

COMMITMENT 9: Promote respect, understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity and the inclusion of Aboriginal and racialized communities into the cultural fabric of the municipality.

COMMITMENT 10: Support policing services in their efforts to be exemplary institutions in the fight against racism and discrimination.

Windsor's consensus process and experience: Testing the community and political will

Windsor was first approached to consider joining the Canadian Coalition in the summer of 2005. Between June 2005 and March 2006, a process was developed to explore whether this was the right decision for Windsor at this time.

It is tempting to wonder how joining a Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination can, at any time, be a bad decision. However, if the commitments are to be real and not lip service, then the political will must exist to implement the commitments and the community must be willing to participate and provide an effective critique of the municipal action.

Testing the political will had already begun with the decision to hire a Diversity and Accessibility Officer in 2005. By doing so, Council had telegraphed its interest in exploring how to have a more directed approach to the diverse makeup of the community and the potential for different or increased issues of racism. In addition to informal discussions with individual council members about the nature of the Coalition and the commitments, the matter was taken before the Race and Ethnocultural Relations Committee for discussion and advice to Council. When the committee discussed the issues in detail, it was quite clear that there would be a great deal of community support for the councillors if they took this decision.

One potential stumbling block to political support for the initiative was the matter of money. UNESCO is quite clear that its role is to provide networking opportunities and provide benchmarking research, but not to financially support the implementation of the Ten Common Commitments. It was therefore important for obtaining support to link the joining of the Coalition to other local economic development initiatives. As noted earlier, the City and region have been closely aligned to the manufacturing and domestic North American auto industries. As a result of many economic factors, the region has faced a downturn in investment and employment. The current City Council believes that immigration and diversity will be one aspect of a resurgent economy through development of a workforce that can attract investment by being multicultural, multilingual and "creative" in Richard Florida's parlance.[5] Therefore, while there would not be financial support for the initiative from UNESCO, the initiative itself could be seen to be an economic driver.

After having obtained a motion in support from the Race and Ethnocultural Relations Committee, a report was placed before Council requesting support to form an ad hoc working group of institutional partners representing those bodies who would, in large measure, be responsible for the implementation of the Ten Common Commitments. The purpose of the committee would be to test the community support for signing the Declaration of Intent.

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[5] R. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

The institutional partners included the Windsor Police Service, the University of Windsor, St. Clair College, the local school boards – Catholic, public and francophone –, the public library, various city departments, the Chamber of Commerce, the local Labour Council, local housing providers and activists and the local immigrant support agencies. The ad hoc group reviewed the Ten Common Commitments and offered to provide letters of support to the Mayor and Councillors indicating their willingness to participate in the implementation process.

Measuring community support involved further consultation with the Race and Ethnocultural Relations Committee and the committee that organizes the Carrousel of Nations. One advantage of Windsor being a small city is that most of the organizations that represent different aspects of the ethnocultural community are present at one or the other of these bodies. There was opposition from neither of these groups. However, they did indicate that it would be essential to have a grassroots group whose role would be to provide an ongoing critique of the success of the initiative.

Concurrently, copies of the Commitments were also distributed widely at the Carrousel of Nations that was attended by several thousand people.

Subsequent to these events, a motion was placed before City Council to have the Mayor sign the Declaration of Intention to join the Canadian Coalition. This motion passed without discussion.

At a media conference on March 21, Mayor Eddie Francis publicly signed the Declaration and delivered it to David Walden, Secretary General of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO and Barbara Hall, Chief Commissioner of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Next steps

As was noted earlier in this piece, the signing was both the beginning and the end of the process. In reaching the point of signing the Declaration, we ended the process of testing the political will and community support. It was clear that Windsor wanted to be part of the Coalition and, in fact, have somewhat of a leading role. Windsor is the second Canadian city to express an intention to join the Coalition and the first city in Ontario.

The signing was also the beginning. We are now developing a process of implementation and critique.

In response to the request of the community, we have put out a call for people to participate on a grassroots panel to respond to the efforts of the municipality. We have also recalled the ad hoc group of institutional partners to formulate a workplan for identifying areas where we are already working well, where we have gaps and what issues are priorities.

In parallel with this process, the City has engaged in some related efforts. The Race and Ethnocultural Relations Committee is developing a Diversity Plan to coordinate municipal efforts on inclusion. The Mayor has created a Youth Advisory Council that makes diversity one of its priorities. As well, the Mayor is developing a Taskforce on Workforce Development with a particular focus on immigration, skills recognition and investment. These steps will partially fulfill Windsor's obligations under the Ten Common Commitments.

Critique of the process to date

The Canadian Coalition exists to combat racism and discrimination. Yet, because of the emphasis on racism, it has been difficult to remember the words "and discrimination" during this process. Although much effort went into obtaining the consent of the ethnocultural community, none went into consulting with women's groups, the gay and lesbian community or people with disabilities. Yet, the Ten Common Commitments do not distinguish between groups but call municipalities to act against discrimination against all historically disadvantaged people.

In moving forward, therefore, it will be essential to broaden the participation of both institutional partners and grassroots groups. As well, it will be essential to examine issues of intersectionality – how does racism interact with sexual orientation or disability to further marginalize people in the community?

Because these groups were not included in the initial consultation, obtaining consensus may be more difficult. Yet, it presents a unique opportunity to form a local coalition with groups who have been historically marginalized.

Best practices and lessons learned

One of the principal local concerns prior to signing the Declaration was: what would happen if we fail and how would we know? By creating a grassroots committee, we are offering the community a qualitative voice in determining success. But how else does one measure? Counting the number of complaints of racism or discrimination is one way; however, an increase in complaints can mean success because people now have an effective voice. Counting the number of programs developed within the Ten Common Commitments is another way, but it is not the volume but the quality of programming that works to alleviate systemic problems. Counting heads within organizations is yet another way, but counting heads assumes that administrators or elected officials are exclusively driven by their skin colour, gender or other personal characteristics.

Evaluating success or failure and the measuring tape will have to be multifactorial. This is part of the benefit of a coalition approach where UNESCO can coordinate the sharing of best practices and discourse.

Suppose we were to decide as a community that we have failed or that we no longer wish to belong, there is an essential irony contained within the initiative. There would be no financial implication to dropping out, but the political consequences would be huge. No one expects to backtrack; however, if the Coalition creates an environment in which there is no politically legitimate way to voluntarily cease membership, will it someday lose credibility because its members include some obvious failures?

The City of Windsor is very excited about being present at the creation of this Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination. There is no expectation here that there will be failure. In fact, participation in the development of benchmarks and the testing of ideas in the community is one way that the city believes it will further promote a creative, respectful, diverse and economically vibrant community.

While the proportion of immigrants to the Canadian-born population seems an obvious indicator, it is important not to get lost in the seductive language of statistics. We must not discount the importance of relatively small numbers in relatively small places.

Immigration-Fueled Diversity in Canada: Implications for Our Second- and Third-Tier Cities*

BARRY HALLIDAY
Metropolis Project

Canada's pattern of recent immigration[2] (1985-2001) has changed the face of its major urban areas. This is because recent immigration has almost doubled Canada's total immigrant population, and it has contributed to a significant increase in the number of different countries whose nationals now call Canada home. The implications for Canadian cities are many. Perhaps the most significant implication is that the successful adaptation of Canadian society will require the ongoing negotiation of the day-to-day lives of our cities as they are re-worked in the image of our ever-evolving population. With increasingly diverse populations in terms of ethnic, linguistic, and religious characteristics, our cities are tasked with pursuing local social and economic development in an increasingly complex environment. Successful cities are likely to be those that are able to attract, retain, and support the development of a diverse citizenry. This is not just about Talent,[3] but about providing opportunities and support for the whole range of a city's population, from the best and brightest to those who may require more intensive support to meet their day-to-day needs. Various approaches will emerge, but inclusion and innovation must be central to all.

Immigration to Canada

Recent immigration has contributed to almost a doubling in size of Canada's total immigrant population. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2005a: 1), "[i]n 2001, there were 2.5 million people living in Canada who had immigrated after 1985 from just about every country in the world. These 'recent immigrants' make up 46% of Canada's 5.4 million immigrants, and 8.4% of Canada's population of 29.6 million." The story gets more interesting when it comes to how the newcomer population is geographically distributed, particularly since "immigration especially benefits population growth in a limited number of provinces and metropolitan areas." (Beaujot 2003: 8) It is well-known that Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver together account for more than 70% of recent immigrants, representing approximately 10%, 30%, and 26% of the Canadian-born populations of these cities, respectively (CIC 2005a: 10). Of course these figures are larger if we include pre-1985 immigrants. If we simply look at where immigrants are settling, then our three largest urban centres seem to be of eminent importance. But if we adjust our perspective to look at the proportion of recent immigrants relative to the Canadian-born population we begin to see a large number of Canadian urban centres emerging as key players in the ongoing social and economic transformation of Canadian society through immigration.

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* The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Metropolis Project or Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

[1] See RIM's annual report at www.rim.net/investors/pdf/2005rim_ar.pdf.

[2] All reference to "recent immigration" is drawn from Citizenship and Immigration Canada figures, which define this period as that between the 1986 and 2001 censuses.

[3] This is a reference to Richard Florida's three Ts: Talent, Technology, and Tolerance (see Florida's November 13, 2000 piece, available at www.informationweek.com). My argument differs from Florida's in that my focus is not only on those diverse citizens with high levels of education and/or skills but on the whole range of characteristics that comprise the diverse citizenry of contemporary Canadian cities.

Immigration to Canada's other urban centres

Massive numbers of immigrants are not settling in Canadian urban centres outside of Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, but that does not mean that these flows are not significant in terms of the impact on the local populations where they settle. Consider the number of cities across Canada where the foreign-born comprise more than 15% of their total population. This group includes Hamilton (23.6%), Windsor (22.3%), Kitchener (22.1%), Abbotsford (21.8%), Calgary (20.9%), Victoria and London (18.8% each), Edmonton and St. Catharines-Niagara (17.8% each), Ottawa-Gatineau (17.6%), Winnipeg (16.5%), and Oshawa (15.7%) (Justus 2004: 46). Not surprisingly, most of these urban centres boast some of Canada's leading universities, colleges, and technical training institutes, and have seen strong employment growth over the last twenty or so years. The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada supports the attractiveness of strong economies to recent immigrants. It suggests that immigrants predominantly make their settlement choice on the basis of the presence of family and friends[4] for Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, but for other centres, employment prospects are at least as important. That recent immigrants rarely settle beyond these centres is likely because "if there were substantial economic opportunities for immigrants and members of minority groups in non-metropolitan communities, we would already be seeing a mass movement towards them." (Hiebert 2005: 17)

While the proportion of immigrants to the Canadian-born population seems an obvious indicator, it is important not to get lost in the seductive language of statistics. We must not discount the importance of relatively small numbers in relatively small places. For instance, the Atlantic Provinces have both a relatively small percentage of the Canadian-born population and a relatively small proportion of immigrants. In 2001, there were 24,400 immigrants relative to the Canadian-born population of 329,600 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Put another way, about 7.5% of Halifax's population in 2001 were immigrants. At the national level, Halifax's proportion of Canada's total immigrants is miniscule at less than 0.5% (CIC 2005a: 10), but diversity isn't lived at the national level and absolute numbers matter absolutely. To make the point, Research in Motion, a high-tech firm with profits of $200 million in 2005 had only 3,500 employees worldwide that same year.[5] It is not hard to see that a small number of people with the right skills and support network can make a significant difference. The importance of this seems all the more pressing given that Halifax received around 1,000 international students in 2005 (CIC 2006: 11), and the restrictions on off-campus work have been lifted, effective this summer.[6]

Some manifestations of diversity

One of the impacts of Canada's immigration program bringing newcomers from all over the world is that our population has become more diverse. This is predominantly an urban phenomenon, which has many facets. The growth in the visible minority population is particularly striking. In 2001, there were about four million visible minorities, of which around 95% lived in Canada's major urban centres (Statistics Canada 2005: 22). By 2017, the number of visible minorities could grow to anywhere between about 6.3 million and 8 million, or an increase between 56.4% and 111.3%. This is compared to the growth of the rest of the Canadian population, which sits between 8% and 19.3% respectively (Statistics Canada 2005: 11). In some cities, the definition of visible minority will be seriously challenged, particularly since the uptake of Canadian citizenship is prevalent amongst the vast majority of eligible immigrants.[7] For instance, Chinese and South Asian groups are projected to be between 1.6 million and 2.2 million, each, by 2017; in Vancouver alone they will represent 23% and 10% of the total metropolitan population. All visible minorities will represent just under half of its total population (Statistics Canada 2005: 14). We would hope that with these trends, "the visibility of ethnic minorities disappears." (Pendakur 2005: 4)

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[4] See the September 4, 2003 edition of Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, for more information. This can be accessed at www.statcan.ca/english/dai-quo/.

[5] See RIM's annual report at www.rim.net/investors/pdf/2005rim_ar.pdf.

[6] On April 27, 2006, the Honourable Monte Solberg announced that agreements had been reached with most provinces for the lifting of off-campus work restrictions for international students. See www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/06/0601-e.html for more details.

But diversity is not just about visible differences. Immigration has also increased Canada's religious diversity significantly. Between 1991 and 2001, "the number of people identifying as Buddhist increased by 84% and the proportion of persons reporting Hindu and Sikh faith each increased by 89%. Those who identified as Muslim recorded the most significant increase, more than doubling from 253,000 in 1991 to nearly 580,000 in 2001." (Janhevich and Ibrahim, 2004: 50) To put it bluntly, "[r]eligious diversity is growing at a breakneck pace." (Biles and Ibrahim 2005: 68) This growth is likely to continue. Statistics Canada projections show that by 2017, (using 2001 as a base year) the Canadian Muslim population could grow by between 111.5% and 207.8%. The projections for the Buddhist, Sikh, and Hindu faiths are also significant, particularly when compared to Christian affiliations and those reporting no religious affiliation (2005: 18). It is not surprising that like immigration in general, these 'new' religions are establishing themselves in Canada's major urban centres, and this will mean engaging in discussions over use of public space, and the recognition of religious holidays, among others. The languages that we use to engage in such discussions may need to change also. With the increasing number of countries that form Canada's immigration watershed also comes an increasing number of languages other than English or French as mother tongues.

A diverse landscape in our second- and third-tier cities

Current and future trends in the development of diversity in Canada are perhaps easier to discern when we focus on specific places. This is because diversity will manifest itself differently across the major urban centres in which the majority of Canada's immigrant population is settling. This is true in terms of the proportion of total immigrants relative to the Canadian-born population, the number and size of the ethnic groups represented, their share of the growth of the recent immigration cohort, and their projected share of future immigration cohorts. Take Calgary for example. In the last fifteen years, it has welcomed immigrants from more than thirty different countries. The largest groups among these recent immigrants include almost 9,000 from the People's Republic of China, 8,500 from India, 6,500 from Hong Kong, 8,800 from the Philippines, 3,700 from Poland, 5,500 from Viet Nam, 2,700 from Pakistan (CIC 2005a: 13). What is more, while Calgary's immigrant population stands at 20.9% of the total population, more than 12% of this number were added in the fifteen years between 1986-2001 (CIC 2005a: 13). That is quite a significant increase.

The picture across certain cities is quite different however, and it is useful when reading this to keep in mind that the immigrant population in Canada increased by just under 40% between 1986 and 2001 (CIC 2005e: 1). Using Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) profiles, we can see how recent immigration has affected each city differently. Winnipeg's immigrant population declined by 3% between 1985-2001 despite a 9% growth in its Canadian born-population (CIC 2005h: 1). Regina also experienced a decline, albeit more dramatic at 20%, relative to its Canadian-born increase of 5% (CIC 2005f: 1). Victoria saw an increase of 9%, but this was far over-shadowed by its growth in Canadian-born population of 25% (CIC 2005g: 1). Hamilton was slightly higher with 15% growth, relative to the Canadian-born population growth rate of 19% (CIC 2005c: 1). Quebec City saw an increase in its recent immigration population of 44% relative to growth in its Canadian born population of 12% (CIC 2005e: 1). Ottawa's recent immigration population increased by 65%, contributing over 33% to Ottawa's total population growth over that period (CIC 2005d: 1). The effects of

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[7] See CIC (2005: 4): nationally, the rate is about 80%, although this figure varies considerably by foreign-born.

With increasingly diverse populations in terms of ethnic, linguistic, and religious characteristics, our cities are tasked with pursuing local social and economic development in an increasingly complex environment. Successful cities are likely to be those that are able to attract, retain, and support the development of a diverse citizenry.

immigration then are really quite uneven. Some cities have experienced dramatic increases, while others have seen a decline.

Similarly, within the flows (whether to or from) these cities, there are significant differences in terms of what countries of last permanent residence are represented, and in terms of the category under which the immigrants entered Canada. Ottawa is home to a quarter of the total Somali population of recent immigrants resident in Canada, as well as large communities from Lebanon, Ethiopia and Haiti (CIC 2005d: 7). 18% of Winnipeg's total immigrant population, or around 20,000 people, are Filipino (CIC 2005h: 6). If we look to Hamilton, we see a relatively large grouping of recent immigrants from South-Eastern Europe. Of the total recent immigrant cohort in Canada, Hamilton is home to 13.2% from Croatia, 8.8% from Yugoslavia, 7.2% from Bosnia and Herzegovinia (CIC 2005c: 7). While this is just a sampling and belies the great diversity present in each of these and other Canadian cities, it does show that each city has a distinct profile of Canadian immigrants.

Similarly, there is also difference between cities in terms of the respective distribution amongst the available categories for immigration. While Economic immigrants formed a relatively stable and growing component of recent immigration growth across a number of Canadian cities, refugee flows were less consistent. During 1996-2000, refugee landings represented a very small proportion of total immigration flows in Victoria (5%) and Calgary (10%). This is compared to approximately 35% in Quebec City and Regina.[8] The significance of this difference is that "[r]efugees are expected to take longer to adjust to their new environment than any of the three other [immigrant] categories." (CIC 1998: 11) A point that is borne out by DeVoretz et al. (2004: 25) who, in looking at the economic experiences of refugees, found that even though employed refugees do well on average, poverty is widespread, particularly for those who receive social assistance. This is not to say that other immigrants are not without their own challenges.

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) shows that of immigrants aged 25-44, there was a significant difference in their employment rate relative to the Canadian-born population of the same-age. At 26 weeks after landing the difference was 30%, 23% after 52 weeks, and 18% after 104 weeks. If we look at whether or not this employment was in their intended occupation, we see that only 48% found employment in their intended occupations (Statistics Canada 2005: 8-9)[9]. This means that nationally, fewer able recent immigrants are working relative to the Canadian population, and less than half of these are working in their intended occupation. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) adds another dimension to the employment outcomes of immigrants. They found that "the gap between immigrant and non-immigrant unemployment rates was the highest in the cities with the greatest number of immigrants." (2004: 11) Similar to LSIC, the FCM also recognizes the problem of underemployment.

Local inclusion and innovation

The figures presented in the previous sections of this paper represent of course the tip of the iceberg. They demonstrate that many Canadian cities have undergone a rather dramatic increase in terms of their diversity. Furthermore, they demonstrate that each city has a different "package" of diversity. But what does this actually mean for the day-to-day life of these cities? Sandercock (2003: 3) reminds us that the "great danger is that difference will further fracture, fragment, splinter the fragile urban fabric as new demands for rights to the city emerge: rights to a voice, to participation, and to co-existence in the physical spaces of the built environment, which are then opposed by those who feel too threatened by the disruption to their accustomed way of life." So the challenge that face Canada's second- and third-tier immigrant-receiving cities, not just for their immigrant populations but for the whole population, is providing the space to negotiate these new demands for rights to our cities.

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[8] See Table B-3 Recent immigrants by period of immigration – landings by immigration category for more information. This is available in a series of CMA profiles produced by CIC available at www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/menu-recent.html.

[9] This is not, of course, to argue that a similar situation is not place for the Canadian-born population. It is merely intended to demonstrate that even with relatively low employment rates, those who are employed may not be working in their intended occupations.

This negotiation comprises the integration process, and shapes not only the relationship between the host society and newcomers, but also the social and economic dynamics of the city more broadly. It is important to remember that the relationship between the host society and newcomers is unequal; "[t]he receiving society, in terms of its institutional structure and the way it reacts to newcomers has much more to say in the outcome of the process [of integration]." (Penninx 2003: 1) This is very likely because "many immigrants and members of visible minority groups enter Canadian, or 'mainstream,' society from a position of economic vulnerability." Hiebert (2005: 19) This is true as a group, but as the FCM has shown, there is also "evidence that there are growing income gaps between recent and longer term immigrants, [as well as] immigrants from different countries or areas." (2003: 4) A blanket approach would seem unlikely to work given the disparity not only between the host society and the immigrant population, but also even within the immigrant population.

What is needed, according to Papademtriou (2003: 3), is that "the rules on 'who belongs' and how public goods are distributed be constantly re-examined." Given the social and demographic changes that accompany recent immigration in our cities, it would seem that this is not so much a necessity as it is an eventuality. But our success in doing so will affect our international standing. After all, how can we propose ourselves as a functioning, multi-ethnic and democratic society while at the same time failing to create the conditions where multiple ethnicities can participate fully in the daily life of cities? What is more, if we are increasingly reliant upon the immigrant population for its contributions to our economic, social and demographic development, how are we to remain competitive if we are unable to see to their integration? Complacency is the enemy of innovation, and this applies as much to cities' adaptation to an increasingly diverse population as anything else.

Time and time again, however, Canadian cities have demonstrated their ability to adapt to the changing circumstances before them. Globalization placed enormous strain on our cities, but they adapted by identifying local comparative advantages, making smart investments, and mobilizing their populations towards a common vision. There is no reason why we should believe the same will not occur with respect to the integration of recent immigrants. Many of them have become Canadian citizens and they deserve not only the right but the means to fully participate in the shaping of the cities which they call home. The implications of this are of course far-reaching. The education system, health and social services, community associations, employers, recreational facilities and associations, and other local level services are all at the front-line of the integration process. This is because these institutions are integral to the success of our cities. If they are unable to address the needs of an increasingly large segment of our cities' population, these institutions will fail to enable success, both of its residents and of the city itself.

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People who experience exile acquire a variety of knowledge, even under difficult circumstances: languages, trades, basic technology, life and work experiences in intercultural and international environments … recognizing the learning, knowledge and resources reinforces migrants' capacity for resilience, fosters participation in their new society and enhances the quality of intercultural communication in the host society.

Migration and Mediation in Québec City*

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The province of Quebec has grown through population immigration and now relies on "replacement immigration"[1] to maintain its demographic weight and Francophone cultural identity within Canada. The province must counter internal migratory movements toward urban centres, the drop in the birth rate to below the reproduction threshold, and the ageing of the population. Immigration to the regions has occurred primarily by assigning regional destination to refugees arriving in the province.

The Québec City area is particular in several respects. The image of a homogenous French population in the regional county municipality of Québec City obscures the fact that its history, institutions and urban landscape are characterized by remarkable cultural diversity. In the 19th century and even at the beginning of the 20th, in some parts of the city, particularly the upper town (Haute Ville), Québec City was as English and Irish as it was French, if not more so (Grace 2001). As part of the immigration regionalization policy, immigrants in the "Refugee Class" were directed to the regions and to medium-sized cities with a low immigrant population, including the Québec City region. Many immigrants that were part of the "Family Class" went through forced migration before joining family members who had arrived before them. In the relatively long-term, the rate of retention among these immigrants is low (Manço 2001). Although the proportion of immigrants is commonly around 3% in the Québec City region (Bélanger 2003), there is a constant back-and-forth movement resulting from arrivals and departures, which continuously regenerates the region's ethnocultural profile. The phenomenon of temporary migration for educational purposes also influences the dynamics in Québec City. Indeed, foreign students take part in the region's economic, social and cultural life. It is equally as valid to question the low immigrant retention rates as it is to recognize and value the role of the Québec City region as a cultural and economic intermediary.

All these circumstances have generated specific needs for coaching newcomers, raising awareness among the Québec public, and training and supporting professionals working with immigrants and refugees.

To meet these needs, local mediation facilities have been developed to welcome refugee populations arriving from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Kosovo and Colombia since 1995 (Guilbert 2004). Mediation activities adopt an interactionist methodological approach.

Intercultural citizen mediation begins with face-to-face meetings with the players who are directly involved in the situation or who want to help improve it. Creative mediation networks are

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[*] This is a translation of an abridged version of an article entitled "La Ville de Québec : Un laboratoire pour la mise en œuvre de médiations avec les réfugiés." *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada* 37, 3 (2005), p. 59-75.

[1] Term used by Grinblat (2000).

then established. Mediation has achieved the objective of getting beyond a given crisis situation and moving relations forward by creating a space for dialogue and cooperation in order to facilitate the integration of newcomers.

Peer training forums and workshops were designed to bring about real cooperation among refugee immigrants, professionals in the field and researchers, each being a resource for the other, at every stage of the preparation, the process itself and the debrief.

A third avenue of mediation was explored through intercultural imagination workshops. Through expressive cultural and symbolic activities with both universal and specifically local features (stories, personal accounts of migration), participants were able to strengthen their capacity for resilience and deepen connections with one another.

Interest in these partnering and participatory experiences in the Québec City region grew out of a sense of urgency and the lack of appropriate infrastructure and resources. These experiences became possible because Québec City is considered to be a medium-sized city with a low immigrant population. The availability of immigrant and refugee services makes Québec City a laboratory for human-scale experiments in cooperation and inventiveness. However, once the sense of urgency has dwindled, the tendency to retreat back into one's own professional or ethnic group resurfaces and, with it, the threat of another crisis situation once the vigilance and cooperation have diminished.

A number of suggestions were made during these mediation activities, some of which are explored here: recognizing the knowledge acquired during migration; real involvement of immigrants and refugees in their host society upon arrival; strategic reinforcement of the interpreter's role; sponsoring refugee students and the social integration of adult refugees through further education.

Knowledge acquisition through migration and the intercultural imagination workshop

People who experience exile acquire a variety of knowledge, even under difficult circumstances: languages, trades, basic technology, life and work experiences in intercultural and international environments, such as refugee camps, transformation of their knowledge and cultural competencies into occupational skills. We postulate that recognizing the learning, knowledge and resources reinforces migrants' capacity for resilience, fosters participation in their new society and enhances the quality of intercultural communication in the host society. The intercultural imagination workshop provides a forum for interaction and exchange that allows immigrants and refugees to take stock of their knowledge and their formal and informal resources, and allows social workers and current or potential employers to identify, recognize, value and acknowledge the learning that occurs during the migration process.

Real participation by immigrants and refugees upon arrival in Québec

Immigrants and refugees need support when they arrive in their adopted country. Many of them are ready to get involved and to cooperate, to share their experiences and their knowledge right away. Many refugees expressed frustration at being provided services in which they have no real say. They have lived, they have observed and they know what suggestions they would make to improve services.

One of the most persistent and insidious barriers is the representation of the refugee as a have-not, a speechless and untrustworthy victim (Malkki 2002). Another problem is what Yves Saint-Arnaud (2001) refers to as the conflict between the paradigms of expertise and uncertainty. Professionally, refugee workers are trained to establish a helping relationship, a complementary, helper/helpee type of relationship with the refugee. Sometimes, as a result of both a professional reflex and a threatened sense of identity (Cohen-Émérique and Hohl 2000), refugee and immigrant workers have trouble stepping back from their own assumptions to listen to and really hear the migrant's point of view and acknowledge the migrant's learnings.

Another barrier is the organizational culture shock (Guilbert 1998). The culture gap between institutions and public organizations in the country of origin and those in the host country has a real impact on the daily life, adaptation and social participation of immigrants and refugees, as well as on the work of the professionals who deal with them. Every institution, organization and work environment develops its own specific culture by espousing shared values, through professional practices. The migratory experience leads immigrants to an awareness of the part of their identity that refers

> *The migratory experience leads immigrants to an awareness of the part of their identity that refers back to the approaches and mentalities in institutions and work environments in their country of origin, which they must leave behind as their sole frame of reference. They must become familiar with and gradually adopt the new frame of reference generated by the cultures in the host country's institutions and work environments.*

back to the approaches and mentalities in institutions and work environments in their country of origin, which they must leave behind as their sole frame of reference; they must become familiar with and gradually adopt the new frame of reference generated by the cultures in the host country's institutions and work environments – in Québec. To enable this process to occur, both management and staff in the host country's institutions must also be conscious of the culturally automatic responses they have developed in their own environments.

Strategic reinforcement of the interpreter's roles

When it comes to hosting refugees of war or ethnic conflict, the choice of interpreter can often bring up identity wounds and lead to demands for changes. The choice or imposed choice of interpreter inevitably takes on meaning which is politically symbolic and which can be perceived as a sign of the quality of the welcome extended by host country, a sign of acknowledgment of individual identity or a preference by the host community (this includes both government bodies and the public) for one group at the expense of another. When it is a matter of preference, the citizen's social contract of belonging to the host society is compromised (Guilbert 2004).

In fact, an interpreter's duties vary according to the contexts and cultures of intervention and the balance of power operating within them (Roy and Kapoor-Kohli 2001, Morissette 2005). During both intercultural citizen mediation procedures and peer training workshops, we have been confronted with a lively polemic concerning what is expected of interpreters. Some interested parties, often administrators of interpreter or service banks, favoured a faithful word-for-word rendering during interactions, along with physical, cultural and experiential self-effacement on the part of the interpreter, justifying this requirement by a rather singular understanding of the notion of neutrality. Other participants, often the refugees themselves, demanded a number of changes in the management of interpreting services. They advocated greater availability with respect to interpreter service schedules (especially 24/7 emergency services), the right to choose one's own accompanying interpreter, and the right to reject an interpreter whom one does not trust or whose very presence may trespass upon the intimacy of one's remarks. These demands reflect an understanding of the interpreter's role as going far beyond that of a word-for-word translator to become that of a cultural interpreter and mediator. Still other stakeholders, usually the interpreters, reproduced in their remarks the official discourse of their employers concerning literal renderings and the interpreter's self-effacement, whereas an observation of their practices revealed an approach marked by a sensitivity to various needs and situations. Often, without actually conceptualizing it, the interpreter took on the role of go-between, acting as an intercultural mediator among messengers from different cultures.

The dynamics of interpretation in small and medium-sized cities are different from the dynamics in large cosmopolitan urban centres. Some similarities were found in observations made in Québec City and Sherbrooke. Caroline Goulet (2001) demonstrates the risks associated with trying to impose on small towns the same regulatory standards that might apply in Montréal, for instance, where community interpretation services are concerned. Doing so can have adverse consequences for immigration in small towns and in the regions.

Student refugee sponsorship and social integration of adult refugees through education

For five years, Université Laval has admitted one or two student refugees under the World University Service of Canada Student Refugee Sponsorship Program, WUSC-Laval. These associations and assistance and support programs for foreign students can develop a particular sensitivity to foreign students who are now permanent residents and who have had the experience of being in exile or being refugees.

The return to school of adult refugees is a fairly recent trend. Although it has not yet been the subject of any systematic research, this trend appears to be rising, gradually. For most, it is not the first choice. The idea only occurs to some refugees after several unsuccessful job searches or short-lived work experiences. However, for young adult refugees who were students before the disasters that forced them to leave their country, a return to school can be an altogether different experience. In their case, going back to school provides a sense of continuity with their former life. This continuity gives way to adaptation in the sense that it manifests while refugees further their education in a system that is recognized in their adoptive country. This diminishes the issue of recognition of foreign credentials and experience so often cited by employers in Québec as the reason for their refusal to hire. Going back to school, as a strategy, can effectively foster social integration through learning that is both progressive and supported by Québec institutions, culture and mentalities. However, refugees are constantly coming up against the problem of equivalencies and recognition of credentials and experience, where both entry to the labour force and admission to educational institutions are concerned. Especially, admission criteria for loans and bursaries or financial assistance programs are not suited to their circumstances.

Conclusion

Other orientations suggested during the mediation activities that pertained to the general public included raising awareness about the specific needs of student refugees and immigrants and recognizing the social involvement of seniors.

The transferability of mediation strategies is based on some principles that are intimately linked to the concept of relationship to Other and the amount of room that Québec society makes for newcomers. Indeed, all mediations and suggested orientations reflected an epistemological perspective. A resolutely participatory approach can transcend the helping relationship – without annihilating it – and set up new immigrants, from any category, including refugees, as agents in their own future and partners in the creation of an emerging Québec society.

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> *The City created the Conseil interculturel de Québec, which still exists today. This council, made up of 12 members – 8 of whom are immigrants – advises elected municipal officials on the immigration policies and programs that need to be implemented in order to foster the integration and participation of members of cultural communities in the political, economic, social and municipal life of the city.*

Immigration to Québec City: Issues and Future Perspectives

ANN BOURGET
Municipal Councillor

The oldest city in Canada, Québec City is the cradle of French civilization in North America, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and capital of the Province of Quebec. In 2008, it will proudly celebrate its 400th anniversary. Visitors from all over the world are expected to participate in the many festivities organized to mark the event.

Recognized for its quality of life, Québec City was ranked as the "Best Canadian City for Families" by the Canadian magazine *Today's Parent*. For the last few years, it has enjoyed strong economic growth and an unemployment rate of 5.5% – much lower than the Canadian average.[1] The city boasts many research centres and companies working in the fields of biomedicine, bio-foods, geomatics, metals, minerals and new materials technology, optics, photonics and laser technology, information technology and telecommunications.

Québec City also offers a large educational network composed of many colleges, two universities (Université Laval and Université du Québec), and a public administration school (École d'administration publique – ÉNAP). The city's cultural life is well established and offers a number of sports and recreational activities. And yet...

Although the Government of Quebec recognizes Québec City as the second most popular location for immigrants choosing to settle in the province, 88% of the province's immigrant population[2] is still concentrated in Montréal, a unique situation compared with the other Canadian provinces. At the time of the 2001 Census, the 17,005 Quebeckers of foreign origin made up 3.3% of Québec City's total population of 500,300,[3] which is clearly not enough.

With its excellent quality of life and favourable economic conditions, why does Québec City still fail to attract and especially retain as many immigrants as it should? This question is a difficult one, but it needs to be addressed. Immigration must continue to be a priority for the city's new administration – the vitality of our community depends on it.

Québec City's immigration issues

Québec City has three main immigration issues. The first is demographic. The most recent studies on the subject[4] show that the Québec City region's population will increase slightly between now and 2019, after which it will begin to drop because of the ageing of the population and a low birth rate. The average age in Québec City is currently 40 years, but this is expected to rise to 50 years by 2025. International immigration therefore may be a solution for slowing the effects of a declining birth rate and ageing population.

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[1] Statistics Canada, rates for the months of January to March 2006.

[2] Ministère des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration, *La planification des niveaux d'immigration 2005-2007*, 2003, p. 21

[3] According to Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, before the municipalities of Saint-Augustin and Ancienne-Lorette de-amalgamated.

[4] Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec and ministère des Affaires Municipales et de la Métropole, *Le choc démographique. La population de la Communauté métropolitaine de Québec à l'aube du XXI^{e} siècle*, 2003, 162 pages.

The second issue is economic, yet relates to the demographic issue – the imminent need to find replacements for the large number of people who will retire. The number of young workers entering the labour market in the years to come will not be enough to replace those who are retiring. Many research centres and companies in the Québec City region are already finding it difficult to recruit a specialized work force and are pressuring various levels of government to find durable solutions. The situation is such that some business leaders in the city have suggested dropping the francization process for newcomers in order to convince more people to settle there.[5] More new immigrants will provide the means to fill these vacant jobs and enable Québec City to continue to grow economically.

The third issue is social and relates to the city's openness to other cultures and to the world. The immigrant population has a significant impact on social diversity and in that way contributes to the city's image of openness.

Canada's major cities[6] – not only the provincial capitals – will be called upon to play a vital role in the regionalization of immigration in Canada. Québec City will be no exception and will have to clearly position itself as a leader in this area. It must continue to equip itself with the tools it needs to match the fierce competition from other cities that continue to attract most of Canada's immigrants. In this context, it is crucial that the city maintain and intensify its immigration efforts.

Québec City's vitality from 2001 to 2005

In 2001, Mayor Jean-Paul L'Allier signed the first cooperative agreement between the City of Québec and the ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC). Québec City then implemented its first three-year immigration plan. The plan, which was later amended to reflect the municipal reorganization, targeted three areas of activity: promoting Québec City as a place to live; facilitating the integration of immigrants; and preparing the host society to better recognize the economic, cultural and social contributions of foreign-born Quebeckers in the city. Québec City's actions during that period earned it several awards of recognition.

Promoting Québec City as a settlement location

By signing the 2001 agreement, the provincial government recognized Québec City's leading role in promoting itself as a place to live for international immigrants. To facilitate the implementation of our actions in this area, we created the Commissariat aux relations internationales (CRI), whose main mission was to promote Québec City abroad and attract worldwide attention. Québec City is the only city in the province to have created such a body. In cooperation with the MICC in 2003, the CRI organized information sessions for immigrant candidates from Romania, Bulgaria and China. The CRI also participated in information sessions for newly arrived immigrants in Montréal who wanted to settle in the regions. In 2004, the international achievement award of the Institut d'administration publique du Québec was presented to Québec City in recognition of its immigration program and of its efforts and those of the CRI.

In support of our promotion of the city, we also created an information package containing the brochure *Québec – Mon choix de vie*, incorporated into the city's Web site a quadrilingual section on immigration,[7] and developed a CD-ROM for the foreign market. Recently, the City published the *Guide à l'intention des immigrants à la recherche d'un logement*.[8] This tool provides newcomers with the information they need in order to find suitable housing. Many copies of these documents were distributed through the province's offices abroad.

I still believe that the City must continue its efforts to maintain its pivotal role in promoting its territory – both abroad and throughout the rest of the province. To do this, it must foster a cooperative environment with its key partners: chambers of commerce, businesses, colleges and universities, the provincial and federal governments, immigrant service organizations, and cultural associations. The cooperation of all these stakeholders is key to attracting more

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[5] Jean-Nicolas Patoine, "Le prix à payer : sacrifier le français," *Le Soleil*, April 27, 2006.

[6] The census metropolitan area (CMA) of Québec City is the seventh largest in Canada, according to Statistics Canada.

[7] http://www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/en/exploration/immigration.shtml.

[8] An electronic version of this document is available in French at http://www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/en/exploration/logement.shtml.

The variety and overlap of immigrant services is creating considerable confusion. We need to renew our efforts to urge the different stakeholders in the field to consolidate their services.

immigrants to the provincial capital. An updated promotional plan has already been developed – all that remains is implementation.

Facilitating the integration of immigrants

Québec City has developed various integration measures, including a tradition of annual reception ceremonies for newcomers. Many of these immigrants have participated in welcome and information sessions held at city hall on the various municipal services offered to citizens, as well as in excursions organized to familiarize them with the different neighbourhoods and with certain municipal facilities. The City has also given immigrants passes to major events, such as the city's summer festival, the New France festival and the winter carnival.

With regard to employment integration, in 2000, the City worked with the Service d'orientation et d'intégration des immigrants au travail de Québec to establish a three-month internship program for immigrants and refugees in their neighbourhoods and districts. This program was greatly appreciated, because it provided participants with valuable, first-hand work experience and the opportunity to build a network of key contacts for their job search. Many interns later obtained positions in the municipal public service. During the sixth presentation of the province's citizenship awards in 2004, Québec City received the Prix Maurice-Pollack for its internship program. Unfortunately, the new municipal administration has decided not to continue the program in 2006, despite its resounding success among immigrants.

Portrait of immigrants in Québec City

If we look at the origins of immigrants in Québec City, we see that the majority are from Europe (48.7%), North America (21%), Asia (14.8%) and Africa (14.8%).[9] The city also receives a few immigrants from Oceania and other countries (0.6%). In 2005, the Québec City region welcomed nearly 2,000 newcomers, which represents approximately 4.6% of the immigrants who chose to settle in the province.[10]

With regard to the francization rate, the latest figures from the MICC indicate that 62% of immigrants in the Québec City region know French; however, more immigrants in the city have studied at the university level than nonimmigrants.

Cities must set an example by establishing employment access policies for immigrants. The make-up of the municipal public service must reflect the diversity of the population. We also need to resolve the problems of recognizing foreign credentials and adapting the selection criteria to labour market fluctuations if we really want to help newcomers integrate.

Joining forces for the multicultural development of Québec City

The City believed that, to foster multicultural development, it needed to form partnerships with various organizations in the field in order to bridge the cultural gaps between residents by creating common places where diversity can be expressed. Québec City has more than 60 cultural community organizations and associations that provide services to immigrants.

We then noticed that the scattering of human and financial resources was making it difficult to integrate the efforts of the various stakeholders involved in the reception and integration of newcomers. The establishment of a Maison interculturelle in Québec City, in cooperation with the MICC and local organizations, proved to be a way to concentrate resources and make them more cost-effective, to offer better reception services to immigrants, and to build bridges between different cultures. Continuing this project was not a priority for the new administration, but the need remains because the variety and overlap of immigrant services is creating considerable confusion. We need to renew our efforts to urge the different stakeholders in the field to consolidate their services.

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[9] Commissariat aux Relations Internationales, *Portrait de la population immigrante de la Ville de Québec*, Ville de Québec, June 2004, 75 pages.

[10] According to preliminary data collected by the MICC (http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/)

While working on the "common places" project, the City created the Conseil interculturel de Québec, which still exists today. This council, made up of 12 members – 8 of whom are immigrants – advises elected municipal officials on the immigration policies and programs that need to be implemented in order to foster the integration and participation of members of cultural communities in the political, economic, social and municipal life of the city.

At the same time, the City provided financial support for the participation of certain organizations in events such as Black History Month (February), Action Week Against Racism, and the Semaine québécoise des rencontres interculturelles. The City has supported various projects that promote the recognition of immigrants' contributions to the host society and to bridging the gaps between cultures. For example, the City worked with the MICC on an intercultural awareness campaign in playgrounds and schools for children in different neighbourhoods during the fall and winter of 2005.

Future challenges

Québec City will have to meet many immigration challenges in the years to come. The greatest and most difficult will be to attract and retain more immigrants. It is no exaggeration to say that, with the drop in population expected over the coming years, the survival of the city and the region depends on the arrival of many more newcomers. We need to act now to ensure that the new administration will address these challenges.

As I said earlier, the role of cities in the current global context is not limited to infrastructures. As a provincial capital, Québec City bears a significant portion of the responsibility for receiving and integrating newcomers. We must therefore take the lead and promote the creation of partnerships with various stakeholders. The City, chambers of commerce, businesses, educational institutions, the provincial and federal governments, community organizations and cultural communities must combine their efforts and develop an overall picture of what we want to do about immigration. The work that started in 2001 must continue. The recent changes at city hall must not hinder the leadership role that Québec City must take in this area.

About the author

ANN BOURGET has served on Québec City's municipal council since 2001 as a representative of the Parti du renouveau municipal de Québec. She was responsible for the immigration file for the City's Executive Committee until 2005. Re-elected in the last municipal election, today, she is the Leader of the opposition on council.

In its 2005–2015 development vision statement, the City of Sherbrooke defines itself as a partner in social development that is open to the world and that welcomes, integrates and retains its immigrants as a means of achieving population growth and economic expansion and of meeting its social and humanitarian responsibilities.

Welcoming and Integrating Immigrants: Sherbrooke's Experience

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City of Sherbrooke

On May 17, 2004, the City of Sherbrooke demonstrated its innovative spirit by becoming the first of Quebec's amalgamated cities to adopt a municipal policy on welcoming and integrating immigrants. At the time, Sherbrooke was not without experience in matters of immigration, but was expressing its willingness to consolidate its gains and go even further in welcoming and integrating newcomers. Since the policy was adopted, experience has taught Sherbrooke significant lessons and enabled it, most importantly, to prepare in a meaningful way for the many challenges that still lie ahead in the management of ethnocultural diversity.

Why have an immigrant welcome and integration policy for Sherbrooke?

The Government of Quebec has identified Sherbrooke[1] as one of three major cities – the others being Gatineau and Québec – targeted in the regionalization of immigration. Thus, while immigration is not a new phenomenon in Sherbrooke, it has grown in significance in recent years. More particularly since 1991, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and from Colombia, France, China and Afghanistan[2] have been the most numerous. The immigrant population is now estimated at about 5%[3] (or approximately 7,000) of Sherbrooke's population, and the organizations concerned estimate that they dealt with some 670 new immigrants in 2005,[4] almost half of them refugees.

This influx of new residents, although regarded as desirable and beneficial to the city's development, means that the municipal government faces new challenges in providing services and in integrating these people into the community. Before amalgamation, Sherbrooke and the neighbouring municipalities were already involved in coordinating immigration in the Eastern Townships, or the Estrie region. Since 1991, for example, Sherbrooke had been an active member of the Comité de vigilance et d'action pour l'harmonisation des relations interculturelles en Estrie, whose goal is to counter racist events, and to be vigilant and active in harmonizing intercultural relations in the region. Its community action policy, adopted in 1996, targeted the immigrant population as a priority clientele, and since 1998, its policy on agency recognition has supported those agencies dedicated to immigration in their common activities and in the execution of specific projects. However, the increasing influx of newcomers made it necessary for Sherbrooke to develop a vision and a more formal framework for municipal action in relation to immigration. The merger of 2002 was an excellent opportunity for the City to reaffirm its willingness and broaden its activities to promote the integration of immigrants and intercultural harmony within its borders. The development of policy in this area thus became a first step along the road toward consolidating its commitments.

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[1] Sherbrooke is in southwestern Quebec, a little over an hour's drive from Montréal, and has a population approaching 140,000.

[2] Statistics Canada, 2001 Census.

[3] Ibid.

[4] This figure is an estimate derived from data supplied by immigrant reception agencies in Sherbrooke. It excludes those taken in by their own families or friends who did not use the services of such agencies.

Policy development: A participatory approach

Development of the Immigrant Welcome and Integration policy began in August 2003, with the planning of the process and the striking of a policy committee. The committee's work is coordinated by the City's Recreation, Sports, Culture and Community Living Department; it is chaired by a City councillor and made up of representatives of cultural communities, business, community agencies, immigrant welcoming services, municipal departments, City wards and the ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration du Québec (now called the ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, or MICC), which is responsible for immigration and cultural communities. Thus, from the beginning, the City's approach to the development of its policy was designed to be participatory and to include the various sectors that affect the lives of immigrants. Throughout the process, moreover, many other stakeholders had an opportunity through workshops and questionnaires to take part in preparing a diagnosis of immigrant realities in Sherbrooke, and in identifying the services available and the needs of the immigrant population. On the basis of the diagnosis, which provided a complete picture of immigration in Sherbrooke, Council adopted a draft policy and submitted it to public consultation. On February 7, 2004, more than 150 people from cultural communities and from all fields of activity took part in the consultation. The draft was revised to reflect the results of the exchanges prompted by the consultation and was then submitted again to a consultation of ward representatives. Council officially adopted the City of Sherbrooke's Immigrant Welcome and Integration Policy on May 17, 2004.[5]

In the development process, the City secured the involvement of its cultural communities in order to come up with a policy that reflected their needs and circumstances. It also secured the cooperation of institutions and agencies that work with immigrants, in order to promote complementarity among immigration stakeholders and the sharing of responsibilities for the well being of newcomers. The City thus chose to go beyond its traditional responsibilities and act as leader, coach, facilitator and reference with respect to welcoming and integrating immigrants. Through the willingness of all involved, the groundwork was laid in Sherbrooke for coordinated action in the immigration field. The next task was to implement the policy.

Implementation of the policy

In its 2005-2015 development vision statement, the City of Sherbrooke defines itself as a partner in social development that is open to the world and that welcomes, integrates and retains its immigrants as a means of achieving population growth and economic expansion and of meeting its social and humanitarian responsibilities.[6] It thus restates the commitment expressed in the Immigrant Welcome and Integration Policy, confirming the importance that the municipal government attaches to it in the context of its development orientations. The first two years of implementation of the policy involved three main components: a preliminary action plan, clear political support, and the implementation of a training program for City staff.

Action plan

In March 2005, an initial 2005-2007 immigration action plan was adopted by the City of Sherbrooke, under a partnership agreement with the MICC. In addition to continuing the activities undertaken by the City in previous years, the plan focused on four priority orientations :

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[6] *Sherbrooke 2005/2015 : Vision de développement, orientations d'aménagement et plan d'action*, City of Sherbrooke, March 2005, p. 19.

1. Foster access to municipal services for all immigrant citizens;
2. Encourage immigrant representation in all areas of municipal activity;
3. Foster intercultural harmony;
4. Develop partnerships.

Action taken under the plan included support for agencies wanting to hold briefings for immigrants on municipal services; a guided tour for newcomers of the various institutions and organizations offering services to the public; issuance to immigrants of a free bus pass, valid for two weeks; and the development of a communication plan.

Special attention was also paid to encouraging representation of immigrants in every sector of municipal activity. As an employer, the City strives to set an example for other local employers by promoting the hiring of immigrants within a program of equal access to employment. The City acted to encourage applications from immigrants, in particular by distributing job offers to agencies serving immigrants, and by promoting summer jobs and training activities for immigrant youth and students. Moreover, 6% of the new students hired in 2005 were members of ethnic or cultural minorities, or Aboriginals.[7] The Human Resources Department has developed tools to help City supervisors manage ethnocultural diversity.

The 2005-2007 action plan is still in effect. However, in order to maintain contact with the community and stay abreast of developments in the situation of immigrants and the concerns they experience, the City is now reviewing its activities and initiating consideration of the prospects for 2007-2010 in the field of immigration. A day long consultation was accordingly held on May 13, 2006 to brief cultural community representatives, and all those with an interest, on the City's achievements since the adoption of the policy and to discuss the key aspects of the upcoming three year action plan. From now on, the City hopes to hold such meetings every two years. Participation, coordinated action and a sharing of responsibilities to achieve complementarity among the agencies involved thus remain the central features of Sherbrooke's Welcome and Integration Policy, and of its implementation.

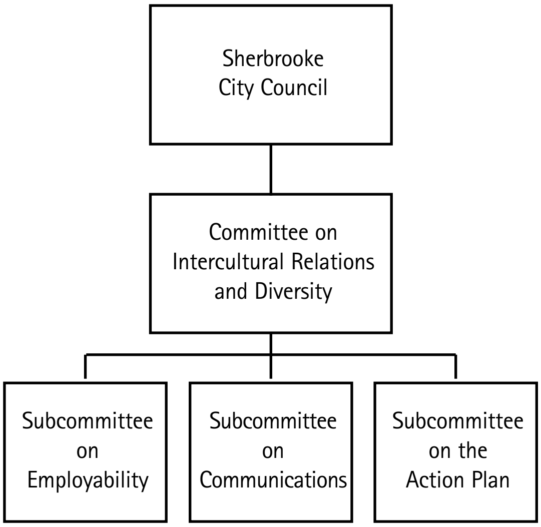
Political support

The adoption of a municipal policy on immigration is a clear expression of its elected representatives' concerns and their desire to make this a priority in the orientations embraced by the City. Following the November 2006 municipal election, council further reinforced its commitment by striking a committee on intercultural relations and diversity. The committee, which advises City Council on all matters related to immigration, is chaired by a councillor, and its members include two other councillors and representatives of municipal departments, wards, cultural communities, business, education, health care, agencies serving immigrants, and employment and immigration.

To facilitate the coordination of activities involving immigrants, the committee has three working subcommittees on employability, communications and the action plan, as Figure 1 shows.

FIGURE 1

Monitoring mechanisms for the Immigrant Welcome and Integration Policy of the City of Sherbrooke


Sherbrooke City Council
Committee on Intercultural Relations and Diversity
Subcommittee on Employability
Subcommittee on Communications
Subcommittee on the Action Plan

Each subcommittee advises the main committee in its area of expertise; the members are drawn from the main committee.

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[7] Human Resources Department, City of Sherbrooke, May 2006.

Training program on the management of diversity for City staff

Sensitive to the importance of welcoming and, above all, integrating immigrants, the City of Sherbrooke has chosen to enhance its organizational abilities in that area. Since 2005, in cooperation with intercultural relations researchers from the Université de Sherbrooke, it has been working to set up an ethnocultural diversity management program. Its primary aim is to raise awareness and train the elected representatives, managers and employees most frequently in touch with immigration. The first departments to be involved are the police, recreation and Hydro Sherbrooke. The first step was to assess diversity management problems in these areas. The training program was then developed to meet the needs identified. The program is now being introduced within the municipal government.

The primary goal of such a program is to ensure the best possible integration of immigrants through the municipal services provided to them. However, the program will also enable the City to consolidate its leadership in immigrant integration, which will facilitate subsequent efforts to raise awareness among its partners and among local employers.

Lessons learned in Sherbrooke

From the beginning of the process of developing its Immigrant Welcome and Integration Policy in August 2003, the City of Sherbrooke has learned a number of lessons from its experience. These now form the bases on which it wants to pursue its commitment to its immigrants.

First, to develop and implement such a policy, there must be a *political will*. This must be expressed in practical terms, not just through the adoption of a policy but in particular through the implementation of an action plan consistent with the policy, which is monitored and assessed. In this connection, a monitoring mechanism chaired by a councillor and involving other councillors and community stakeholders is vital.

Next, *community willingness* to cooperate in the process is also indispensable. The responsibilities and resources of a municipality do not equip it to deal alone with every issue involved in welcoming and integrating immigrants. The local cultural communities, public institutions active in health care and education, employers, community organizations and members of the host community must get involved in the issues and must add their knowledge and resources to those of City staff to make the process a success. In this respect, a partnership with a higher level of government, like that developed with the MICC, is helpful.

In the same sense, the *involvement* of the immigrant population and its representatives from the start is indispensable, since the process is designed specifically to improve the conditions under which these people arrive in and are integrated into the community. No one can claim to propose a policy that fits the circumstances of one segment of the population if it has not had an opportunity to provide input.

Lastly, the establishment of *mechanisms for continuing communication and consultation* that will support dialogue between the municipal governement and its immigrants ensures continuity and consistency in the actions undertaken.

Conclusion

Sherbrooke is still in the early days of its experience in welcoming and integrating immigrants. However, through its progressive and flexible approach, involving coordinated action and the mobilization of community stakeholders, the municipal government seems to have made every effort, with its citizens and its partners, to take up the challenges that welcoming and integrating immigrants and managing ethnocultural diversity will hold in the years ahead.

"The Islanders are a gentle, friendly people, but just not too used to a diversity of backgrounds and interests. I still get asked why I came to the Island, even though I have been here 8 years. What is more scary is that I have started to ask the same question myself to other newcomers!"
(Respondent #257)

Settling in Charlottetown and P.E.I.: Recent Settlers Speak

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Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) is the only Atlantic province of Canada to register an increase in its population, albeit a slight one, in the latest intercensal period (1996-2001). Most of this demographic increase is attributable to the net influx of migrants, which includes Canadians (interprovincial migrants) and non-Canadians (international migrants). Between 2002 and 2003, the population of P.E.I. grew from 136,998 to 137,781, a net difference of +783. There were 1,374 live births and 1,246 deaths during the same period, a net difference of +132. In the same period, net international migration and interprovincial migration was +588.[1]

However, if the facts speak for themselves, settlers certainly haven't.

P.E.I. has not yet had the opportunity to mount a full-scale investigation about what settlers make out of their immigration experience to Canada's smallest province. There exists considerable and up-to-date numerical data about immigration flows and characteristics; however, information resulting from a more *qualitative* study of recent immigrants, noting their *stories* and listening to their *voices*, has only been made available recently.

Looking at the immigration phenomenon "from the other end" obliges a radical change of focus. Instead of arguments relating to growing the population, expanding the pool of skills and talent, and diversifying our culture, one comes across stories by newcomers about attempts at cultural adjustment, the challenges of seeking and securing employment, the appreciation or disappointment of welcoming experiences. Rather than immigrants, one mainly comes across settlers – individuals or families moving in *with* some intention of settling down, and settling in, seeking integration with – but not necessarily *in* – the host culture.

Regional background

Canada has seen a whopping 4% overall increase in its population in the 1996-2001 intercensus period; yet, within Atlantic Canada, only P.E.I. has registered a minimal population increase during 1996-2001; of the rest of Canada's provinces and territories, only Saskatchewan has registered a decline. The population of Atlantic Canada, 10% of the national total in 1971, was down to 7.5% by 2001, and is now less than 7%... and still falling.

An assessment of these statistical trends confirms that non-metropolitan centres of Canada are facing population declines and that a strategy to attract immigrants to such regions, if any such strategy exists, does not seem to be working very well. Atlantic Canada (while representing 7% of Canada's total population) is only attracting 1.3% of Canada's recent immigrants. To make matters worse, it is claimed that between one-third and two-thirds of all immigrants to the region move away

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[1] Statistics Canada and *P.E.I. 31st Annual Statistical Review 2004.*

Table 1

Immigrants into P.E.I. – Population 5 years and over[6]

Period	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2004
External (foreign) migrants to P.E.I. (+)	792	765	496
External (foreign) migrants from P.E.I. (-)	281	373	100
Interprovincial migrants to P.E.I. (+)	13,670	13,072	8,987
Interprovincial migrants from P.E.I. (-)	11,644	12,890	8,461
Net change	**+2,537**	**+574**	**+922**

within two years. Their destination is predictable: the main urban centres of settlement.

This pattern acts as a vicious cycle. Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal are centres of multiculturalism that attract immigrants; the presence of the latter in turn acts as a magnet to lure others, since family and friends impact where immigrants decide to settle down.[2] In contrast, regions like Atlantic Canada remain largely culturally "white" and poor;[3] this in turn renders them less attractive to potential immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds, cultural traditions and linguistic capacities.[4]

Immigrants and settlers to Prince Edward Island: Recent trends

The 2001 Census data indicates 4,140 residents in P.E.I. reported as immigrants (of whom 1,310 born in the United States, 2,195 born in Europe, 410 born in Asia and just 225 from elsewhere). There had been slightly more persons registered as immigrants to P.E.I. in the 1996 Census exercise: 4,395 (of whom 1,255 born in the United States, 2,305 in Europe, 595 in Asia and 240 elsewhere)[5].

Over recent decades, many thousands of potential "settlers" have moved in to (try to) settle in P.E.I., both from other Canadian provinces and territories; as well as from beyond Canada (see Table 1).

What the above statistics do *not* tell us is how many hopeful immigrants *actually stay and settle* in the province; and how many have come and gone (perhaps more than once) from and to the island. Settlers are mobile: probably the most mobile segment of any population. Tables like the one above are therefore likely to capture the same person or household more than once, especially if the retention rate is very low.[7] Such gaps in P.E.I.'s knowledge base may one day be removed by means of longitudinal studies of particular respondent cohorts.

Charlottetown

Because of these specificities of geography and jurisdiction, a study of settlers to Charlottetown is very much a study of settlers to P.E.I. The size of the island (224 km, tip to tip) means that it is possible to commute to Charlottetown (or to the second largest city, Summerside) from anywhere on the island within one hour by car. Many newcomers to the province settle in, or close to, Charlottetown anyway.

The town itself is a unique settlement: P.E.I. was originally home to the Mi'kmaq people. The site of modern day Charlottetown was then settled by the French in 1720, became capital of a new British colony in 1769, was incorporated in 1855, and played host to the Charlottetown Conference discussing Confederation in 1864. Its most recent population count is of 32,245 (Census 2001); while Greater Charlottetown (with such suburban locales as Cornwall, Stratford and Winsloe, forming the Census Metropolitan Agglomeration) boasted some 58,358 residents (Census 2001) – some 40% of the island's total population. It is a combination of downtown chic baroque residences, a university town (the

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[2] "Family, Friends, Impact Where Immigrants Decide to Settle Down," *The Guardian*, Charlottetown, September 5, 2003, p. A5.

[3] John Ibbitson, "Why Atlantic Canada Remains White and Poor," *The Globe and Mail*, August 20, 2004.

[4] Manju Varma, *Issues of Diversity & Immigration in Atlantic Canada*, document prepared for the Department of Canadian Heritage, March 2001.

[5] Source: Statistics Canada, http://www.statscan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo35a.htm.

[6] Sources: Statistics Canada and P.E.I. 31st Annual Statistical Review 2004.

[7] Definitive statistics on this are lacking. However, the staff at the P.E.I. Association of Newcomers to Canada (P.E.I.-ANC) have estimated that 75% of all refugees coming to P.E.I. leave before their second year, "having failed to become gainfully employed or otherwise successfully established here." Smith Green and Associates, *Opportunities for Collaboration: Immigrant Settlement on P.E.I.*, submitted to P.E.I.-ANC, Charlottetown, July 2001, page 6.

University of Prince Edward Island [UPEI], the island's only university, has its campus there); a provincial capital (federal and provincial departments; Lieutenant-Governor's office, apart from a city with its municipal council); and the site of the bulk of the administrative and civic infrastructure befitting a provincial jurisdiction (including an airport, cruise ship passenger terminal, arts centre, hospital, churches, court house, movie theatres, shopping malls, gyms, swimming pools, farmers' market, technical college and, since last year, a public transit system) – all within an atmosphere that is distinctly rural, intimate and laid back. No other city in Canada comes close.

P.E.I., by far Canada's smallest province in area and population, but with its highest provincial population density, is where: (a) people can most easily commute to and from work irrespective of where they live and work in the province; (b) where provincial infrastructure – such as government agencies, the university, technical colleges, airport, hospitals, schools, are most within reach; (c) where contact with the provincial political establishment is most intimate and personal, explaining high voter turnout; (d) where cultural industries, church attendance, community involvement are amongst the most dynamic nation-wide; (e) where crime is low: (f) where roads are typically safer; and (g) where children can be safely allowed to play in public areas. Most islanders would take these, and similar, "quality of life" indicators for granted. But they can be critical assets in determining, or swaying, the decision to migrate.

Research objectives

One wonders: What do those persons who have recently immigrated to P.E.I. and settled in Charlottetown – and are still in the province – think about their settlement experience? Particularly, what are P.E.I.'s "selling points" to actual and would-be settlers from the rest of Canada and overseas? What attracts, and what frustrates, potential settlers to P.E.I.? And how do these responses tally with the background of the immigrant?

Such a study was actually undertaken in the fall of 2005 with the support of the Population Secretariat of the P.E.I. Provincial Government and UPEI. From an approximate 4,500 immigrants to P.E.I. between 1998 and 2003, an indicative sample of 320 respondents (just over 7.1%) answered a survey questionnaire. Almost half the respondents (48.1%) live in Charlottetown or its immediate suburbs. 65.3% live in the island's 2 cities and 7 towns. The bulk of newcomers to P.E.I. are from other provinces in Canada; in fact, Ontario is the province where the largest number of respondents had been born (41 respondents) and spent most of their lives (75 respondents).

Research Results[8]

The 25 survey questions included a few open-ended questions that inquired about reasons for coming, reasons for leaving, and/or reasons for staying on P.E.I. These were couched in such a way as to elicit *stories* from respondents, encouraging them to provide a narrative for an answer.

Reasons for coming to P.E.I.

Respondents appreciate best the attractive quality of life that living on P.E.I. provides as the main reason for moving to the island. Being close to family, or to one's roots, is another key consideration. Availability, promise or prospects for employment or business follows, along with affordable housing or farm land, sedate tempo, rural-urban balance, lure of ocean and beaches, and relatively mild winters. A balanced, well thought-out reply would identify pros and cons thus:

> "[The island is] safe; size is manageable; generally friendly; good air (except when south wind brings Scott paper smoke from Pictou, N.S.). Generally clean ocean; not too speedy; human – don't want to move again! Least attractive: pollution of ground water – amount of pesticides used here – most per person in North America." (Respondent #024)

In fact, when sharing their stories about moving to P.E.I., many respondents cite hassle-free security, lower crime, slower tempo, shorter distances and commuting times, "small town" atmosphere, lovely summers and affordable housing as the main "pull factors;" while big city life, with its dirt, noise, crime and stress, is the key "push factor" enticing people to move to P.E.I.:

> "The need to slow down, enjoying the peace P.E.I. had to offer was very attractive. Compared to Ontario, the air quality, slower pace of life and relatively safe environment for

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[8] A full copy of the settler survey study (85 pages) can be downloaded from http://www.gov.pe.ca/immigration.

Looking at the immigration phenomenon "from the other end" obliges a radical change of focus. Instead of arguments relating to growing the population, expanding the pool of skills and talent, and diversifying our culture, one comes across stories by newcomers about attempts at cultural adjustment, the challenges of seeking and securing employment, the appreciation or disappointment of welcoming experiences.

> our children was very important. In selling my husband's dental practice and our home, we were able to relocate here, renovating an older home we had purchased two years earlier." (Respondent #064)

Reasons for Wanting to Leave P.E.I.

As if to prove that immigrants tend to be mobile, and not all are willing, or able, to settle down, 36 respondents (11.25%) indicated that they were "actively planning on leaving P.E.I." at the time of the survey. Proportionately, the keenest to leave are non-Canadians, especially refugees and those in the "skilled worker" category. Proportionately, the keenest to stay are, not surprisingly, those born on P.E.I.

A variety of economic reasons are the most numerous inducers towards likely out-migration:

> "It is [also] very expensive to live here and wages are dreadful – particularly if you're single and like to live in a nice neighbourhood. The cost of everything is more than in any of the neighbouring provinces: higher taxes, higher costs for food, electricity, insurance (car and house), restaurant meals and alcohol." (Respondent #166)

Yet, it is the alleged close-mindedness of islanders that is identified as the most common single explanation for the desire to relocate. P.E.I. society is seen as patronage driven, conservative society where "who's your daddy" is more important than objective skill and merit, where privacy is eroded and where gossip is rife. By virtue of not being part of this webbed community, immigrants cannot and are not allowed to fit in. They feel that they are distrusted and discriminated against:

> "I feel that, unless one is from P.E.I., he or she is looked down on. I have felt this while trying to gain and maintain employment. I have had employers tell me that they have received calls complaining about the hiring of someone 'from away' in positions." (Respondent #100)

Reasons for Staying on P.E.I.

Meanwhile, the respondents who have chosen (so far) to stay in P.E.I. disclose that the lure of P.E.I.'s quality of life remains paramount; it is followed closely by the availability of decent and attractive jobs: economic considerations are vital to immigrants for deciding whether to stay and settle on P.E.I. The charm of the place, and living in safe and welcoming neighbourhoods are also important, and follow next on the list. Affordable housing is next: an important decision for anyone wishing to become more rooted in a place. The existence of close family and friends comes in as a distant 8th in this case.

Returned islanders, realistically, report the smallest difference between their assessments for coming to and for staying on the island. Males remain more appreciative of employment availability; females remain happier with the rural charm of the island. The youngest age-cohort (20-29 year olds) remains most critical of what P.E.I. has to offer.

Connecting with the locals is important, for both economic and social reasons. Getting involved in, or introduced to local activities improves the likelihood of integration, overall satisfaction, and therefore settlement. Community brokers of some kind play a vital role:

> "A couple of months after I arrived, the Welcome Wagon Lady came to visit. She was wonderful. She introduced me to another woman ... whose husband was with the RCMP here. They had moved from Ottawa. My foster-father was a Mountie. The three of us formed the Welcomers Club (now called the Friendship Club). We now have 30 or 40 members. They are all from away, except three of us who were born here and returned to live here. I am

> enjoying living here. I do volunteer work for CNIB and the Library and my Church. I have one sister living here and my foster-mother as well as all my new friends." (Respondent #081)

The difficulty of "fitting in" is well highlighted, but none more so than by an episode involving an immigrant operating for some time under a false, island name:

> "I am well aware I'm not 'from here' without people pointing it out over and over. ... I once taped 'Gallant' over my last name on my work name tag and for those three months not one person turned their nose up at me, clicked their tongue or pointed out I did not have an island name." (Respondent #103)

The main trade-off seems to be that of enjoying social and natural assets on a safe island province, including affordable housing, while forgoing employment or high wages, and bearing higher taxes:

> "It's really not so much a decision to stay as a lack of decision to move. ... On balance, this is not at all a bad place to live and we tend to take the lack of traffic and hustle, the clean air and water, and the fact of being able to meet friends by chance all over the Island, for granted. Until we visit somewhere else." (Respondent #041)

Discussion

Prince Edward Island, like Canada, is a society largely built by immigrants: although, in those early days, they were referred to as "settlers." When such settlers stopped coming to P.E.I. and Eastern Canada in the 1840s, it has allowed the existing population and its descendants to craft an island identity. The P.E.I. Population Strategy Panel called it "a strong cultural norm of sameness."[9] Islanders are today disproportionately WACS: White, Anglophone, Christian, Straight. Given the smallness of this community, and the intertwined roles and relationships, this island identity is bolstered by pervasive, robust and crosscutting family, kin, party political and Christian church networks.[10] These networks provide a whole range of commendable supports and services that explain much of the island's cultural vibrancy, its cohesiveness in relation to external "threats," the resilience of its voluntary sector, the high level of voter participation in the polls.[11] It is this complex set of connected homogeneity and rich social capital – supported by an accessible provincial government – that constitutes the island community and society. This is what different recent settlers have explained as finding bewildering, exasperating, cliquist, small-minded, petty, racist... and invariably difficult to plug into. No wonder settlers find themselves befriending other settlers.

On the occupational front, P.E.I. is a small economy with a labour force of just 76,800.[12] With this labour force, it has to run a comprehensive provincial infrastructure, contribute to the federal effort, maintain traditional economic industries that are primarily seasonal (farming, fishing, forestry, tourism) but still launch itself into the beckoning future (aerospace, bio-nutri-ceuticals, knowledge industries, alternative energy). This is a very tough sell, and some of the consequences, even when things go well, include significant seasonal employment, wages and salaries below the national average, and workers expected and obliged to be multi-functional rather than too finely specialized. Settlers express frustration about lack of suitable job openings, lack of full-time positions, and the inability to specialize.

In both these cases, the answer may lie in the appropriate level of response. Already in 1999, The Population Strategy Panel had advised (Recommendation 22, page vii) that:

> "...established host communities are an attraction for newcomers and contribute to successful integration; accordingly, P.E.I. should place particular emphasis on working with established host communities in P.E.I. to attract new immigrants..."

Host communities constitute micro-societies that can welcome and help in the process of integration and eventual settlement. Churches, Friendship Clubs, Welcome Wagon are structures that already exist and operate at the local level.

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[9] The P.E.I. Population Strategy 1999 Panel Report: *A Place to Stay?*, p. 56.

[10] Church attendance in Canada is highest in rural P.E.I. (51%), and lowest in Montréal (21%), according to a 2001 study: http://www.christianweek.org/stories/vol14/no19/story4.html.

[11] 73.7% of eligible islanders voted at the last federal election (23 Jan 2006), the highest in Canada. National average turnout was 65%. See: http://www.cbc.ca/P.E.I./story/pe_turnout_20060124.html.

[12] Statistics Canada data for December 2005. See: www.statcan.ca/english/Subjects/Labour/LFS/lfs-en.htm.

The Farmers' Market, the hybrid arts community, and specific workplaces act effectively as magnets for suitable employment and social integration. People deciding to come and stay in P.E.I. must be helped to connect. If P.E.I. and its people are really committed to welcome newcomers, then these newcomers are to be deliberately roped in to participate in island life, facilitating their eventual settling in and settling down.

Conclusion

While having its limitations, this study hopes to have provided a human face to recent immigration into the province and given a much-needed voice to recent immigrants. Moreover, the survey report is laden with perceptions, opinions and suggestions addressed at a variety of levels and institutions. It quotes liberally from respondent comments, allowing the reader to reach his or her own conclusions as to what they imply and suggest. It reinforces the wonderful attributes of Charlottetown and P.E.I. – affordable housing, stunning landscape, pulsating civil society, slower tempo, easier access to provincial infrastructure, safety, ideal place for kids to grow, (re)connect with family, attract "urban refugees" or retirees – while recommending various improvements.

Should P.E.I. develop appropriate employment strategies for would-be immigrants, and effectively address the more subtle issue of social exclusion, it could become an unbeatable choice settlement destination.

Journal of International Migration and Integration
Metropolis Research and Policy Review

Revue de l'intégration et de la migration internationale
Compte rendu de Metropolis sur la recherche et les politiques

The Journal of International Migration and Integration (JIMI) is a multidisciplinary scholarly journal which publishes original research papers, policy discussions, and book reviews that enhance the understanding of immigration, settlement and integration, and contribute to policy development. JIMI is printed four times a year with articles in English or French.

La Revue de l'intégration et de la migration internationale (RIMI) est une revue spécialisée multidisciplinaire qui publie des travaux de recherche, des discussions portant sur les politiques et des critiques de livres qui font avancer les connaissances en matière d'immigration, d'établissement et d'intégration et qui contribuent à l'élaboration des politiques. La RIMI paraît quatre fois par année et présente des articles en anglais et en français.

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One of the big hurdles facing schools and policy-makers is a very limited appreciation of the place of religions in the diversity picture. In the post-war years most of the public roles in education and social services that used to be filled by churches have been taken over by governments [...] there is very little left in the public school curricula about religions and religious studies departments at the university level are usually very small.

Religious Diversity at the Margins of the Canadian Metropolis*

PAUL BOWLBY
Saint Mary's University

As Canadians consider the impact of ethnic and religious diversity on its multicultural society, they do so primarily with urban centres like Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver in mind. If pressed, the immensely successful provincial immigrant designation program in Manitoba is brought to mind, and with it the growing diversity of peoples, languages and religions in Winnipeg. Major urban centres in central and western Canada are a magnet for new immigrants who see in their cities both economic opportunity and affinity groups from their homelands with established social, cultural and religious institutions that can support them in the transition through citizenship to established lives in Canada.

Halifax, Fredericton, Charlottetown or St. John's have not been significant reference points for the immigration file. However, across Atlantic Canada, there is a growing recognition that immigration is vital to its future. The provincial designation policy of the Federal government has led to the creation of provincial policies and departments to take a lead on immigration. New Brunswick is the most experienced in this area. Nova Scotia announced its new Department of Immigration with great fanfare in the spring of 2005. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador are in the advanced planning stages for their policies and infrastructure on immigration. The Atlantic Metropolis Centre (www.atlantic.metropolis.net) and the various Atlantic Canadian universities have numerous research projects under way to provide new research for the provincial initiatives.

The dilemma facing Atlantic Canada's aspiration to increase immigration to the region is partly its geographical location at the margins of Canadian urban and economic life. Even more important than geography are the perceptions about the marginality of the region. At their best, policy leaders ask how is it possible for the Atlantic Provinces to compete successfully for potential new immigrants, let alone create the conditions for their continuing residence. At their worst, such questions are not rhetorical, but dismissive of Atlantic Canada's aspirations.

Conventional wisdom suggests that the real issue at stake is economic. The argument goes: look beyond the new resources of gas and oil and build a knowledge based economy in Atlantic Canada. If there are resulting employment opportunities, the immigrants will come and stay. To suggest that there are other issues at stake, and most particularly religious and cultural ones, invites from the members of the Chamber of Commerce at best puzzlement and at worst another kind of disdain.

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* This paper has been developed in conjunction with the research project "The New Religious Diversity in Halifax Regional Municipality" funded by Heritage Canada. The principal investigators are Drs. Nancie Erhard and Paul Bowlby, both of the Religious Studies Department of Saint Mary's University, Halifax. The research team includes: Drs. Geraldine Thomas (Greek Orthodox), Magi Abdul Masih (Lebanese Orthodox, Egyptian Coptic, Baha'i), Alex Soucy (Buddhist sanghas and Chinese and Korean churches); and graduate students Christopher Cutting (Muslims), David Feltmate (Lebanese Orthodox, Egyptian Coptic, Baha'i), Megan Rapley (Hindu), and retired teacher, Ian MacDonald (Sikhs).

I want to assume that the good members of the Chamber are right, but not entirely so. Creating new employment opportunities in the region is an issue that matters to every single family in the region. It is from the perspective of a more holistic view of the family in relation to the economy that marks the limitation of the focus on employment and investment and most especially if the focus is on immigrants. The immigrant entrepreneur is one person in a family that includes spouse and children – sometimes an extended family. Making the immigration experience work for the whole of the immigrant family is the key, I would argue, to transform Atlantic Canada into a place where new immigrants want to live and build not only economic lives but vital family, social, religious and cultural lives.

The argument for a holistic view about immigration to the region was captured in the primary importance accorded to the theme of a "Welcoming Community" in the Nova Scotia immigration strategy. But what does that mean? What are the policy implications for education, health and community services? The significance of "welcoming" rests on hard evidence of those families who arrived from the Commonwealth countries, South Asia in particular, in the post 1960s wave of immigration to Canada. They came to teach, to provide medical services, to develop corner stores and other retail outlets, to raise their families and to build community institutions and religious organizations. Many stayed and have been pillars of the multicultural life of the city ever since.

As the policy discussions were unfolding to develop a Nova Scotian immigration strategy, Heritage Canada approved a research project entitled "The new religious diversity in Halifax Regional Municipality." The project was designed to develop community portraits of the post-1960s immigrant peoples who had founded religious institutions in Halifax. The project to be completed in early 2007 continues to conduct interviews with leaders and members of all ages among the Greek Orthodox, Lebanese Orthodox, Egyptian Coptic churches, Chinese and Korean Christians, American and Asian Buddhists, members of Baha'i, South Asian Hindus and Sikhs, and the culturally diverse members of the Muslim mosques.

Most of these religious groups are small, as illustrated in Table 1. Leaving aside the four major Christian churches and other religions, the remaining religious groups represent approximately 2.6% of the total population. Interestingly, however, among the school age population in Halifax Regional Municipality schools, the student population from these same religious groups is 9.1%[1] of the total. This data highlights the family characteristic of ethnic and religious minorities in the city and further emphasizes that immigration most often brings the entrepreneur or the refugee *and* their families.

TABLE 1
Religious Diversity in the Halifax Regional Municipality

Total Base Population of Halifax	369,200
Roman Catholic	132,025
United Church	51,010
Anglican	60,125
Baptist	25,370
Greek Orthodox	1,675
Orthodox	710
Muslim	2,900
Jewish	1,600
Buddhist	1,400
Hindu	1,000
Sikh	200
Other religions	1,000

Source: Statistics Canada, *Population Projections of Visible Minority Groups – Canada, Provinces and Regions 2001-2017*, p. 48.

Welcoming begins as immigrants and refugees meet Atlantic Canadian society through a whole range of social institutions. It begins with settlement and language programs provided by the Federal department of Citizenship and Immigration, the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) and the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia (MANS). Almost immediately upon arrival children and parents together are introduced to the school system. There are in addition indirect social supports for immigrant families, not the least of which, are the religious institutions that have proliferated in Halifax over the past 50 years as a result of the work of the immigrant

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[1] Estimate based on data provided Christopher Cutting for his honors thesis in Religious Studies.

Approximately one-third of Canada's total population attend religious services at least once a month. There is no social institution in Canada that can make a comparable claim for volunteer adherence. Yet, there are precious few resources available to understand what this social fact about Canada's society means, though that may be changing slowly.

generations who came after the immigration policy changes in the 1960s. Through these various social systems, new immigrants can acquire the civic skills and resources necessary to function across the whole gamut of society.

There is a great deal of information about the government and NGO programs to support new immigrants. There is very little information available on the welcoming initiatives undertaken by post-1960s immigrants and their religious institutions. Heritage Canada awarded funding for the research project "The New Religious Diversity in HRM" because there was a need for base-line information about religious diversity and the social outreach that such organizations undertake. In the midst of Halifax there are five Muslim *masjid*, a Muslim school, (with a Muslim cemetery in Bible Hill near Truro), two Buddhist temples (with related retreat centres in Cape Breton and near Halifax), numerous Buddhist sanghas meeting formally in homes or rented facilities, Korean and Chinese Christian churches, a Hindu Temple, a Sikh Gurdwara, three Orthodox churches with distinctive church buildings serving the Greek, Lebanese and Egyptian Coptic populations. There is an active Interfaith Council which has met monthly for over a decade. Many of these institutions were established by relatively small populations of citizens. They have invested in land, constructed or renovated buildings, and carried out the many tasks required to sustain religious communities in the midst of Atlantic Canada.

"The New Religious Diversity in Halifax Regional Municipality" has set out to bridge the information gap between these religious institutions and the community-at-large. Based on nearly 200 interviews with religious leaders, community members, and youth, the project team is developing a plain language book to introduce religious communities. In addition, and without duplication, the project Website will provide audio, video, bibliographic, and narrative resources portraying the activities and vitality of the religious communities. Both the book and the complimentary Website will be designed for use in schools by teachers and senior students, and to inform civic and provincial leaders and the community-at-large about the religious diversity of the city.

The book and Website are being designed so that they can be used in the immigration strategy to inform prospective immigrant families about the religious institutions that are in the city. In other words, out of the project research there is under development resources that can speak to the diversity of peoples in Nova Scotia, puzzling over how to be welcoming, and to people abroad who are wondering if they might fit into Nova Scotia or Atlantic Canada.

One of the big hurdles facing schools and policy-makers is a very limited appreciation of the place of religions in the diversity picture. There are a number of reasons for this. In the post-war years most of the public roles in education and social services that used to be filled by churches have been taken over by governments. In Halifax publicly funded schools used to be designated by common understanding as Roman Catholic and Protestant. That policy was abandoned in the 1960s. As a result, religious distinctions among the schools have slowly disappeared. Religiously founded universities that were once Anglican, Baptist or Roman Catholic became public institutions in the same period. More significantly perhaps, there is very little left in the public school curricula about religions and religious studies departments at the university level are usually very small.

The commonplace understanding of the changing place of religions in Canadian society is most often expressed as secularization, With that term comes the misappropriation of the American constitutional notion of separation of church and state as if that were in Canada's constitution. "Canada is a secular society" is frequently used by public officials and the media, yet the underlying notion has been much criticized by scholars as a totally inadequate interpretation of the changing roles of religious traditions especially in a post-9/11 age.

There is a lot of work to do to re-educate citizens about religion. What are we to make of the fact that approximately one-third of Canada's total population attend religious services at least once a month? There is no social institution in Canada that can make a comparable claim for volunteer adherence. Yet, there are precious few resources available to understand what this social fact about Canada's society means, though that may be changing slowly.[2] In its small way, the project in Halifax is being done to open people's minds about religious diversity and to raise for consideration some of the public policy implications of its importance.

What are some of the themes that we hope to develop in more detail in the project publications? At this juncture based on very preliminary reports by the research team, I want to summarize briefly a number of important themes that have emerged from our interviews and other research.

- One of the most important general characteristics of religious communities is continuous reinterpretation of their tradition for the Canadian context. This general observation applies to every religious group whether it is in Vancouver or Montréal or in Halifax. The transformation begins the moment families land in Canada and takes on many different characteristics. In Halifax, most of the post-1960s religious groups began by establishing networks of families in order to have worship in participant homes. Out of such early gatherings came established religious communities with their own religious buildings and community projects.
- The post-1960s immigration was primarily made up of highly educated individuals some of whom could provide religious leadership. Such leaders were recognized because of their knowledge of ritual, sacred texts from the religious tradition. What distinguishes such leaders was their capacity to reinterpret the tradition and to make adaptations in ritual, symbol, worship language, and even in traditional social relations.
- Religious communities took shape as voluntary religious groups and ultimately as formal voluntary organizations. The homeland structures of extended family, or village no longer worked as a basis for forming a religious community in Canada. Who came to Halifax and stayed were families defined by their diversity. Hindus might come from the north or south of India and have little or nothing in common except they now lived in Halifax. In the Muslim mosques, participants could come from South Asia, South East Asia, the Middle East or Africa. Building a religious community with peoples whose origins were so distantly connected was, and continues to be, a major task of reinterpretation of rituals, moral and legal traditions, and texts for the Atlantic Canadian social context.
- There developed important networks of religious organizations regionally and nationally and even internationally. Such networks provide resources for continuing education of the religious community in its adaptation to Canada. Such networks enable religious leaders and teachers from across the country and internationally to help new religious communities get established. National tours for visiting teachers and scholars provide an on-going resource development for the community. Transnational networks are a characteristic of established Canadian churches and the post-1960s religious institutions are also using similar networks to build their religious communities.
- New kinds of credentialing for religious leaders were required so that leaders of the community could conduct marriages or funerals for the community. In both cases communities engage with the provincial and federal legal systems.
- As communities developed toward building religious centres they had to adapt traditional temple architecture in order to create multiuse structures for worship and social functions. The community had to imagine an appropriate architectural form for a Hindu temple or Sikh Gurdwara in Canada which the local

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[2] Paul Bramadat and David Seljak (eds.), *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada*, Toronto: Pearson Longman, 2004. This book breaks new ground on the issue of religion and ethnicity by combining overview chapters on the major religious communities and an examination of the policy implications for immigration, health and education.

community can support financially. Interestingly, the same basic plans were used by *both* the Hindu and Sikh religious communities when they built their respective temple and Gurdwara. In both cases these buildings look like conventional Halifax houses. In contrast St. Georges Greek Orthodox Church is an adaptation of traditional Orthodox architecture with its Golden dome and icons. For some religious communities such as the Lebanese Orthodox community and the Chinese Zen sanghas have adapted old churches for their worship. In whatever strategy is used, the religious community is in the process of adapting its homeland tradition into the Canadian context.

- Once buildings such as St. Georges Greek Orthodox Church or the Hindu temple and Sikh gurdwara are built, they become the regional resource for families from all over the region. They frequently travel to join with the Halifax religious community for holy day ritual celebrations.
- Building religious institutions quickly becomes an exercise through which individuals and groups acquired civic and political skills for use in the Canadian context. Whether it be using the banking system, employing contractors, obtaining building permits or zoning changes, fund raising, or simply building and sustaining community support for the emerging institutions, the variety of skills employed build usable social capital. Many of these skills require on-going development.
- Such community-building experiences create a variety of resources in the form of social networks and social capital on which it is possible for both individuals and the collective membership of the religious community to draw. Established members of religious communities can employ new members and mentor them by providing new immigrant families introduction into the essential social, cultural and economic structures of the society.[3]
- Religious organizations join with the ethnic organizations in the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia by participating in varieties of events that publicize the multi-ethnic and multicultural resources in Halifax. Participation in events like the Multicultural festival held annually makes the religious community into a public institution. The well-established Greek community acts on its own with its Greekfest to meet, greet and entertain thousands of people each year.
- Religious communities have been one of the major community resources for educating children and youth in language, culture and the religious tradition. Youth have a place within which to discuss their multiple worlds of school, cultures, moralities, social relations and future plans. In the midst of the cartoon crisis at Saint Mary's University we saw the success of the kind of social and political education that religious communities can give to their youth. When the Palestine students association wanted to protest the posting of the Danish newspaper's cartoons ridiculing Muhammad as a terrorist, the students displayed their democratic political skills in a non-violent protest march, in public debate, in dealing with the media. When so much attention is given to the connection between religion and terrorism, it is striking to see students employing their democratic virtues and skills for which they received very little public recognition. Thankfully the Student Union at Saint Mary's University made the Palestine Students Association, student organization of the year.

Beyond the research and publication for the project on the new religious diversity in Halifax are specific outcomes that have taken shape as the project has unfolded. We have begun conversations with the Nova Scotia Department of Education to develop a curriculum on world religions for senior high school. We envision professional development programs that the researchers could present to teachers. We see a range of public policy publications dealing with the interface of religious organizations and education, health and the provincial immigration policy itself. The project is just a beginning, but what is at stake is the possibility of helping to build allies among disparate ethnic and religious communities in the collaborative work by which Nova Scotia can "rise again" as it has so many times in the past.

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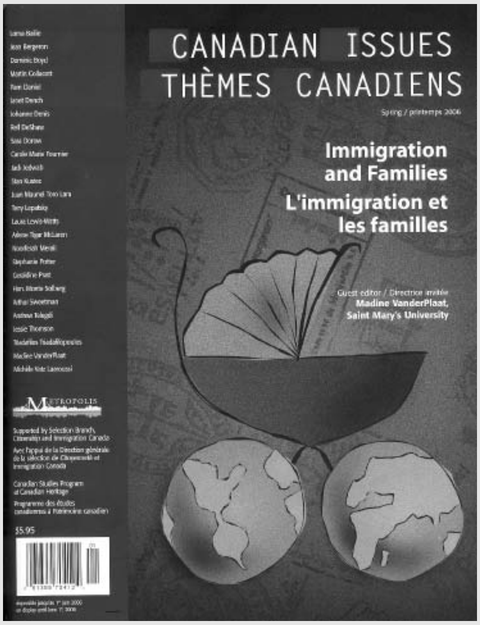
[3] The question of support for immigrants by religious communities is the specific subject of a pilot research project awarded to Dr. Paul Bowlby in 2006 by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre. www.atlantic.metropolis.net/index_e.html.



Immigration and Families

Special Issue of *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens*

Metropolis has continued its successful partnership with the Association for Canadian Studies to produce special issues of the magazine *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* on immigration and diversity topics. This issue (Spring 2006) focuses on immigration and the family. It features an introduction by Madine VanderPlaat of Saint Mary's University, an interview with Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Monte Solberg, and twenty 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.

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CANADIAN JOURNAL OF URBAN RESEARCH
Revue canadienne de recherche urbaine
Special Issue
Our Diverse Cities: Challenges and Opportunities

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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 Zim 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 as well as suggesting ways to facilitate the integration process
.

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The recent establishment of the Centre d'accueil pour les immigrants et immigrantes de Moncton is a good illustration of the Francophone dynamic. This project to create a centre for French-speaking newcomers to Moncton denotes a desire to move to a new and more practical stage within this urban space.

A More Inclusive City? The Case of Moncton, New Brunswick

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In 2004, *Our Diverse Cities* presented a broad look "at the Canadian experience of the management of diversity that, as we know, is essentially the experience of Canadian cities and their transformation over the past twenty or thirty years."[1] The issue contained two articles exploring the urban face of Moncton and noting its "integrative potential" to change identities. According to Marie-Linda Lord, Moncton was becoming a city embracing postmodernity and "microcosmopolitanism."[2] In exuberant and sweeping terms, she described the city as a place of innovation, creativity and receptiveness to cultural diversity. Moncton's success story, unmatched in Atlantic Canada, dates from the "McKenna miracle" of the 1980s, when the city struggled out of the economic doldrums through a transition to the knowledge industries, new technologies and the service sector. Moncton also managed to draw a veil over an embarrassing past of linguistic tension and anti-Francophone sentiment that was in plain view in the days of Mayor Leonard Jones. In August 2002, city council passed a historic resolution making Moncton Canada's first officially bilingual city. Thanks to the vitality of a Francophone community that was increasingly a part of everyday living, the city was able to capitalize on a linguistic and cultural dynamic that found expression in a coming together of the Anglophone and Francophone communities.

How do things really stand? Can Moncton take up the challenge of diversity and inclusion? What interests us here is to see how a mid-size city is able to develop an immigration and diversity management strategy. Over the last few years, Canadian cities have become involved to varying degrees in managing ethnic and cultural diversity, and have been increasingly active in promoting the social and cultural integration of newcomers and visible minorities into a society that claims to be multicultural and pluralistic. Canadian municipalities, which were not exposed to it in the same way as the metropolises of Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto, are thus expected to play an increasingly active role in managing the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity that is crucial to the economic and social development of such communities. In May 2005, Atlantic Canada's mayors held an important conference on immigration that highlighted three great challenges confronting eastern Canada: eliminating obstacles and barriers to employment faced by newcomers, improving municipal services, and developing a host community that is open to diversity.

Our study seeks to analyse practices in the management of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in a number of urban and rural

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1 Caroline Andrew (Guest Editor), *Our Diverse Cities* 1 (Spring 2004), p. 9.

2 Marie-Linda Lord, "Bilingualism and Diversity in Postmodern Moncton," *Our Diverse Cities* 1 (Spring 2004), p. 93-98.

3 The research team is made up of Michèle Vatz-Laaroussi (Université de Sherbrooke), Chedly Belkhodja (Université de Moncton), Nicole Gallant (Université de Moncton), Joseph Garcea (University of Saskatchewan) and Christian Poirier (Université Laval).

municipalities in New Brunswick, Quebec and Saskatchewan.[3] It is related to research being conducted by the Canadian Immigration Observatory In Low Immigrant-Populated Areas (RDI-SSHRC: 2004–2007), which is designed to lay the groundwork for a comparative analysis of data collected in different provinces and regions and to construct new theoretical models for analyzing immigration in such areas. More specifically, the current research being pooled within the Observatory seeks to compare the dynamics operating in the regional, semi-urban and rural contexts in provinces that have few immigrants, as well as in mid-size Canadian cities. According to the ecological scheme worked out by the Observatory, local policies are central to the various systems that affect immigrant settlement in a particular space, their integration and, ultimately, their retention in these regions. Hence, the expression "municipal practices in the management of ethnic and cultural diversity" supports a detailed comparative analysis of local policies in matters of immigration and diversity, and relates to five elements that will form the principal dimensions of our research.

1. The **political, consultative and administrative structures established by municipalities.**

Our purpose is to identify the stakeholders involved and the processes at work in local policies and practices related to diversity: Is there an administrative unit, an official or an elected representative responsible for ethnic, religious and cultural diversity issues? Is there a municipal strategy, plan or policy respecting diversity and immigration? What are the relationships between the municipal council, the local bureaucracy, local businesspeople, community organizations, and ethnic, cultural and religious minorities?

2. The **projects, activities, programs and services** provided by municipalities.

Our purpose here will be to draw up a local inventory of forms of ethnic and cultural diversity and the types of activities proposed by municipalities. Various specific areas in the management of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity will be examined, particularly police services, sports and recreation, arts and culture, health care and housing services. We will also look at how urban municipalities and rural communities deal with diversified places of worship. Lastly, we will analyse the various types of community promotion projects for potential immigrants.

3. The **representations of integration and local development** expressed by the main stakeholders, with reference to the major models for the integration of immigrants.

Four main concepts of public management of social, cultural and political issues are commonly acknowledged: assimilationist, universalist, multiculturalist and interculturalist.[4] It will be interesting to see which of these dominate the representations, thinking, structures and activities of local stakeholders. Similarly, the concept of local development is prominent in mid-size and rural municipalities that are experiencing diminished demographic and economic vigour. Exposure to diversity through the inflow of immigrants thus emerges as a local development strategy employed sometimes by municipal authorities (officials or elected representatives), and sometimes by other private or community stakeholders. It will be important to identify the representations of local development underlying these projects to gain a clearer picture of how such municipalities approach diversity.

4. **Immigrants' perceptions of these processes and practices.**

Previous research has shown that immigrants' opinions and perceptions are rarely considered in local plans to receive newcomers.[5] Yet some municipal experiences also show that it is essential to canvass such opinions and perceptions in order to design projects, activities and programs that are more consistent with immigrants' needs and plans.[6]

5. The **interrelations between stakeholders, sectors and political authorities.**

Research by various authors, including Christian Poirier and Joseph Garcea, shows the importance of the interrelations between stakeholders in the various public and private entities (officials, residents, groups, institutions and so on) in any analysis of diversity management practices. We will look at these interrelations in their various forms – coordination, partnership, joint action and networking – and identify more specifically those that take place between sectors and

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[4] Christian Poirier, in *Rendez-vous Nouveau-Brunswick*, edited by Hélène Destrempes and Joe Ruggeri, 2005.

[5] Michèle Vatz-Laaroussi, "Immigrants et vie associative dans les régions du Québec," in *La vie associative des migrants : quelle (re)connaissances*, edited by J. Gatugu, S. Amoranitis and A. Manço (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004): p. 181-201.

[6] City of Sherbrooke, *Projet de politique d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants*, February 7, 2004.

The management of diversity does not mean merely luring immigrants by presenting a perfect image of the destination and then greeting them on arrival. A major challenge in a city unaccustomed to people who are different is to develop policies that make immigrants visible in the social, political and cultural growth of the city.

governments (municipalities, regions, provinces and governments) and represent the key to local receptiveness to diversity.

The case of Moncton

An initial glance at the research on Moncton takes in certain characteristics of an immigration and diversity management strategy. First, attracting new immigrants remains a substantial challenge for an urban centre in a region of Canada less accustomed to migratory flows. In Moncton, immigration still involves small numbers. In 2004, New Brunswick received 795 newcomers, but only 204 of them settled in the Moncton area.[7] Since 1970, Moncton has attracted 3,360 immigrants, mainly from the traditional sources, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and France. There are, however, some dynamics of interest with respect to the future. First, the number of Francophone immigrants who choose to settle outside Quebec has been increasing over the last few years. This trend is of particular interest to New Brunswick's Acadian and Francophone community. Second, Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada notes that some of them are moving from the big cities to other mid-size and small municipalities in Canada. Immigrants are thus demonstrating mobility in choosing to move after they arrive in Canada. Lastly, the Atlantic region has experienced a considerable increase in the number of foreign students in its universities and community colleges, leading governments and municipalities to develop innovative employment and integration strategies for these newcomers.

Advocates of immigration are found mainly among the economic stakeholders of Greater Moncton, who see it as a central issue in the region's economic and social development. Enterprise Greater Moncton, its economic development agency, has developed a regional attraction strategy in collaboration with the cities of Fredericton, Moncton and Saint John.[8] Since the 1990s, Moncton has prospered and experienced significant population growth. In 2008, the population of Greater Moncton will hit 133,039, due almost entirely to intraprovincial migration.[9] However, the demographics do show some disturbing signs, such as an ageing population and a low birth rate. Local stakeholders therefore point to the value, if not the necessity, of recruiting outside the province and promoting the region abroad. A recent project illustrates the ambitions of economic promoters. It involves the development of a Chinese village in Moncton capable of accommodating 250 Chinese families.[10] According to Enterprise Greater Moncton, the goal of this innovative project is to develop a site and then recruit immigrants directly from China. The economic sector is also targeting foreign students at the Université de Moncton. Significant work is being done to raise employer awareness with a view to the hiring of immigrants and students. According to a recent survey of some 750 businesses, raising awareness is a significant challenge with respect to immigrant integration.[11]

Another feature of the immigration dynamics in Greater Moncton is the Francophone nature of certain initiatives. A number of projects reflect the concerns of the Acadian and Francophone community. Over the last few years, the Société des acadiens et acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick (SAANB) has made immigration a central issue, seeking to increase the absorption capacity of municipalities through the development of new intake structures for immigrants. The recent establishment of the Centre d'accueil pour les immigrants et immigrantes de Moncton (CAIIM) is a good illustration of the Francophone dynamic. This project to create a centre for French-speaking newcomers to Moncton denotes a desire to move to a new and more practical stage within this urban space. It originated with African students who settled in the city a decade ago. According to Abdoulaziz Gangué, the idea was to develop a physical location for intercultural activities downtown that would assist in the reception and integration of Francophone immigrants who sometimes feel disoriented in a city with an English-speaking majority. CAIIM is designed as both a crossroads where newcomers can access information and resources to assist their integration into the host community, and a cultural facility to promote exchanges between Moncton's immigrant communities. Since 2004, the project has moved ahead with the formation of a board of directors and the organizing of a number of cultural activities, in particular a multicultural performance, conferences and round-table discussions. In this same spirit of openness to diversity, community television (Rogers) has produced a program called *Couleurs de l'Acadie*, which presents the personal stories of immigrants who have chosen to integrate into the French-speaking community. Also worth noting is a timid intrusion of immigrant culture into the area of arts and culture. In May 2007, the holding of a conference, the États généraux des arts et de la culture, will be an opportunity to consider the place of the ethnocultural artist within the Acadian and Francophone community.

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[7] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures* 2004, 2005.

[8] *New Brunswick Regional Immigration Traction Pilot Project*, 2004.

[9] Amulet Consulting Ltd, *Un stratagème d'immigration pour le Grand Moncton* (Phase 1), September 2005.

[10] Nathan White, "If You Build a Village, Will They Come?" *Telegraph Journal*, May 9, 2006 (www.canadaeast.com).

[11] Enterprise Greater Moncton, Enquête de Succès. PowerPoint presentation by Éric N. Pelletier at an information day for foreign students at the Université de Moncton.

Finally, the management of diversity does not mean merely luring immigrants by presenting a perfect image of the destination and then greeting them on arrival. A major challenge in a city unaccustomed to people who are different is to develop policies that make immigrants visible in the social, political and cultural growth of the city. First, the city has to engage immigrant communities in genuine dialogue and include them in local decision-making processes. It is especially important to take care not to limit the approach to immigration merely to selecting the "right" kind of immigrant: one who is seen as able simply to melt into the urban landscape. This ubiquitous theme emphasizes the promotion of immigration as a solution for the current and future challenges facing the city but neglects the difficulties that immigrants encounter in daily life, particularly isolation and discrimination.

Next, the city must develop tools to raise local public awareness. It is important to address issues that are too often skirted, such as the question of the racial discrimination and racism that are always a factor in urban problems. Last year, abuse directed at Chinese students in Saint John, and racist posters in the streets of Moncton, reminded us that problems of racism in homogeneous cities are never far away. Moncton could take its cue from some stimulating initiatives, particularly UNESCO's worldwide effort to combat racism and discrimination,[12] and a series of public debates in Ottawa on key issues in the integration of immigrants and the growth of diversity, such as access to housing, participation in civic activities, recreation, health care, employment, and cultural activities.[13]

All these signs are encouraging and give Moncton a more progressive character. In the next census, the Greater Moncton area is to be recognized as a census metropolitan area (CMA), joining 30 other CMAs across Canada. What is noticeable in Moncton is that diversity is becoming a reality that is more sensitive to daily life. This urban experience is sometimes felt in little things, such as the change in viewpoint that goes with cultural and ethnic difference. A more personal illustration supports this observation. Over the last few years, a group of friends has gathered to play a friendly game of soccer. These games have brought together people from all over the world, from different social backgrounds and different cultures. Most importantly, the exercise has made it possible to get to know each other better, through discussions on the African, North African and British styles of play, and to form new friendships.

The next step is to work toward making the city a place that values the importance of all cultures in relation to political power. It is no longer enough to imagine the place in relation to a globalized world; we must work as citizens to develop new manners for daily living.

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[12] Canadian Commission for UNESCO, Call for Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination, Draft Brochure, 2006.

[13] Our Diverse City, Ottawa (see www.metropolis.net).

The Halifax Regional Municipality's Cultural Plan aims to establish a more focused program of cultural service delivery, partnership development and asset investment over a 10-year span. It is intended to raise the profile of culture as an essential building block for healthy, vibrant and viable communities, as well as establish key linkages between culture and HRM's other strategic initiatives.

Halifax: A Welcoming Community

LOUIS COUTINHO
Halifax Regional Municipality

Engaging our broader communities – chronological review

The cities of Halifax, Dartmouth, Bedford and Halifax County amalgamated in 1996, forming the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM), home to approximately 380 000 citizens who are served by 23 councillors, each representing one District, and by a Mayor, who is elected at large. HRM is structured under a Council/Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) governance model. The CAO is responsible for the provision of advice and direction to Council, for the implementation of policies and programs, and for the overall administration of the organization.

During the summer of 1997, HRM adopted an Employment Equity Policy to reflect initiatives that support the hiring from under-represented groups (e.g., women, racially visible persons, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal persons). A few months later, HRM adopted a Community and Race Relations Policy. The mission of the policy was clearly outlined: "Halifax Regional Municipality recognizes the diversity of its communities including, but not limited to, the multiracial, multiethnic, multilinguistic, multicultural and multireligious communities composed of individuals from many parts of the world. The Municipality recognizes the historical contributions of *all* citizens from its Diverse Communities, from the Aboriginal peoples, indigenous African Nova Scotians, early settlers through to modern day immigrants to the overall development of the Municipality and acknowledges the special and cherished relationship between it and residents from its Diverse Communities."

Halifax hosted the "Immigration and Outmigration: Atlantic Canada at a Crossroads" conference in November 2004. It was the first pan-Canadian conference held in Atlantic Canada on the theme of immigrant attraction, retention and integration. Representatives of HRM, the Province of Nova Scotia, the Greater Halifax Partnership, the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA), the Halifax Chamber of Commerce and others formed a strong partnership focusing on the importance of immigration to the economic, social and cultural development of our community and Atlantic Canada.

The Diversity Planning Committee was established in 2004 with the objective of developing a long-term sustainable plan for the promotion and integration of diversity throughout HRM. The Corporate Diversity Plan was championed by the CAO and the Deputy Chief Administrative Officer (DCAO), and was sponsored by the Director of Human Resources. The team recognized that diversity must be integrated into all aspects of the corporation including the Corporate Scorecard and individual unit Business Planning efforts. The recommendations have been divided into eight theme areas: understanding and adopting diversity; policies and programs; accountability; removal of barriers; under-representation of the current workforce; union involvement; corporate encouragement; and training and development.

In May 2005, the Atlantic Mayor's Congress hosted the Atlantic Immigration Conference at historic Pier 21 in Halifax. The goal of the conference was to find ways for communities across Atlantic Canada to work together, learn from each other and make our region more attractive and welcoming to immigrants. At the closing of the conference, a toolkit was developed and distributed to all participants, which included a municipal agenda for immigration. The agenda focused on: a) keeping the immigrants we have; b) growing the international and cultural communities already here; and c) attracting new immigrants to our community.

During the spring of 2005, the Halifax Regional Council adopted a regional Immigration Strategy with the following vision: "HRM is a welcoming community where immigration is supported and encouraged. HRM will work with other levels of government and community partners to increase our collective cultural, social and economic diversity by welcoming immigrants to our community." At the HRM Immigration Forum hosted in June 2005, participants discussed several areas for improvement and provided immediate, as well as medium- to long-term recommendations. Two priorities were identified: a communication approach (how we communicate with and serve residents of diverse cultures and backgrounds); and organizational issues (reconsidering our organizational structure, how we recruit, train and utilize our employees). Later in the fall of 2005, the HRM Immigration Action Plan was developed.

At the end of 2005, HRM was selected as the Canadian Candidate City in the bid to host the 2014 Commonwealth Games. The final decision will be announced during the fall of 2007. Hosting the games would provide our region with a great opportunity to introduce our diverse cultural values and differences internationally.

Just recently, in March 2006, Council adopted a draft of HRM's first Cultural Plan. The Plan aims to establish a more focused program of cultural service delivery, partnership development and asset investment for HRM over a 10-year span. It is intended to raise the profile of culture as an essential building block for healthy, vibrant and viable communities, as well as establish key linkages between culture and HRM's other strategic initiatives. The plan recognizes that culture is about community character and identity, history of people and places, events and local celebration, arts and creative expression, lifelong learning, customs, traditions and diversity. The Cultural Plan will define and reinforce HRM's cultural mandate; define the community's expectations; guide cultural programming and capital investment; define the needs and opportunities of the community and the cultural sector; integrate program and service delivery; integrate culture broadly into municipal issues; develop and sustain multisector partnerships; leverage resources for enhanced investment; and position HRM as a leader in cultural planning and development. The Cultural Plan provides the framework for managing the Region's cultural assets, promoting and celebrating them, and developing HRM's cultural identity to its full potential.

Engaging our employees

HRM is successful in a number of other internal initiatives designed to recognize, value and celebrate the diversity of its employees. Since 2000, it has designated a week in September to celebrate HRM workplace diversity. During this week, some business units report on their diversity initiatives, employees display their diversity through panel discussions, forums, cultural displays, potluck luncheons, etc. For instance, in 2002, panel presenters addressed issues associated with immigration, including decreasing numbers of immigrants to Nova Scotia, the difficulties faced by immigrants living in this area, and potential benefits to HRM from increased immigration. In 2004, a panel discussion entitled Gender Issues in Non-Traditional Roles attracted a large number of employees from across the organization. Everyone's enthusiasm and candid discussion made it both interesting and educational when learning about the nature of the various panelists' jobs and the challenges they face, as well as learning about improvements they would like to see in the future. Last year was held the Employee Immigration Forum panel discussion, which provided an opportunity for employees who were born outside of Canada to share their own experience with integration into Canadian culture and the HRM workplace culture. Their stories were touching, emotional and sent a strong message about diversity and respect to our employees.

HRM's Human Resources Department is currently developing a new hiring strategy. Its purpose is to integrate diversity initiatives, the Immigration Action Plan and the Employment Equity Policy into the Municipality's hiring strategy, and to develop an action plan that will assist in increasing representation from the immigrant population and from four under-represented groups under the *Employment Equity Act*. The rationale is to learn and benefit from diverse employees who not only represent the diverse communities we serve, but to increase creativity, efficiency and effectiveness of the services we provide. Some of the initiatives include broad outreach; recognition and evaluation of international work experience and education; developing "barrier-free" employment advertising; and managerial accountability to recognize the importance of diversity in the early stages of hiring.

Some business units already have achieved significant results with designated recruitment. The Halifax Regional Police (HRP) has conducted two designated recruitments in an effort to attract and hire racially visible candidates and reflect the community they serve and protect. Due to significant outreach efforts during those two campaigns, HRP continues to attract a significant number of diverse candidates even through regular recruitment. Halifax Regional Fire and Emergency Services (HRFE) have also been successful with designated recruitment. In 2003, a recruitment campaign was launched to attract African Canadian candidates, and in the following year, 13 successful African Canadian men were hired. In 2005, HRFE launched a new designated recruitment program to attract more females to the fire service. A designated female recruitment committee was formed to develop and promote this initiative. More than 700 females attended the 6 information sessions, of which 242 wrote the test and 16 of them were added to the list of potential new recruits.

HRM has a number of policies in place (Ethical Conduct Policy, Illegal and Irregular Conduct Policy, Workplace Rights Policy, etc.) to ensure employees fully understand their rights and responsibilities with respect to creating and maintaining a positive and respectful working environment.

While these achievements are worth celebrating, it is evident that HRM continues to face challenges and that we still have a significant amount of work to do before we can fully achieve our goal of becoming an employer and community of choice.

With globalization and urbanization, we must all make an effort to adapt to change and to continually transforming surroundings. Everyone – not just schools, teachers and parents – must develop skills to allow them to live in harmony with their neighbours.

The Call for a Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination:

For a Network of Open and Welcoming Cities for a Sustainable Future

ELISABETH BAROT
Canadian Commission for UNESCO

Canadian municipalities are considering favourably the call of UNESCO and the members of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO for a sustainable commitment in prevention. Several of them are taking advantage of this opportunity to review their policies for combating racism and discrimination in cooperation with their administration and their constituencies.

What is UNESCO?

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) encourages skills development and international cooperation through networking, thinking together, and developing and implementing norms and standards in its areas of specialization.

UNESCO was established following the Second World War in the hopes that it would become a tool for cooperation among the world's specialists in these fields in order to help build a peaceful world together. Among the programs most familiar to the public is the network of World Heritage sites, which highlights the need to protect exceptional landmarks that are part of the cultural heritage. The notion of a common heritage for humanity suggests that we are all possessors of a cultural treasure, part of a whole that must be respected and protected by all.

Another UNESCO activity that makes headline news is related to the gatherings of experts in various countries to listen to stakeholders from around the world. In recent years, discussions have been held on the ethics of science and technology and on education. The most recent gatherings held in Canada were in 2003, on bioethics, and in 1999, on education for the 21st century. The impact of the gatherings is often difficult to measure, but five years after the discussion on education, there is evidence of an impact in the vocabulary used in education policies around the world and even in some cases in everyday language. The recommendations of the report on education for the 21st century proposed four pillars of education: "learning to be," "learning to do," "learning to know," and the one most often referred to without knowledge of its source, "learning to live together." With globalization and urbanization, we must all make an effort to adapt to change and to continually transforming surroundings. Everyone – not just schools, teachers and parents – must develop skills to allow them to live in harmony with their neighbours.

Lastly, in recent years, respect for cultural diversity has been a topic of lively debate around the world, leading to the development of a UNESCO declaration and then a UNESCO convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. The states parties met to consider the particular features of culture in relation to other commodities and agreed on the importance of introducing guidelines to guarantee respect for diversity.

The networking, reflection and development of standards did not take place in a vacuum. It came about through the concerted thinking of stakeholders representing, to the extent possible, all regions of the world during spirited deliberations at conferences, meetings and within networks.

While UNESCO regularly ventures to draft a list of common human values, every debate on societal issues underscores nuances and highlights differences, until acceptable and necessary compromises are suggested for mutual cooperation in each field.

A network of National Commissions for UNESCO

Canada and Canadians, through consultations led by the Canadian Commission for UNESCO (CCU), are actively participating in the deliberations both in Canada and in international fora. Indeed, the CCU is part of UNESCO's unique network of national organizations, which holds consultations of concerned parties in each country on issues of importance to the fields of the Organization.

It was during one of the consultation sessions that UNESCO's initiative to call for a Coalition of Cities Against Racism and Discrimination germinated within interested circles in Canada. Transformed and adapted by the stakeholders, debated at pan-Canadian meetings of human rights commissions and the Canadian Federation of Municipalities and at regional meetings of major cities in Ontario and Quebec, the idea began to take shape.

What is proposed to municipalities?

The Secretary General of the CCU sent a letter to the mayors of every municipality that expressed an interest, asking them to agree in principle to the commitments proposed in the Call for a coalition.

Between January and April 2006, over 50 cities expressed their interest. Of the 50, three signed the Declaration committing their city to develop or review its action plan to join the coalition, while another 10 decided to have their municipal administration conduct a self-assessment of their action plan and the budget required before making a proposal to join the coalition.

The proposed commitment in principle involves a participatory approach to stimulate discussion and include municipal partners, whether from the economic, cultural, social or intellectual sectors, in the initiative to combat racism and discrimination. A results-based approach encourages the research that could lead to increasing each municipality's capacity to measure progress and share challenges and achievements and thereby increase the chances of success of policies developed by Municipalities. The researchers involved in developing performance and quality-of-life indicators are invited to contribute to the debate and thinking in order to facilitate the development of viable tools.

Every commitment is deserving of attention from all stakeholders, as this will foster excellence and drive the success of the priorities and objectives set by the municipalities.

To facilitate the self-assessment, it is proposed, following the comparative study prepared by the Centre of Research on Immigration Ethnicity and Citizenship (CRIEC),[1] that the municipalities group the commitments into three categories to help them better identify the partners, including the operational divisions of the municipal administrations.

- The first category covers commitments related to the municipality's work as an organization. As an employer, does the Municipality fulfil its employment equity obligations? As a contractor, does it have a policy that facilitates the selection of business partners. Do they follow employment equity policies and are they aware of the rules for delivery of services to a diverse population? Examples of appropriate policies exist and can have a

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[1] The compared analysis of Municipal policies and their indicators, prepared by CRIEC, Université du Québec à Montréal, helped define the three categories proposed to the municipalities can be found at www.criec.uqam.ca#pages#frame_set_f#fs_cahiers_f.html.

The municipality has a role to play in helping others learn about the tangible and intangible heritage that has contributed to our history. Municipalities play an increasingly significant role in encouraging newcomers to take their place in history as quickly as possible and in encouraging them to make their own contribution to writing the next page together.

significant impact. Diversity in service delivery has been shown to help increase confidence, facilitate dialogue and broaden access to services for certain population groups. On the other hand, if people feel they have nothing in common with their democratic institutions, they tend to remain on the fringes. Efforts of equity in the area of urban development are also encouraged.

- A second category of commitments has to do with the municipality's law and regulation enforcement function. Police forces have organized into networks to discuss means of better representing the populations they serve, including a greater variety of employees in their ranks and raising the awareness of their employees to cultural differences should facilitate their dealings with an increasingly diverse population. What link is made between this initiative and the municipal and community initiatives? How can they learn from one another? What can be done to ensure that everyone is aware of the most common complaints and have access to information available for victim services? What can be done to make all tools more widely available?
- Finally, the third category covers commitments in the area of respect for diversity. Examples include promotion of art and culture through cultural activities and festivals, raising awareness of common values, or invitations to meet others to discuss urban development projects. Any activity that increases opportunities for sharing and commemorating historical encounters, treaties and examples of initiatives of cooperation, complicity and fusion should be encouraged. In the context of this desire to live together in greater harmony and meet everyone's need for lifelong learning, the municipality has a role to play in helping others learn about the tangible and intangible heritage that has contributed to our history. Municipalities play an increasingly significant role in encouraging newcomers to take their place in history as quickly as possible and in encouraging them to make their own contribution to writing the next page together.

All of society's organized entities are stakeholders and have a role to play. All are invited to undertake an assessment of their practices, give an account of their successes, share their performance evaluation tools and foster harmony at the local level.

In Canada, the call to the municipalities underscores the fact that our jurisdictions vary so widely from province to province that responsibility for each of the proposed commitments never really rests with the municipality alone. In some cases, responsibility lies more at the federal or provincial level and sometimes it is shared by all three levels. That is why the call to municipalities has to be seen as part of a broader initiative in cooperation with other jurisdictional levels; in particular policies dealing with employment equity, fairness in housing, multiculturalism, citizenship and immigration policies and human resources development will be of interest to all levels of government.

The Declaration that municipalities are being asked to sign highlights the need for cooperation with other levels of government on shared responsibilities. To emphasize the international and domestic legal framework of the initiative and facilitate the definition of concepts, the framework is explicitly described in the call for a coalition. This is also a way to stress the importance for UNESCO of mobilizing all agents of change in the implementation of and respect for rights. It is the civic responsibility of each and every one of us to enforce those rights. To be able to play this role, everyone must feel included and invited to or represented at the table. For that reason, the call also suggests examining the reasons why some are not included in the decision-making process and look at ways of resolving the situation.

A learning community in the building

Lastly, the initiative is a roadmap for a work in progress. Each party is engaged in contributing information on the process and progress, so that everyone can learn from what others do and may together develop viable solutions. The Canadian municipalities that have been working with their communities and with the other levels of government on the governance of diversity have all developed their own ways of taking up those challenges. Numerous examples can be given, but we will mention just a few that we consider to be forwardlooking.

In 2004 the City Council of Montreal adopted a Declaration for Diversity and Inclusion.

The City Council of Edmonton adopted a declaration strengthening the relationship between the City and Urban Aboriginal peoples in 2005.

In Vancouver negociations are ongoing for a project entitled “Safe Harbour,” a multi-partner initiative designed to raise awareness for a greater respect for diversity. The business community is encouraged to play a role and in return receive a label identifying them as a promoter of diversity.

These examples are part of the numerous ideas to be shared in the context of a coalition. As in the case of enterprises receiving a “green label,” the challenge will be to monitor ongoing compliance. In these cases monitoring is going to be the responsibility of each citizen.

Too often in the past, solutions have been developed to resolve serious problems that could probably have been prevented. A coalition such as the one proposed by UNESCO and the Canadian Commission for UNESCO should encourage municipalities who so desire to adopt reliable working tools designed to prevent problems that can be predicted and meet most contingencies head on. Improving the governance of diversity is one way of updating our democratic processes to face a sustainable future.

Population size of a county was not a factor in the locational choice of immigrants who arrived in Canada during 1991-2001 and settled in Atlantic Canada. This result is contrary to the expectation that immigrants are attracted to densely populated urban regions that offer greater economic opportunities, social services (such as health care and education) and amenities of life.

Immigrant Attraction and Retention: What Can Work and What is Being Done in Atlantic Canada?

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Emigration and declining fertility rates have been held responsible for the recent decline and ageing of population in Atlantic Canada. Population loss has potential for economic decline due to shrinking markets for goods and services, ageing labour force and a declining stock of human capital. A provincial restructuring of the provision of some public services, such as health care services, in rural areas of Atlantic Canada is already taking place.[1]

A public policy response to the above demographic trends has been the adoption of strategies to attract international immigrants. Currently, Canada receives about 250,000 immigrants annually, less than 2% of whom declare Atlantic Canada as their intended destination. Of these, only about 40% tend to stay. Furthermore, about 90% of the immigrant population settles in the urban areas. Hence, the recent policy focus has not only been on attracting immigrants but also on their distribution and retention across rural and urban areas. To achieve these objectives, service infrastructure, programs and initiatives have been put in place by governments, communities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to help with the settlement and economic and social integration of the new arrivals.

This paper 1) analyzes past immigrant settlement patterns in Atlantic Canada to econometrically investigate the relative importance of factors that determine them, and 2) reviews the current public policy initiatives undertaken in Atlantic Canada to attract and retain immigrants in the region.

The econometric model for immigrant destination choice in Atlantic Canada and results of its estimation

We specify the model as below:

$NI_R = f(P_R, IM_R, V_R, U_R)$

Where:

NI_R = New immigrants (those who arrived during 1991-01) in region R

P_R = Population size in region R

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[1] For example, Keefe and Side (2003) provide this evidence for Paarsboro, Nova Scotia.

IM_R = Immigrant population in region R

V_R = Resident visible minority population in region R

U_R = Unemployment rate in region R

The above model considers various non-economic and economic determinants of an immigrant's destination choice and is estimated using regression analysis based on data for 46 counties of Atlantic Canada derived from the 2001 Census.[2] Three dummy variables are also added to the model in order to capture the effects of variables that may vary across the four provinces of Atlantic Canada but are fixed within each province. Results are reported in Table 1. The high value of R-square indicates that the variables included in the model play an important role in determining immigrants' locational choice. T-values are used to test the statistical significance of each variable with 95% degree of confidence.

Given the low absolute t-value (less than 2) of the population size variable (P_R), one may conclude that population size of a county was not a factor in the locational choice of immigrants who arrived in Canada during 1991-2001 and settled in Atlantic Canada. This result is contrary to the expectation that immigrants are attracted to densely populated urban regions that offer greater economic opportunities, social services (such as health care and education) and amenities of life. An important implication of this result is that smaller areas of Atlantic Canada can also be home to new arrivals.

The positive and statistically significant coefficients of the immigrant population (IM_R) and visible minority (V_R) variables are consistent with the Chiswick and Miller's (2004) hypothesis that presence of an immigrant community and ethnic enclaves can be major attracting factors for new immigrants, a greater number of whom tend to be of visible minority origin. Immigrant and ethnic networks 1) provide information networks, thereby helping to obtain important economic and labor market information about a region that new arrivals find necessary for their settlement, and 2) signal the existence of cultural and ethnic goods in the region that become major attraction point for new comers.

TABLE 1

Regression results

Variable	Coefficient	T-value[*]
Constant	-166.38	-4.054
Population	-0.0005	-0.914
Foreign born	0.2398	9.367
Visible minority	0.0776	3.768
Unemployment rate	4.1667	2.074
Dummy – N.B.[**]	17.429	0.619
Dummy – P.E.I.[**]	30.865	0.631
Dummy – N.L.[**]	54.739	1.349

[*] Critical t-value (absolute) = 2 at 95% confidence.

[**] Reference province is Nova Scotia.

R square (adjusted): 0.995.

No. of observations: 46.

Dependent variable: Immigrants arriving 1991-2001.

Since the mid-1990s, China, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and United Arab Emirates have become major source countries of immigrant arriving in Atlantic Canada, a trend that is expected to continue in future. The quantitative impact of immigrant population is higher in the model than that of a visible minority population, probably because not all of the new immigrants are from the visible minority group.

The unemployment rate in the model has also a statistically significant effect and has the highest impact in the model. The positive sign of this variable suggests that immigrants settle in counties with higher unemployment rates. This result is justifiable if immigrants settle in those counties after they have found jobs. So the important question to ask is this: Why is it that immigrants are able to find jobs in a county which already has a higher unemployment level? There may be two reasons for this result. First, it is possible that local residents are not willing to do those jobs. Second, the county's unemployment level may be of structural nature so that its resident labor does not qualify to fill the vacant jobs. To verify these possibilities, one may compare the unemployment rates among immigrants in each county with those for the resident population. Figure 1 provides that comparison for counties in one of the provinces, Nova Scotia, for whom separate immigrant data were available to us. The incidence of unemployment was lower, in all counties in 2001, among immigrants than among the total resident population that may provide support to the two labour market possibilities discussed above.

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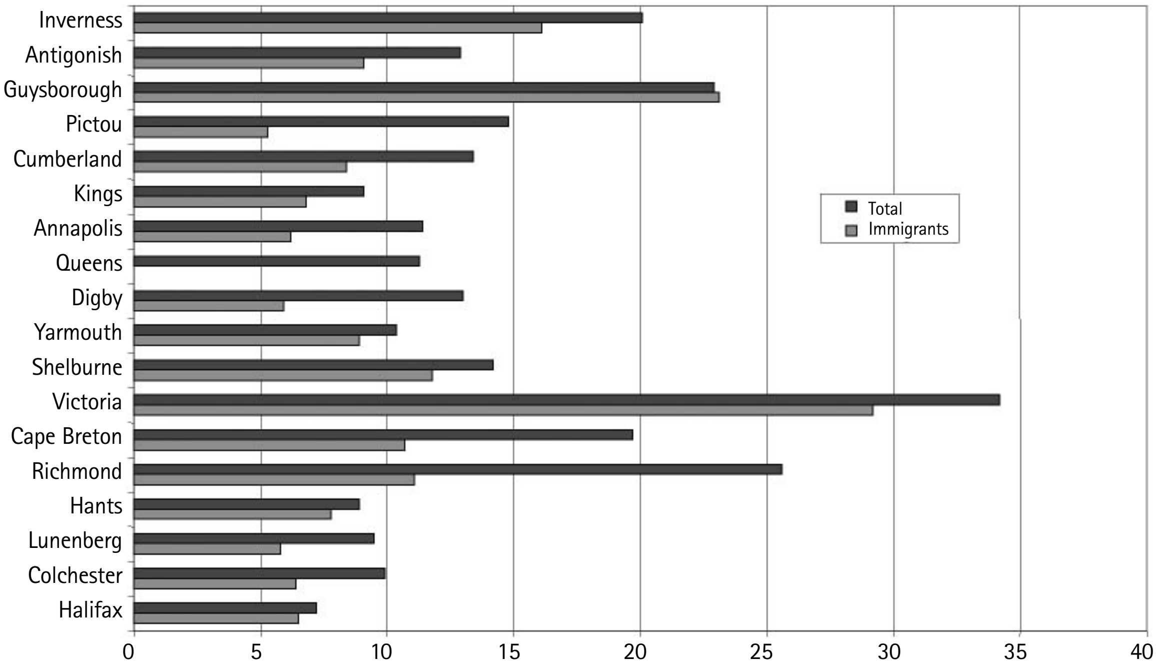
[2] Statistics Canada has published these data on its Web site under the title *Community Profiles*.

FIGURE 1

Unemployment rate among total and immigrant population of Nova Scotia, by county, 2001.



Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

The coefficient of each dummy variable in the model measures the preference of new immigrants for the corresponding province relative to the excluded provinces, Nova Scotia. The low t-values indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in provincial choice of new arrivals to the region. This result is consistent with our previous finding that population size of the area is not important in immigrants' destination choice decision.

In sum, our regression analysis results indicate that smaller communities can also be the destination choice of immigrants in Atlantic Canada. Similar result has been found for western Canada by Edmonston and Lee (2004), who show that seven new and smaller municipalities in British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba attracted greater numbers of immigrants during 1991-2001 mainly due to employment growth and active immigrant recruitment programs. The three important variables in attracting and retaining immigrants in small municipalities of Atlantic Canada are the following: presence of jobs, presence of other immigrants, and presence of an ethnic community network with which new arrivals can associate.

New initiatives to attract immigrants in Atlantic Canada

Major immigration initiatives undertaken by governments and communities in Atlantic Canada include policy initiatives to attract and retain immigrants and international students and a joint effort to enhance the immigrant service framework and infrastructure in the region.

Public policy initiatives

There are two major recent immigration policy initiatives designed to attract and retain more newcomers in the region – the Atlantic Provincial Nominee Program and the initiative to attract international students.

Atlantic Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador have signed Provincial Nominee Agreements with the federal government in recent years, as have other Canadian provinces. In most cases, the PNP is a five-year agreement that allows each Atlantic province to select and nominate 1,000 immigrants over a five-year period, based on its own labour market needs. While Atlantic PNP is still in the early stage of its operation, it has demonstrated its ability to fast track prospective immigrant candidates and the flexibility for program design and refinement based on Atlantic Canada's demographic and socioeconomic challenges as well as each province's economic development agenda.

Two important characteristics of PNPs are worth noting in light of our econometric results of the previous section: 1) Our econometric analysis had suggested that immigrants do locate in small areas of high unemployment level, which we believe, is possible only if they are able to secure employment there. Implementation of PNPs in Atlantic Canada will further this trend because the structural design and eligibility requirements of all Atlantic PNPs require prospective candidates to secure their employment through either job offer or self-employment. 2) Inclusion of the "community identified" category under the Nova Scotia PNP is an explicit recognition that community networks can play an important role in attracting, selecting and retaining new immigrants.

International Student Attraction and Retention

Being trained in Canada, international students do not face the issue of foreign credential recognition (FCR) – an issue that is known to create barriers for integration of new immigrants. During their stay, international students also interact with resident Canadians. Hence, once they complete their education, they may integrate into the Canadian workforce and society more easily than the newly arrived immigrants.

As an effort to retain international students, the provincial governments of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have recently signed agreements with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to 1) allow international students to work in the fields of their studies for two years after completing their education, and 2) allow international students to work off campus for up to 20 hours per week while studying and 40 hours per week during summer season. These new measures should enable international students in the two provinces to gain valuable Canadian work experience off campus and also better prepare themselves to be fully adapt to the Canadian workforce and society at later stages.

The above policy initiatives are consistent with our econometric results that suggest that immigration can be used as a tool to address skill shortages in small areas of Atlantic Canada. Increased inflow of international students will also contribute to the expansion of the existing visible minority communities.

Services for economic and social integration of immigrants

Major immigration programs and services formulated for new comers in Atlantic Canada can be categorized into three types: employment, business support and language training. These programs aim to help new comers in overcoming specific barriers and gaps associated with settling in a new country and integrating into a new working environment. Space limitation on this article allows us to provide only a very brief description of some of these programs as under.

One of the major immigrant settlement and integration services providers in Atlantic Canada is the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) in Halifax. The Employment Service Unit (ESU) of MISA offers a range of labour market attachment supports to newcomers, employment counseling and coaching, employment workshops, interview orientation and practices, work placement service, access to job information and resources, etc. One example is the New Beginnings program which is a work placement program consisting of three workshops that help develop job search and interview skills among new comers and also provide a full-time, six-week work placement.[3] The ESU also hosts sector-specific information sessions for those newcomers who are interested in seeking employment in a certain sector. It also provides them with networking opportunities to establish contacts with employers and professionals in various sectors such as information technology, engineering, tourism, etc. Finally, ESU offers employment mentoring services to match immigrants who are seeking job opportunities in a specific occupation with native workers in the same industry.[4]

The Immigrant Business Development Services (IBDS) of MISA provides immigrant entrepreneurs and recent immigrants with business support services including information, referral, business counseling, business orientation and business management skills training.[5]

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[3] www.misa.ns.ca.

[4] Gardner Pinfold Consulting Economists Ltd, 2004, p. 10.

[5] Gardner Pinfold Consulting Economists Ltd, 2004, p. 13.

[6] Pier 21 Society, 2003.

[7] www.mcaf.nb.ca/employment; www.gnb.ca/0311/.

[8] www.anc-nf.cc/employment; www.peianc.com.

[9] www.hilc.ns.ca/LanTraining.

Pier 21 Society in Halifax and the Multicultural Association of Fredericton (MAF) provide newcomers with wage subsidy work placement on a term basis. Pier 21 Society operated a pilot immigrant work placement program in 2004 that offered immigrant candidates, selected through competition, various paid positions for a six-month term. These term positions were hosted either by Pier 21 Society itself or by its partnering businesses and NGOs.[6] A similar wage subsidy immigrant work placement program is hosted by the MAF under funding from the New Brunswick government and offered under the auspices of the Work Ability program. Under the contract, MAF is able to enter into wage subsidy agreements with employers who hire recent immigrants on a case-by-case basis. The Work Ability program provides eligible applicants with a work placement wage subsidy for up to 12 weeks. Under certain circumstances, the program can be used to provide clients with sufficient hours of employment to become eligible for employment insurance benefits and, as a result, clients may be eligible for federal funding for career training programs.[7]

The PEI Association for Newcomers to Canada in Prince Edward Island and the Association for New Canadians in Newfoundland and Labrador also offer settlement and employment services similar to those discussed above.[8]

All immigrant service providers in Atlantic Provinces offer English as a Second Language (ESL) programming and training. The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada is one of the major ESL programs, which provides newcomers with basic settlement language training and consists of six levels of ESL benchmarkings. In addition, Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre (HILC) offers ESL programming tailored specifically for workplace such as Survival Language for Work, English for Work and Business, Sector Specific Language, etc.[9]

Conclusions

Our main conclusion of the econometric analysis of immigrant settlement patterns in Atlantic Canada is that new immigrants will choose to settle in smaller areas if they are able to secure employment and the area has an existing immigrant and visible minority population. This conclusion supports the new public policy initiatives to attract immigrants and programs for their settlement.

The Atlantic PNPs can be important tools to address the demographic and socioeconomic challenges in Atlantic Canada such as skill shortages, business development, etc. The PNPs primarily target immigrants with specific skill sets that are in demand in various industry/sectors and in various areas of the region, and direct newcomers to fill those specific skill gaps in those areas. However, the current challenge faced by the PNP in Atlantic Canada is the smaller share of visible minorities

compared to the major immigrant destinations in Canada such as Ontario, Québec and British Columbia. Building-up of critical mass for a diverse immigrant population in Atlantic Canada step by step in order to attract and retain more immigrants would require governments, immigrant service providers and other stakeholders to make greater effort to put in place better immigration policy and programming and more sophisticated immigration service framework. The current public policy, NGO and community organization initiatives are steps in right direction.

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"One of Atlantic Canada's greatest competitive advantages is its universities. [They are] the most critical gateway to the knowledge economy in Atlantic Canada."– Association of Atlantic Universities (2005a)

Role of Universities in the Economic Development of Atlantic Canada: A Focus on Immigration*

DENIS LEBRUN *and* **SARITA REBELO**
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

Atlantic Canada is a small region both demographically and geographically. Yet, it is home to a disproportionately high number of universities that are among the best in Canada. As Atlantic Canada continues its transition to a more global, knowledge-based economy, these universities will be called upon to play a larger role in the region's economic development. In light of the stagnation of Atlantic Canada's population, one of the new areas in which universities can become more involved is in the retention of international students as new immigrants to the region.

This article, by means of a literature review, highlights the key roles of universities in Atlantic Canada's economic development.[1] With a focus placed on the new economic role of universities, in the area of immigration, the article also presents the findings of a pilot survey, the Survey of International Students in Atlantic Canada. The findings and recommendations show the increasing need for collaborative policy development and planning between government, universities, and other stakeholders to attract, integrate, and retain international students to the region.

Role of Atlantic Canadian universities

In today's knowledge economy, higher education institutions have a key role to play in Atlantic Canada's economic development. Estimates reveal that the region's 17 universities and many colleges contribute over $3 billion annually to Atlantic Canada's economy, employing approximately 17,500 people in the region (AAU 2004: 1). However, this economic impact goes beyond the revenues generated and the jobs created.

Universities also raise the knowledge level of the general population, In Atlantic Canada, there are currently 77,000 full-time students, with another 15,650 students registered in continuing education programs (AAU 2005b). As Atlantic Canada moves from a resource-based to a knowledge-based economy, there is an evolution from employment in unskilled trades to skilled trades. From 1990 to 2000, over 140,000 jobs were created for people with a university degree or postsecondary diploma, an increase of over 34%. Meanwhile, the number of jobs for people with only partial postsecondary training or less fell by over 30%, a net decrease of about 84,000 jobs (Beaudin and Breau 2001: 127).

As well, research by Atlantic Canadian universities contribute to the region's economic development. Given the limited number of large corporations able to invest large amounts in research and development (R&D) and the inability of most small- and medium-sized

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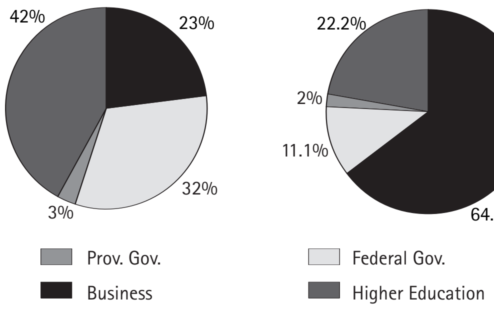
[*] The views presented in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency or the Government of Canada.

[1] The complete policy research study upon which this article is based can found on ACOA's Website at www.acoa-apeca.gc.ca

[2] http://www.springboardatlantic.ca.

FIGURE 1

Most Research and Development in Atlantic Canada is carried out by universities



Source: Statistics Canada

businesses (SMEs) to start up such programs, university research accounts for most of the activity in the R&D sector (see Figure 1). Universities generate 42% of R&D in Atlantic Canada compared to 22.2% in the country as a whole (AAU 1999: 9).

In addition to research, Atlantic Canadian universities are actively involved in technological transfer, which is pertinent to the social and economic development of the region. So much so, that the federal government, through the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), administers the Atlantic Innovation Fund (AIF). Through the AIF, in 2004, ACOA invested $3.6 million over 3 years to set up a network to market the research conducted by regional universities. The purpose of the Springboard Network is to “enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of technology transfer at all Universities in Atlantic Canada and to promote and accelerate the commercialization of technologies by Atlantic Canadian companies. The Network ensures that small universities have access to the necessary support services and that larger ones can access specialized staff resources resident in other Atlantic universities.”[2] The transfer of knowledge and technology from the university to industry benefits researchers on campuses, as well as the province, the region, and the country.

On top of the above-mentioned roles of universities, they also have a part in the local “community service” and “community development.” The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) maintains that universities play an essential role in the community, providing such facilities as theatre, museum, art gallery, concert hall, conference centre, exhibition centre, library or sports complex (Goddard 1999: 15). There are endless examples of these facilities across the region’s campuses ranging from St. Francis Xavier’s Millennium Centre (arena) to the Université de Moncton’s science park (links researchers and private sector).

A new economic role for Atlantic Canadian universities

A review of Atlantic Canada’s demographics shows that from 1996-2001, the population of three of the four Atlantic provinces declined, while the population of P.E.I. grew by 0.5% (Desjardins 2005: 4). Given the projected demographic decline facing Atlantic Canada, shown in Figure 2, universities can play a central role in helping the region alleviate its demographic challenges and its growing need for qualified workers by attracting, integrating and retaining international students.

International students and immigration have become increasingly important for Atlantic Canada. In addition to being skilled, international students contribute directly to the region’s economy. It is estimated that each student spends

FIGURE 2

Atlantic Canada’s projected demographic decline

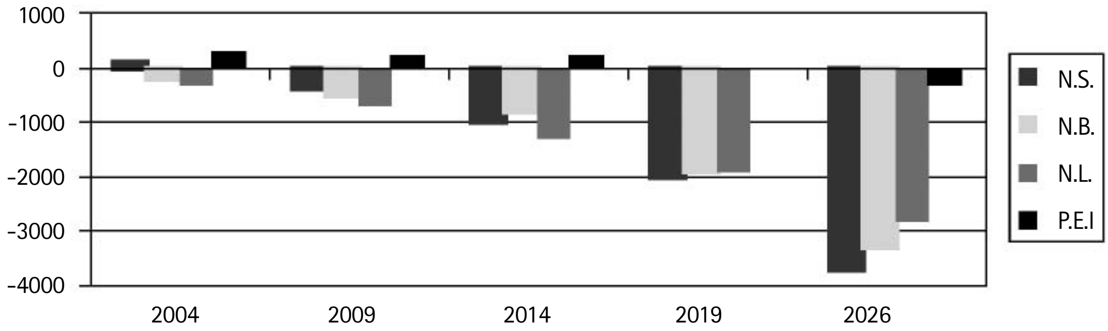


TABLE 1

International student enrolment, 2000-2004

Institutions	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Memorial University	400	346	452	528	626
Acadia University	341	417	558	669	652
Atlantic School of Theology	0	0	0	1	1
Dalhousie University	699	769	955	1,130	1,199
Mount Saint Vincent University	35	60	72	116	145
Nova Scotia Agricultural College	17	10	16	16	27
Nova Scotia College of Art and Design	50	44	49	45	52
Saint Mary's University	395	463	538	697	770
St. Francis Xavier University	127	140	201	230	223
University College of Cape Breton	72	54	70	129	184
University of King College	8	21	19	32	40
Université Sainte-Anne	7	9	14	12	19
Mount Allison University	124	124	138	144	135
St. Thomas University	47	55	68	92	122
Université de Moncton	205	247	227	254	278
University of New Brunswick	633	819	1,044	1,391	1,438
University of Prince Edward Island	121	139	167	164	208
Total: Atlantic Canada	**3,281**	**3,717**	**4,588**	**5,650**	**6,119**

Source: Association of Atlantic Universities (AAU). Compiled by Denis Lebrun and Sarita Rebelo.

an average of $25,000 per year in Atlantic Canada, for an overall contribution of $153 million to the region's economy (AAU 2005b). In 2004-2005, 6,100 international students from 160 different countries registered in Atlantic Canada universities. As Table 1 indicates, the number of international students has almost doubled since 2000.

Atlantic Canadian universities must remain competitive, as global competition for international students is very strong. With that said, in 2003-2004 the number of international students in the United States dropped by 2.4% for the first time in over 30 years representing a very big opportunity for the region (Hey-Kyung Koh 2004: 3).

Major findings of the international student survey

Given the growing economic importance of international students, it is essential for policy-makers to have a wide-ranging picture of students' experiences and level of satisfaction, so that their interests can be included in policy planning and development. On August 10, 2005, the researchers emailed a self-administered online questionnaire to the International Student Advisors of Acadia University, Dalhousie University, Memorial University and the University of Prince Edward Island, who then forwarded the email to their international student populations. By August 25, 2005, 135 international students had completed and returned the surveys.

Atlantic Canada as a study destination

Only 51% of students chose Atlantic Canada as their first choice of study destination, emphasizing the need for the region's universities to become internationally competitive. The most important factors in selecting Atlantic Canada are one's own "personal preference" (57%) followed by "English-speaking country" (53%). Also, among the most influential factors are "safety" (51%), "university Website" (50%), and "cost" (46%). Moderately influential factors include "international recognition of Atlantic Canada's qualifications" (37%), "the quality of Atlantic Canada's education" (36%), "internet search engine" (34%), and "direct contact from an Atlantic Canadian university" (34%).

Educational experiences in Atlantic Canada

The majority of respondents (80%) describe their academic progress as good (47%) or excellent (33%), with less than 1% indicating their progress as poor. Most students reported that they did not find the tasks difficult at all. Managing one's workload is considered "moderately difficult" by 26% of students. A few activities were considered "slightly

FIGURE 3

Is Atlantic Canada education good value for money?

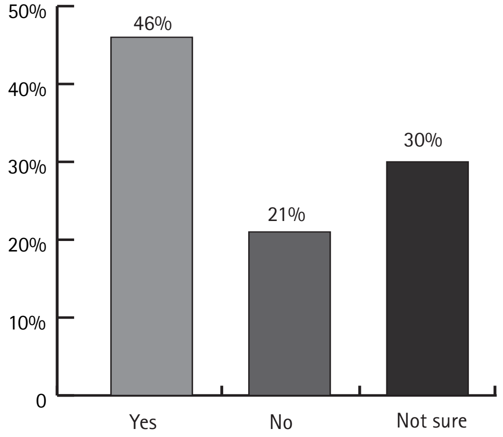
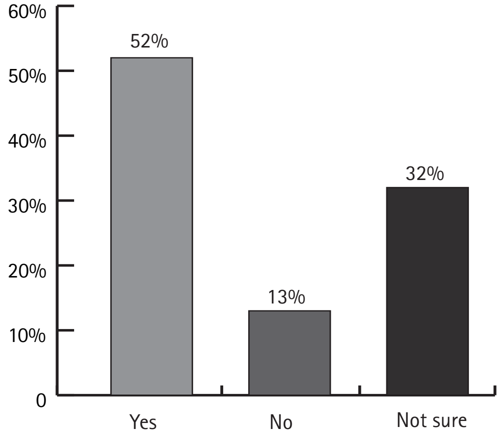


FIGURE 4

Do international students recommend Atlantic Canada as a place to study to family and friends?



difficult," such as "studying in different education system" (26%), "giving opinions to teachers" (24%), and "making oral presentations" (23%). Students evaluated their program of studies (course content, feedback, quality of teachers and assessment procedures) in the "average to good" range.

When asked if they feel included in their classes and if cultural differences are respected at their institutions, 33% of students "mildly agreed," while 30% also "mildly agreed" that classmates were accepting of cultural differences. Perceptions of cultural inclusiveness vary across provinces indicating there is room for improvement.

Services and facilities

When asked to assess the overall quality of services and facilities at their universities, 64% of students thought the services were "good" to "excellent." Despite these positive evaluations, students appeared relatively uninformed about the actual availability of some services. A number of students were unaware if there were language laboratories (38%), "buddy" or mentor programs (36%), financial advice services (27%), or learning support services (26%). These findings suggest that universities must find new ways to distribute information about available services and facilities effectively.

Figure 3 reveals that 51% of students "do not believe" or are "not sure" if Atlantic Canadian education is good value for money, while 52% of students would recommend Atlantic Canada as a place of study to friends and family. However, 45% would "not" or are "not sure" if they would, as shown in Figure 4. With the high number of students undecided and unsure about the value and recommendations of Atlantic Canada, there is still time to influence their study experiences positively in the region.

Social relationship and social support in Atlantic Canada

Surprisingly there are regional variances as students from Prince Edward Island had neutral opinions of intercultural friendships while international students from Newfoundland and Labrador as well as Nova Scotia are more likely to agree that:

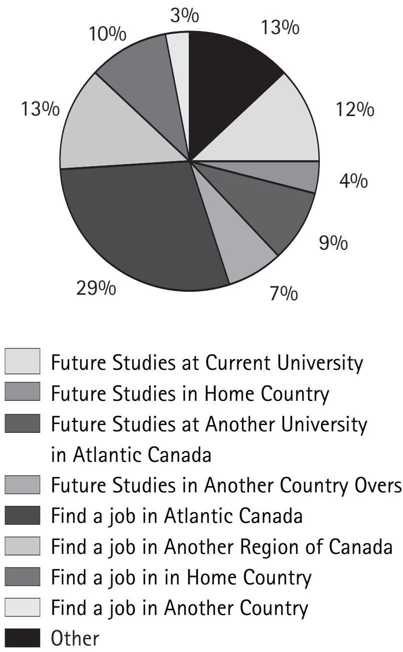
- They wanted more Atlantic Canadian friends;
- Atlantic Canadians are friendly towards foreigners;
- They try their best to make Atlantic Canadian friends.

Although unfair treatment does not occur often, international students are most frequently the source of discrimination by members of the community. As the findings represent perceptions only, they might not represent the attitudes and actions of Atlantic Canadians. Multiple sources of social support are available for international students, and they appear to rely on sources both in Atlantic Canada and in their home countries. People from students' home countries are particularly important for providing emotional support. Staff in educational institutions is thought of as most widely available to assist with practical problems. Universities can increase intercultural contact by promoting culturally diverse groups in academic and social interactions to faculty, students, and the community.

Future plans

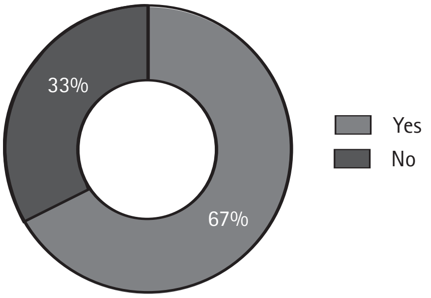
When asked of future plans, 50% of international students plan to remain in the region after completion of their current course of studies. Figure 5 illustrates that 21% of international students plan to continue their education in Atlantic Canada and 29% anticipate seeking employment in Atlantic Canada.

FIGURE 5
Future plans of international students



The majority of students (67%) are interested in applying for permanent residency (PR) in Canada and residing in Atlantic Canada, more specifically, as shown in Figure 6. Full-time employment in Atlantic Canada is one of the most important factors when deciding to apply for PR in Canada. More than half the students cite full-time employment, welcoming community, social supports, cost of living, and quality of life as “very,” or “extremely important” when considering applying for PR in Canada. However, the lengthy immigration process, the inability to find employment, and the absence of job opportunities appear to have significant influence over students’ decisions not to apply for PR in Canada while the availability of support services and a welcoming community barely factor into the decision.

FIGURE 6
International students interested in applying for permanent residency in Canada and living in Atlantic Canada.



Recommendations and conclusions

The research results demonstrate that universities do indeed play an important role in Atlantic Canada’s economic development and that international students are generally satisfied with their study experience in the region. However, there is still room for universities, government and other stakeholders to enhance economic development and facilitate a positive experience for international students. The recommendations highlighted below provide a starting point and merit further research on this topic.

Relating to the role that universities play in Atlantic Canada's economic development

- Renew and expand physical infrastructure and faculty;
- Expand university research and increasing commercialization;
- Pursue Atlantic Innovation Fund (AIF);
- Continue communicating the value of postsecondary education to young Atlantic Canadians;
- Work with public and private sectors to provide high quality programs to develop the range of advanced skills valued in the knowledge economy;
- Continue efforts to develop international relationships and attract international students.

Relating to international students

Universities:

- Target students from source countries that have existing communities in Atlantic Canada;
- Strengthen English as a Second Language (ESL) programs including industry specific language training and cultural training programs in partnership with settlement agencies in Atlantic Canada;
- Develop education that creates a "welcoming community" for international students through innovative programs;
- Integrate cultural diversity into course materials and provide cultural competency training to faculty and staff;
- Partner with the business community to ensure successful employable skills are gained to bridge the skills gap after graduation.

Federal government:

- Invest and build community capacity to improve support services;
- Make the application for work permits more flexible, allowing graduates to work immediately after finding employment;
- Process permanent resident status applications on Canadian territory;
- Give Regional Citizenship and Immigration offices the resources to process work permits locally;
- Provide potential employers with work permit information and processing times;
- Improve accessibility to information on the immigration process for international students;
- Adopt a procedural framework for visa officers.

Provincial government:

- Invest and build community capacity to improve support services;
- Allow universities to nominate or recommend international graduates students for the Provincial Nominee Program;
- Educate potential employers on the benefits of hiring international students and immigrants.

Settlement agencies:

- Strengthen ESL programs and cultural training programs in partnership with universities in Atlantic Canada.

Private sector:

- Provide work internships and mentorships to international students;
- Actively target international students for the Provincial Nominee Program;
- Develop a strong market and employer-driven strategy.

Community organizations:

- Welcome international students into the community;
- Develop local, community-specific approaches to improve international students' experiences in Atlantic Canada.

Collaborative efforts:

- Build strong connections and engage partners: universities, government, settlement agencies, private sector, and community organizations;
- Have joint (government, private sector, trade associations) public relations campaigns on university campuses to increase the profile of economic and non-economic benefits of immigration now and in the future.

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Human capital is a fundamental requirement of the new economy, for talented and skilled individuals are to the 21st century what raw materials were to the 19th and 20th centuries. Human capital is expected to drive growth in knowledge-based economies.

Creative Class and Economic Development: The Case of Atlantic Canada's Urban Centres[1]

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Introduction

Given the realities brought forth by the new economy and global and continental integration, economic development is more than ever linked to a region's capacity for innovation and creativity. In *The Rise of the Creative Class*,[2] Richard Florida argues that creativity and diversity are the basis of economic growth and that they constitute a competitive advantage in the current economic context. Florida's creative class theory has influenced several political and policy leaders throughout North America, Europe and Oceania. This being said, Florida's work is not embraced by all – there are probably as many skeptics about his views as there are supporters.

Indeed, macro-level forces are reshaping the organization of economic space and human settlement patterns, and Atlantic Canada is no exception. In light of the current socio-economic context, new strategies will be needed to steer the future economic development of Atlantic Canada and its urban areas. This article assesses how Florida's theory applies to the case of four of Atlantic Canada's leading urban centres: St. John's, Charlottetown, Halifax and Moncton. We have deliberately chosen one urban centre per province and each is considered to be an economic leader of its province. It is our belief that policy recommendations emerging from this study will be relevant for all urban regions within Atlantic Canada. More specifically, we have three broad objectives. The first is to put demographic and economic trends in Atlantic Canada's urban centres in relation to the regional and national context. The second is to take stock and profile the creative workers in Atlantic Canada's major urban centres and assess the opportunities and limitations of Florida's creative class theory. The third objective is to reflect on the impact of the creative class approach on policy considerations for the economic development of Atlantic Canada, and its urban centres in particular.

Creativity and diversity as engines of economic growth in urban areas

Creativity is often considered an abstract concept, but it can be simply defined as "the ability to create something new,"[3] whether it is the production of ideas, products, services, processes, etc. Creativity encompasses all forms of activities that rely on innovation and research and development (R-D) in diverse fields such as the natural sciences, engineering, computer science, communications, finance, arts and culture, and health. Today, creativity is hailed as a precursor to the innovation process and a catalyst for economic growth. Richard Florida suggests that we are entering a new economic era where creativity and diversity constitute engines of economic development. In short, Florida's theory can be summed up as follows: economically successful city-regions are those that are able to attract creative and talented individuals.

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[1] This project has benefited from the financial contribution of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). The views expressed in this article are those of the authors.

[2] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class, And How It's Transforming Work, Community and Everyday Life*, New York: Basic Books, 2002.

[3] J. Howkins, *The Creative Economy*, p. ix.

His research emphasizes the fact that members of the creative class are attracted to diversified city-regions in terms of the make-up of their population (ethnic origin, sexual orientation, etc.) and well-stocked in terms of cultural and leisure amenities. Members of the creative class generally choose a location that fits their lifestyle and their interests. In fact, "quality of place" has become a determining factor in their location choice, whether this means they are seeking a vibrant artistic and cultural scene, outdoor amenities such as bike and hiking trails, an array of eclectic bars and restaurants with live entertainment, or other.[4] High tech firms, in turn, are attracted to city-regions around which a pool of highly qualified and talented workers gravitates.

The regional demographic and economic context

According to 2001 Census data, Atlantic Canada's population totalled 2.3 million residents, or 7.6% of the country's population. The proportion of rural residents in the Atlantic region was significantly higher than the national average. In 2001, 46% of Atlantic Canadians lived in rural areas compared to 20% for the whole of Canada. Historically, the population of the Atlantic Provinces has always been overwhelmingly more rural than other regions of Canada. However, the trends observed in the last few Census exercises indicate that the residents of Atlantic Canada are increasingly converging towards urban areas.

By international standards, the Atlantic region clearly lacks any urban centre of substantial size. The largest metropolitan area is Halifax, which ranked 13th in the country in terms of population size in 2001 (359,183). St. John's was second in the region and 19th in Canada with a population of 172,918. Meanwhile, the two remaining urban centres included in our analysis, Moncton and Charlottetown, had respective populations of 117,727 and 58,358 in 2001. The bottom line is that Atlantic Canadian urban centres have neither the demographic weight, nor the population density, nor the economic influence on the national or international scale.

Atlantic Canada as a whole continues to face important challenges, these being particularly related to demographic and economic trends. The region's most disturbing realities include ageing population, youth out-migration, limited employment and productivity growth, above average unemployment rates, below average incomes, and very modest international immigration. In addition, the diversification of the industrial fabric remains a constant concern in many parts of Atlantic Canada. In general, however, Atlantic Canada's urban centres are outperforming the region as a whole with respect to most demographic and economic indicators. One major exception is international immigration, where the region as a whole has performed rather poorly.

Measuring the creative economy in Atlantic Canada's selected urban centres

In *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida defines the broad occupational categories that make up his now famous creative class. It consists of two sub-categories: the super creative core, and the creative class. Florida's definition is almost identical to the knowledge worker category delineated by Statistics Canada in 2003.[5] We use a combination of both lists to construct a creative employment category that is based on the 1991 Standard Occupational Classification. The creative class is in fact an imperfect and arbitrary taxonomy, and as such it will undoubtedly continue to raise questions about which jobs should be included in the category and which should be left out. The selected occupational categories have two common denominators. First of all, they are knowledge-intensive, and secondly they require creative thinking of some sort.

Using 2001 Census data and the above list of

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[4] R. Florida, "Competing in the Age of Talent: Quality of Place and the New Economy," a report prepared for the R. K. Mellon Foundation, Heinz Endowments, and Sustainable Pittsburg, 2000, p. 44.

[5] D. Beckstead and T. Vinodrai, "Dimensions of occupational changes in Canada's knowledge economy, 1971-1996." Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2003, p. 15. The only striking omission on Statistics Canada's list is sports occupation.

TABLE 1

Creative class occupations as a share of total labour force by selected urban centre, Atlantic Canada, 2001

	Canada	St. John's	Charlottetown	Halifax	Moncton
Total labour force	15 872 070	90 290	32 140	196 590	63 305
Total creative class occupations	3 860 480	25 400	8 235	53 390	14 895
% creative class occupations	24,3%	28,1%	25,6%	27,2%	22,8%

occupations as a guideline, we can take stock of Atlantic Canada's creative class and determine their weight relative to the overall labour force. Nationally, 24.3% of the labour force was employed in a creative class occupation. This is fairly consistent with Florida's assessment that the creative class represents about one quarter of the workforce in Canada (compared to one third in the United States). Within Atlantic Canada, St. John's, Charlottetown and Halifax all surpassed the Canadian average. St. John's had the highest proportion of creative workers with 28.1%, or 25,400 workers in the category. In Halifax, the creative class represented 27.2% of the overall labour force (53,390 workers). Charlottetown ranked third in the region with 25.6%, or 32,140 working in a creative class occupation. Moncton came in last and under the national average with 22.8% of its labour force in the creative class grouping.

Yet at the provincial level, the proportion of creative workers in Atlantic Canada was greatly inferior to both the national average and the selected urban centres. Here, the larger and more densely populated provinces have the highest share of the creative labour force. The Atlantic Provinces' respective shares of creative workers, on the other hand, ranked among the lowest in Canada. The percentage of creative workers represented 19.2% of the overall labour force in Newfoundland and Labrador, 18.0% in Prince Edward Island, 21.1% in Nova Scotia, and 19.3% in New Brunswick.

For years, economists have developed equations and models to explain and evaluate regional economic growth, or the lack thereof. The staple theory, the growth-pole theory, and the cluster theory are but a few examples. Richard Florida's more recent contribution to economic development theory is the creative class approach. Its Canadian adaptation rests upon the four indices: the talent index, the bohemian index, the mosaic index, and the tech pole index.[6] Florida then uses correlations in an effort to measure the strength of linear relationship between pairs of variables.

In this section, we apply Florida's indices to the Atlantic region and correlate certain variables to determine to what extent they are related. Using 2001 Census data, we focus on the four regional urban centres mentioned previously (St. John's Charlottetown, Halifax, and Moncton). Our sources and methods mostly replicate those used by Florida and his colleagues in previous Canadian case studies.[7] While their prior research on Canadian cities solely focused on Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), we have widened the scope of our analysis to include selected Census Agglomerations (CAs) in an effort to incorporate Charlottetown, Moncton and other comparable small- to mid-size urban areas into our sampling. Having a larger pool of cities that includes CAs as well as CMAs provides a stronger base for comparison between larger metropolitan areas and small to mid-size urban areas. In total, our sampling includes all 27 CMAs plus 18 CAs for a total of 45 urban areas.

Human capital is a fundamental requirement of the new economy, for talented and skilled individuals are to the 21st century what raw materials were to the 19th and 20th centuries. Human capital is expected to drive growth in

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[6] Florida's variables were initially designed for the study of U.S. city-regions. Comparable measures were established for Canada for the first time in M. Gertler et al., "Competing on Creativity: Placing Ontario's Cities in North American Context." Report prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Enterprise, Opportunity and Innovation and the Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity, 2002, p. 3-4.

[7] Among these are: M. Gertler et al., "Competing on Creativity: Placing Ontario's Cities in North American Context;" M. Gertler and T. Vinodrai, "Competing on Creativity: Focus on Halifax;" and M. Gertler and T. Vinodrai, "Competing on Creativity: An Analysis of Kingston, Ontario." In the case of the Talent Index, we calculated the share of the total population aged 18 years and older with a bachelor's degree (rather than 20 years and older). To calculate the Tech Pole Index, we used 2001 Census data rather than the LEAP database.

TABLE 2

Creative class ranking summary

Rank by Population		Rank by Creative Class Indices							
		Talent		Bohemian		Mosaic		Tech Pole	
1	Toronto	1	Ottawa-Gatineau	1	Vancouver	1	Toronto	1	Toronto
2	Montréal	2	Toronto	2	Victoria	2	Vancouver	2	Montréal
3	Vancouver	3	Guelph	3	Toronto	3	Hamilton	3	Ottawa-Gatineau
4	Ottawa-Gatineau	4	Calgary	4	Montréal	4	Windsor	4	Vancouver
5	Calgary	5	*Halifax*	5	Calgary	5	Kitchener	5	Calgary
6	Edmonton	6	Vancouver	6	Ottawa-Gatineau	6	Abbotsford	6	Edmonton
7	Québec	7	Victoria	7	*Halifax*	7	Calgary	7	Québec
8	Winnipeg	8	Kingston	8	Winnipeg	8	Guelph	8	Winnipeg
9	Hamilton	9	Saskatoon	9	*Charlottetown*	9	Victoria	9	Kitchener
10	London	10	Montréal	10	*St. John's*	10	London	10	*Halifax*
13	*Halifax*	12	*Charlottetown*	33	*Moncton*	36	*Halifax*	17	*St. John's*
19	*St. John's*	13	*St. John's*			39	*Charlottetown*	25	*Moncton*
29	*Moncton*	23	*Moncton*			41	*St. John's*	30	*Charlottetown*
45	*Charlottetown*					42	*Moncton*		

knowledge-based economies. Here, human capital is captured by the talent index, which is the distribution of talent as a share of the total population aged 18 years and older with a bachelor's degree or above. Halifax had a high percentage of university graduates in Canada, ranking 5th overall at 22.6%. Charlottetown and St. John's also ranked above the national average with 18.1% and 18.0% of their respective 18 years and over age group having at least a bachelor's degree. Moncton, at 14.6%, placed just below the national average of 16.6%. In fact, all of Atlantic Canada's provincial capitals boast a strong number of university graduates. Fredericton, which is not part of our study, ranked 2nd only to Ottawa-Gatineau with 24.7% of its 18 years and over population having a university degree.

Florida considers the concentration of bohemians, expressed as the number of individuals employed in artistic professions per 1,000 population, to be indicative of a highly creative environment, which in turn is conducive to innovation. Almost 7 Canadians per 1,000 declared being an artistic professional in 2001. Interestingly, three out of the four Atlantic urban centres figure prominently at the top of the bohemian index ranking. Halifax led the Atlantic region with 7.6 artists per 1,000 residents. Charlottetown, despite being the least populated urban centre in our sampling, was not far behind at 6.9 – it is the only small city to appear near the top of the ranking. St. John's tied the national average at 6.8 whereas Moncton ranked well below it with a bohemian index of 4.6. These results are all the more impressive considering that making a living from the arts in the Atlantic Provinces is not without its challenges. In 2001, the average annual earnings of professional artists in the region were sharply inferior to average earnings of the overall labour force. Moreover, professional artists in Atlantic Canada had the lowest average annual earnings in all of Canada. The 2001 Census disclosed that despite higher levels of education, professional artists in Atlantic Canada earned on average 36% less than the overall regional labour force ($15,890 annually for artists compared to $24,518 for the overall labour force), and 32 % less than the national average for professional artists (which was $23,489).[8]

Florida has made diversity – and more specifically the tolerance of diversity – a central element of his creative class theory. Diversity is measured by the mosaic index, or the percentage of foreign-born population. Atlantic Canada has a rather poor international immigration track record over the last decades. The region has had limited success in attracting and/or retaining international immigrants, but in response to the looming demographic and labour force crisis, various local and regional immigration strategies are currently in the works in Atlantic Canada. Individually and collectively in 2001, the

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[8] Hill Strategies Research Inc., "Artists in Canada's Provinces, Territories and Metropolitan Areas: A Statistical Analysis Based on the 2001 Census," *Statistical Insights on the Arts* 3, 2 (2004), p. 6-7.

Atlantic urban centres posted a much weaker percentage of foreign-born population than the national average of 18.4%. Foreign-born population represented 6.9% of the overall population in Halifax, 3.8% in Charlottetown, and 2.9% in both St. John's and Moncton. Cities ranking at the top are either large metropolitan areas, or are adjacent to them. Conversely, urban centres located in peripheral regions such as Atlantic Canada, the Prairie Provinces, or remote areas of other provinces perform rather poorly.

The Tech Pole index is used to compare "a region's share of national employment in high-technology industries to the region's overall share of national employment; this is then adjusted for city-size by multiplying by a region's share of national high-technology employment. It reflects both the region's degree of specialization in technology-intensive activity, as well as its sheer scale of employment in these sectors." [9] The index uses employment data for what are deemed high-technology industries. Canada's large metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montréal, Ottawa-Gatineau, Vancouver and Calgary) are powerhouses in terms of technology-intensive activity, and that the gap separating them with small to mid-size urban centres is considerable. It should be noted that the methodology used to calculate this index has a size component that discriminates against small and mid-size urban centres, and "as a result, a relatively small city-region whose economy is highly specialized in technology-intensive sectors will lag behind a larger region with a similar level of high-tech specialization." [10]

Table 2 lists the top 10 city-regions for each index (out of a total of 45), and features the rank of St. John's, Halifax, Charlottetown and Moncton. Overall, the region's urban centres did well with respect to the talent and bohemian indices. Halifax in particular had a strong showing in both, as did St. John's and Charlottetown albeit to a slightly lesser extent. Charlottetown, the smallest urban centre in our sampling, posted somewhat surprising results by outperforming several large urban centres in both categories. Even though Moncton lagged behind its Atlantic Canada counterparts and the national average by a relatively large margin, the city did well in comparison to other CAs of similar size. Table 2 also points to the fact that the region scored poorly in the mosaic and tech pole indices. Regardless of this, this ranking exercise has shown that Atlantic Canada's major urban centres have a solid base of talented and creative individuals on which economic development strategies can be built. Complementary initiatives aimed at attracting and retaining skilled international workers will only strengthen the region's foundations further.

Using the index results, we calculated the correlations between variables in order to establish the strength of relationship between pairs of variables. We must emphasize that correlations are a statistical technique that do not show causality between two variables, but only relationships. The statistical relationships between variables in Atlantic Canada are as follows:

- A strong relationship between bohemian and talent indices (cities that attract creative and artistic people also attract talented workers);
- A strong relationship between talent and mosaic indices (cities that attract foreign-born individuals also attract talented workers);
- A strong relationship between talent and technology indices (cities with large concentrations of technology-intensive employment have talented individuals);
- A less strong, but still positive relationship between bohemian and technology indices (cities with large concentrations of technology-intensive employment also have a high concentration of creativity);
- A strong relationship between mosaic and technology indices (cities with large concentrations of technology-intensive employment also have a high concentration of diversity).

Looking to Atlantic Canada's urban centres

One major critique of the creative class theory has to do with scale. Florida's approach was clearly designed with large metropolitan areas in mind, and some of his creative class indices definitely have a big-city bias[11]. Though the small city reality of Atlantic Canada does not entirely line up with Florida's big city paradigm, we have demonstrated that Atlantic Canada's urban centres possess at least two valuable attributes associated with the creative class theory: a high percentage of the population with a university degree, and a high concentration of creative talent (bohemians). To be sure, these individuals constitute a solid foundation on which urban strategists can capitalize.

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[9] Quoted from M. Gertler and T. Vinodrai, "Competing on Creativity: Focus on Halifax."

[10] Gertler and Vinodrai provide this explanation in "Competing on Creativity: An Analysis of Kingston, Ontario."

[11] For more on this, see R. Nelson, "A Cultural Hinterland?: Searching for the Creative Class in the Small Canadian City," in W.F. Garrett-Petts (ed.), *The Small Cities Book: On the Cultural Future of Small Cities*.

But in economic development things are rarely what they seem, nor as straightforward as one would like. In addition, even a cursory review of the economic development literature reveals that there are fashions and fads in economic development theories. No economic development theory, however all encompassing and convincing they may at first appear, has ever lived up to expectations. Florida offers fresh insights into economic development and opportunities and ideas to shape new policy prescriptions. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that cities, innovation, research and development, quality of life indicators, creative minds and highly skilled individuals matter and will continue to matter a great deal to the economic health of regions. The economic challenges confronting the Atlantic region are far reaching and well known: a lack of new Canadians, a relatively weak urban population, a private sector that does not invest enough in research and development, and the list goes on. But how can Atlantic Canada promote urban development? Can our cities compete with Montréal, Ottawa and Toronto, let alone Boston and New York? How does the region overcome parochial tendencies? What about rural areas, where will they fit in the general scheme of things?

These are not easy questions to answer, but the region needs to address them. It needs to ask what role ought the federal government play in urban development in the region. It goes almost without saying that what urban areas in Atlantic require for economic development will not be what Toronto requires. Halifax, St. John's, Charlottetown, Moncton and other cities in the region will need support for infrastructure development, for marketing development and for striking new partnerships. Our cities do not have the planning capacity of a Toronto or an Ottawa. Our provincial governments, small by Ontario and Quebec standards, can hardly provide the planning support the larger provinces can to their urban areas. This is just one more reason why the four Atlantic Provinces need to establish close forms of cooperation to promote urban development. But that will not be enough. The federal government can play an important role with its own regional development programs and its ability to influence provincial governments. The federal government has in the past successfully showed the way to regional cooperation in the tourism and trade sectors. It should do so again in urban development.

Conclusion

Though the creative class theory sounds great on paper, it is not a panacea. The context of Atlantic Canada is particular, and for this reason, the region warrants an approach that takes these particularities into consideration. Atlantic Canada's troubling demographic situation will certainly have strategic repercussions on policies designed to sustain the growth of the region's urban centres. While Canada's large metropolitan areas are finding ways to manage population growth and integrate international immigrants, Atlantic Canada's urban centres are struggling to find means of maintaining and increasing population growth, and ways of attracting and retaining immigrants. This, in fact, is the reality of several small to mid-size urban centres located in peripheral regions.

One should not associate a large share of creative workers in some of the region's major urban centres with automatic success in knowledge economy activities. To be sure, strengthening the creative capacity and eliminating the barriers to diversity cannot be expected to cure all urban ills, neither in Atlantic Canada nor anywhere else. In practice, the exact influence the creative class theory has on the behaviours and actions of economic development practitioners remain unclear. While correlations between the creative class indices were strong, they do not express any sort of causality between elements. In the end, Florida's theory does not empirically prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that creative and diverse city-regions will foster economic prosperity.

Under the projection scenarios used by Statistics Canada, for example, most visible minority persons will be living in the Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Windsor and Kitchener CMAs in 2017. In Toronto and Vancouver, around 50% of the population would belong to a visible minority in 2017.

Visible Minority Demographic Projections and Multicultural Integration in Canada's Urban Areas[*]

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Over the past several decades Canada has received a growing number of immigrants and refugees from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. The majority of these individuals (approximately 73%) belong to what is officially, and euphemistically, known as the visible minority population, defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Between 1981 and 2001, the visible minority population almost quadrupled from 1.1 million to nearly 4 million. This represents a change from 5% to 13% of the population in 20 years.

In Toronto and Vancouver immigrants make up approximately two-fifths of these cities populations but what is often overlooked is that roughly one-fifth of the populations of Montréal, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Windsor, and Kitchener are accounted for by the foreign-born. The cities of Abbotsford, London, Victoria, St. Catharines-Niagara, and Oshawa can be added to this list as well although the overall number of visible minority residents in these cities is smaller than the number in the first set. In any case, Canada's urban centres (census metropolitan areas or CMAs) have attracted more than 90% of the immigrant population in the country.

In 2005, the Multiculturalism and Human Rights Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage held a policy forum entitled *Canada 2017: Serving Canada's Multicultural Population for the Future*.[1] The forum consisted of discussion panels for the following policy areas in the context of visible minority demographic projections for the year 2017: cities, labour markets, generational challenges and opportunities, health and social services, and public institutions and institutional change. Although the bulk of the discussion revolved around the urban settings of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal, the population projections produced by Statistics Canada did offer some interesting figures for some of Canada's so-called second-tier cities including Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Windsor, and Kitchener.

The Demography Division at Statistics Canada used a microsimulation model to produce population projections for the purpose of painting a portrait of Canada's diversity in

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[*] The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

[1] Papers and proceedings are available at http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/canada2017/index_e.cfm.

2017, the year marking the 150th anniversary of Confederation. The projections were presented, therefore, as plausible scenarios based on assumptions about demographic components rather than as predictions. According to different sets of assumptions for 2017, different scenarios ranging from low growth to high growth outcomes were developed (Statistics Canada 2005).

This paper is intended to present a modest snapshot of recent visible minority projections to 2017 for some of Canada's second-tier cities. Beyond the data, some thoughts on a tentative framework for multicultural integration in these cities will be discussed, especially in terms of developing a broad policy research agenda for the better integration of visible minority Canadians in Canada's urban areas. The research and analysis of second-tier cities in the context of visible minority integration must be recognized as an increasingly important but under-explored area.

General trends and unique differences

The data produced from Statistics Canada's scenarios suggests that the visible minority population would continue to grow at a faster pace than the rest of the population between now and 2017, as it did in the 1990s. The same would be true for Canada's populations of immigrants, allophones[2] and non-Christian religious denominations. Table 1 was produced from a "reference scenario" that projected into the future the trends observed in the 2001 Census or in previous years for immigration, fertility, mortality, internal migration and emigration.

What the data suggests is that the CMAs with the largest numbers of visible minority persons are also the ones with the most immigrants and allophones.[3] With the exception of some minor differences in the order of Windsor, Kitchener and Winnipeg it is worth noting that the ranking of the CMAs would be much the same whether they were ranked on the basis of numbers of visible minority persons, immigrants, allophones or members of a non-Christian religious denomination. From this sketch it may be determined therefore that the concentration of visible minority persons in a number of second-tier urban areas is consistent and *may be projected to be consistent* with the more general pattern of ethnocultural diversity normally associated with Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal.

Once it is clear that an overall pattern of multicultural diversity extends beyond Canada's three largest cities, not in terms of numbers but in terms of the range and complexity of diversity, then our policy and research concerns in the broad field of integration ought to shift toward, on the one hand, a look at the make up of each individual city and, on the other hand, a consideration of the shared lessons learned in terms of attracting visible minorities to second-tier cities and in terms of retaining these

TABLE 1

Population[i] (in thousands) of the seven CMAs (excluding Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal) with the largest number of visible minority by ethnocultural characteristics, Canada, 2001 and 2017, reference scenario.

	Visible minorities		Immigrants		Allophones		Non-christian religions[ii]		Total	
	2001	2017	2001	2017	2001	2017	2001	2017	2001	2017
Ottawa	138.9	315.6	175.1	309.5	149.3	296.4	73.8	159.0	822.0	1,130.3
Calgary	165.8	295.2	202.8	288.9	179.2	283.6	74.0	132.4	964.4	1,251.4
Edmonton	135.6	211.2	169.5	210.1	172.8	217.7	59.6	92.0	948.5	1,182.8
Hamilton	63.6	125.1	160.0	208.4	134.8	195.0	31.6	72.0	677.2	810.3
Winnipeg	83.7	114.9	113.6	117.2	131.8	137.0	35.7	45.9	685.4	733.4
Windsor	40.3	96.6	70.7	116.5	68.8	117.8	18.8	48.7	316.7	415.9
Kitchener	44.7	79.0	94.1	127.9	85.6	121.8	22.3	43.9	426.5	509.6
Total-Canada	**4,037.5**	**7,120.7**	**5,655.9**	**7,685.9**	**5,272.7**	**7,582.6**	**1,922.3**	**3,425.3**	**30,616.5**	**34,582.2**

[i] Excluding non-permanent residents.

[ii] Excluding those responding "no religion."

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division.

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[2] A person whose native language is other than English or French.

[3] Note that not all the areas with the largest proportions of visible minority persons in their population would have the largest numbers of visible minority persons. Abbotsford (not included in the table) might not have more than 43,000 visible minority persons, but those persons would make up more than a quarter of the CMA's population.

TABLE 2

Population[i] by visible minority group for second-tier cities, Canada, 2001 (in thousands).

Cities	Chinese	South Asian	Black	Filipino	Latin American	South-east Asian	Arab	West Asian	Korean	Japanese	Others[ii]	Total
Ottawa	28.2	22.2	35.0	5.0	6.5	8.9	20.4	5.0	1.3	1.4	5.0	138.9
Calgary	52.5	37.1	13.8	16.4	8.6	12.9	8.3	3.0	3.6	3.7	5.9	165.8
Edmonton	41.5	29.5	13.9	14.0	7.4	9.8	9.2	1.8	2.3	1.7	4.5	135.6
Hamilton	8.1	14.7	12.9	5.1	4.9	5.0	4.3	2.4	1.6	1.2	3.5	63.6
Winnipeg	10.8	12.5	11.7	31.1	4.6	5.2	1.0	0.8	0.7	1.6	3.8	83.7
Windsor	5.8	6.7	8.4	3.0	2.2	2.8	8.0	1.2	0.3	0.1	1.6	40.3
Kitchener	6.0	11.6	7.6	1.1	4.9	5.6	1.9	1.7	1.1	0.3	3.0	44.7
Canada	**1,051.5**	**941.1**	**670.8**	**315.1**	**213.0**	**204.2**	**194.1**	**110.5**	**92.3**	**67.5**	**177.5**	**4,037.5**

[i] Population excluding non-permanent residents.

[ii] Multiple visible minorities or not elsewhere identified.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division.

TABLE 3

Population[i] by visible minority group for second-tier cities, Canada, 2017 projections (in thousands), reference scenario

Cities	Chinese	South Asian	Black	Filipino	Latin American	South-east Asian	Arab	West Asian	Korean	Japanese	Others[ii]	Total
Ottawa	65.9	59.0	69.5	13.2	15.6	16.2	44.3	12.4	7.1	2.6	9.8	315.6
Calgary	79.8	73.5	28.4	30.6	14.6	17.4	16.1	9.2	10.5	4.8	10.1	295.2
Edmonton	53.5	47.0	25.5	24.7	10.7	12.8	15.6	4.7	5.7	3.6	7.4	211.2
Hamilton	22.9	33.4	19.5	7.7	6.9	7.1	11.0	5.0	4.7	1.3	5.7	125.1
Winnipeg	14.2	21.9	15.4	36.7	6.1	7.3	2.4	1.9	2.4	1.9	4.7	114.9
Windsor	18.1	23.9	15.3	5.0	3.8	4.3	16.0	3.6	2.5	0.5	3.6	96.6
Kitchener	15.1	21.3	12.3	2.8	5.7	5.6	5.0	3.7	3.2	0.7	3.6	79.0
Canada	**1,819.7**	**1,832.1**	**1,037.6**	**542.1**	**337.0**	**280.3**	**423.0**	**276.0**	**202.6**	**85.5**	**284.7**	**7,120.7**

[i] Population excluding non-permanent residents.

[ii] Multiple visible minorities or not elsewhere identified.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division.

Canadians in those communities. Tables 2 and 3 provide a projection of visible minority 2001 Census figures to 2017 for second-tier cities, according to official categories.

In 2001, about one-eighth of Canada's population was composed of visible minorities. This proportion will grow to about one-fifth or 20% by 2017. Canada's two largest visible minority groups, Chinese and South Asian, are expected to form almost half of the visible minority population in 2017. The third and fourth largest visible minority groups in 2017 would be the Black and Filipino populations. But the highest growth rates between now and 2017 are projected for the West Asian, Korean and Arab groups. Their populations would more than double over this period although in absolute terms their numbers would remain small relative to the Chinese, South Asian, and Black groups.

In this unfolding context, what will continue to give Canadian cities their special character and what will continue to provide unique challenges, moving forward, will be the size, nature, and mix of their visible minority communities. According to the reference scenario, visible minorities would make up 85% of the overall growth in 2017, accounting for most of the migratory growth and natural increases that Canada enjoys. Nearly 95% of visible minority persons would live in one of Canada's 27 CMAs.

In Ottawa, the visible minority population would reach 28% in 2017. The Chinese are projected to make up approximately 20% of the visible minority population in Ottawa, South Asians are expected to form roughly 18%, and Blacks 22%. Recent immigration trends tell us that new Canadians from Somalia and from the Middle East are settling in Ottawa as well so Black and Arab groups will become increasingly significant for Ottawa and its development.

In Calgary, Chinese and South Asian groups remain large and influential at 27% and 25% of the visible minority population respectively, for 2017, and the overall visible minority population is projected at 24%. What is noteworthy about Calgary is that its Filipino community is expected to remain the third largest group at 10%, according to projections. A similar pattern of immigration to Edmonton establishes Filipino and Black groups at the same size, behind the South Asian and Chinese groups. Visible minorities are expected to form 18% of Edmonton's population in 2017.

Of course it is Winnipeg that boasts the largest Filipino community in terms of proportion of visible minority population projected to 2017 at 32%. The Filipino group size in Winnipeg is the largest visible minority group in that city, overtaking Chinese, South Asian, and Black groups alike. The visible minority population for Winnipeg in 2017 would be 16%.

In Hamilton a large South Asian group is anticipated to form 27% of the visible minority population in 2017, which would make up 15 % of Hamilton's total population. Similar population proportions for South Asians may be found in Kitchener and Windsor, as well as lower percentages of Chinese or Black residents in these cities in comparison to Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton. Windsor, like Ottawa, may be noteworthy for the size of its Arab population, which is anticipated to make up approximately 16 to 17% of its visible minority population by 2017. The visible minority populations of Kitchener and Windsor would be 15% and 23% respectively for 2017.

Amidst a growing international competition for human capital, it will be the established presence of key, growing visible minority communities, forming a critical mass of immigrants, who will, in turn, attract greater numbers of immigrants from similar racial and ethnocultural backgrounds. Evidence from the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada* tells us that the most important factor in an immigrant's decision to settle in a particular city is the presence of family and friends unless a person is predetermined to settle outside Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver for economic reasons, in which case this their presence remains a close second in terms of factors determining choice of settlement (Justus 2004). Canada's second-tier cities need to adopt frameworks for integration that acknowledge the priority of providing strategic support in the form of access to services for those groups that are becoming more populous and influential. In other words, cities need strategies to ensure that their substantial and growing visible minority populations continue to grow.

Moving beyond immigration as an approach to integration

What projections concerning the geographic distribution of diversity show is that visible minorities will remain concentrated in a small number of urban centres. Under the projection scenarios used by Statistics Canada, for example, most visible minority persons will be living in the Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Windsor and Kitchener CMAs in 2017. In Toronto and Vancouver, around 50% of the population would belong to a visible minority in 2017.

But according to the reference scenario, in particular, six areas would have a higher percentage of visible minority persons than the national average (20.6%) in 2017. They are, in order, Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa, Abbotsford, Calgary and Windsor. Therefore, if we approach the issue of visible minority integration in Canada from a new perspective, in terms of the anticipated proportion of the populations of our cities and in terms of an overall trend of complex immigrant and visible minority settlement across our shifting urban landscapes, then our framework for research and policy ought to move away from favouring, or viewing, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal as necessarily unique.

What this alternative way of looking at integration might require is a new framework for urban citizenship that seeks to address the challenges of "immigrant" integration alongside the challenges of "visible minority" integration, as well as the challenges that non-immigrant and non-visible minority persons face in helping to form more welcoming communities. To date, the dialogue on integration in Canada's major cities has tended to stress the "immigrant" status of groups and individuals who are in need of services and support. Indeed, we are often reminded that in 2001 more than 70% of immigrants who arrived during the 1990s were settling in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. But what this "immigration" focus ignores is that mid-sized cities also have appreciable immigrant concentrations with several having at least as great a density as Montréal and that the challenges of integration in our urban areas concern the barriers facing visible minority Canadians of both immigrant and non-immigrant status. According to the 2001 Census, two-thirds of visible minorities are foreign-born, but one-third is Canadian born.

The results of the *Ethnic Diversity Survey* indicate that 35% of visible minorities in Canada have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment because of their ethnocultural characteristics (this figure is 49% for Canadians who are Black, 34% for South Asians, and 33% for Chinese). Community tensions also exist in the context of racialized male youth, such as those of African-Canadian and South Asian-Canadian communities who are at higher risk of participating in gang violence than their non-racialized peers. Furthermore, incidents of hate-motivated crime and other violent manifestations of racism have increased since September 11, 2001. The problem of racism in Canada is a matter of shared citizenship. It cannot be neatly categorized as an immigration issue or as a visible minority issue alone.

If we shift our perspective, therefore, beyond a narrow focus on immigration, a better way of approaching integration might be in terms of developing a variety of integration frameworks in different urban areas, through a targeted policy research agenda that may serve to inform and support community-based initiatives.

Approaching a broad policy research framework for multicultural integration in Canada's urban areas

In terms of the economic circumstances of newcomers, there has been a significant decline in recent years despite policy changes designed to select immigrants with backgrounds that make them more likely to succeed in Canadian labour markets. Some research in this area has been done but much more longitudinal research is required, especially for the purpose of implementing effective policies. As Hugh Grant and Arthur Sweetman put it: "[w]e are beginning to understand the relative importance of various sources of the decline, including the valuing of foreign education credentials and work experience, problems in entering the labour force during times of difficult macroeconomic conditions, and the interaction of factors such as education attainment and language skills; however, the translation of these research findings into policy remains controversial." (Grant and Sweetman 2004: 20)

In terms of visible minorities specifically, Krishna Pendakur observes, in his recent contribution to the Multiculturalism Program's *Canada 2017* policy forum, that we do not have enough research evidence to know whether the anticipated growth of visible minority populations in Canadian cities will lead to better visible minority labour market performances in the future. The story to date has been that visible minorities fare worse in Canada's labour markets than their similarly aged and educated white counterparts. Yet Pendakur insists that we need to produce city-by-city studies, over time, to identify the effect of growing visible minority populations on visible minority labour market outcomes (Pendakur 2005). What is agreed upon among many researchers is that economic integration for visible minorities is the priority issue overall. Socioeconomic marginalization remains at the top of the barriers list for visible minorities in terms of factors of integration in Canada's urban areas. Still, it must be emphasized that research into labour market outcomes for immigrants and visible minorities remains either national in scope or concentrated on Canada's three largest cities.

Developing a policy research framework for multicultural integration in Canada's urban areas will require city-by-city sets of studies, over time, and beyond labour market research we will need to know more about the needs of newcomers in the areas of education, housing, settlement services, multicultural access to health and social services, addressing family and generational challenges, language training, citizenship education, civic and political participation, intercultural awareness, and the list goes on. Much information can be gathered from the work that non-governmental organizations do to aid integration in particular communities. And research ought to extend to examining the lessons learned from government-funded community and social development projects conducted in various cities as well.

At the same time we will need to know more about attitudes on immigration, multiculturalism and racism amongst the general population of Canada's urban communities and whether these

When examining attitudes to multiculturalism, immigrants and visible minorities are more inclined to accept cultural diversity. But they are also more apt to agree with the statement that it is the responsibility of immigrants to adapt to Canadian culture … [I]t would be unwise to assume that immigrants or visible minorities have more progressive attitudes on multiculturalism and immigration, or vice versa.

attitudes, community-by-community, conform with what we know about Canadian attitudes in general, through regularly conducted national polls and surveys on these topics. Moreover, and based on this kind of research, we will need to determine the best strategies for enhancing the substance and reach of municipal public education programs on anti-racism, the cultural and economic benefits of immigration to local urban communities, and the need for greater intercultural awareness and understanding. What is promising about this type of framework, however, is that we already have some excellent examples of the kinds of studies we need to develop more fully.

In one example, Daniel Hiebert introduces the results of a survey of experiences of, and attitudes about, immigrant settlement in Greater Vancouver. What makes this project unique and important as the kind of research needed on second-tier cities is that it reports on survey results for citizens of different racial and ethnocultural backgrounds together, in one survey, but on two different aspects of what might be considered the same question, namely, to what degree are longstanding residents of this urban area open to immigrant settlement and multiculturalism and what do newcomers say about their settlement experience.

In this context the most important areas of the survey are the reporting that is done on the nature of the welcome that immigrants can expect to receive and the major sites of discrimination in the community. Hiebert concludes, from the survey results, that:

> "Significantly, there is no simple division of attitudes between, on the one hand, those of European vs. non-European cultural origins, and immigrants vs. the Canadian born on the other. Visible minorities and immigrants are more open to immigration than their European/Canadian-born counterparts, generally, and also to the shift in policy that brought about an internationalization of immigrant admissions; but those of European descent, and those born in Canada, are more willing to accept refugees, and have a more positive attitude about prospective immigrants from a variety of world regions. Similarly, when examining attitudes to multiculturalism, immigrants and visible minorities are more inclined to accept cultural diversity. But they are *also* more apt to agree with the statement that it is the responsibility of immigrants to adapt to Canadian culture … [I]t would be unwise to assume that immigrants or visible minorities have more progressive attitudes on multiculturalism and immigration, or vice versa.
>
> Results are clearer on the question of discrimination … [I]mmigrants and visible minorities report the most instances of discrimination, especially in the crucial context of the labour market. This, no doubt, has a negative effect on the sense of belonging felt by these groups, which is well below that associated with the Canadian born and those of European ethnic backgrounds. Unfortunately, the children of visible minority immigrants report high levels of discrimination in certain contexts – especially the justice system (though this does not appear to affect their sense of belonging in Canada, which is exceptionally high)." (Hiebert 2003: 45-46)

The results on discrimination in this report are not surprising and we might expect similar results in a similar survey conducted in Kitchener or Windsor, perhaps, but the analysis of results on attitudes amongst different groups toward immigration might be very different in smaller Canadian cities or different urban environments, where the backgrounds and experiences of respondents would be unique to the history of those cities. In other words, is there a big city effect at work in the results of Hiebert's survey that might not appear in a smaller Canadian city? If so, what would a survey like this reveal in smaller urban environments that nevertheless maintain significant visible minority populations? Would these cities' respondents reveal uniform attitudes despite their own unique immigration and development histories?

Another, more recent, example is a case study on the attraction and retention of immigrants to Edmonton.[4] In this study the authors collected information from existing research on immigrant attraction and retention to specific communities, existing Web information relevant to a potential move to Edmonton for a prospective immigrant, results from a survey of recent immigrants to Edmonton soliciting their reasons for choosing Edmonton as well as their likes and dislikes with respect to having made that choice, and feedback from meetings with representatives of ethnocultural organizations, immigrant service providers and school boards. What they devised from this pool of information were 27 recommendations for the promotion of Edmonton as an immigrant destination and for making Edmonton a more welcoming city to retain newcomers.

This type of research and analysis might prove to be useful in a comparative context with similar research on other second-tier Canadian cities. In their general conclusions the authors make special note of several observations. Firstly, without a concentrated effort in promoting a city to prospective newcomers immigrants to Canada may not even know that the city in question exists, let alone what it may have to offer them. Beyond recommendations for promotion, the major issues of retention lead to credentials recognition as the key factor, consistently, but also, in terms of immigrant youth, the need to improve the educational system. The authors insist that, "[i]f immigrants find jurisdictions that will do well by their children, they are far more likely to stay, and these cities are bound to receive secondary migration from across Canada as well." (Derwing, Krahn, Foote, and Diepenbroek 2005-06: 22) Overall, the authors stress the need for second-tier cities like Edmonton to focus on conditioning the general citizenry to be more welcoming to newcomers. Undoubtedly, these types of recommendations would have to be articulated differently from city to city, according to the unique mix of those groups that form each distinct urban area.

Finally, there is a clear need for more theoretical work to be done in the local context of immigrant and visible minority integration in Canada's urban areas. Canada's national multiculturalism policy and the multicultural policies of Canada's provinces and territories provide a broad framework for the notion of multiculturalism as an approach to citizenship and social cohesion in Canada. But what must be recognized is that these policies are often more symbolic than they are effective when it comes to addressing the grass roots needs of urban communities in Canada. Our federal and provincial multicultural policies are important in helping to define Canada's political culture, legislative parameters, and constitutional framework but these broad policies may be less meaningful in a local, urban context where the real barriers to integration are contested on a day-to-day basis. The work of Leonie Sandercock is noteworthy in this context, as an example of the kind of theorizing that will be increasingly necessary in Canada's larger CMAs.

Sandercock argues convincingly that Canada's larger municipalities need to accept responsibility for re-imagining multiculturalism, as a particularly urban form of citizenship and integration in Canada. In doing so she suggests that multiculturalism must be re-thought in terms of intercultural urban development that takes seriously challenges faced in the areas of civic and political participation, addressing the cultural biases built into existing planning systems, heritage expression and the use of public spaces, and the organization of culturally and socially appropriate housing. In moving toward an intercultural approach to urban development, Sandercock suggests that municipalities consciously abandon the 20th century notion of multiculturalism, defined according to fixed ethnic group identities. Alternatively, she argues in favour of a more fluid and collaborative notion of intercultural awareness as the new, shared consciousness of urban citizenship in Canada.

Conclusion

The 2017 demographic projections for visible minorities discussed above may be helpful as a reference tool in developing a policy research framework that links the obvious short-term barriers to integration in our largest Canadian cities with the longer-term issues facing our so-called second-tier cities. What the figures show is that multicultural diversity and integration issues will represent, increasingly, a more widespread urban challenge in Canada. But a 2017 framework, including the kinds of research that it might suggest, must be developed alongside the analysis of other sources of information including the *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, the lessons learned from community-based projects, and the kinds of discussions being generated in academic as well as government circles on the issue of shared citizenship in Canada. We need to push forward with this comprehensive research agenda to ensure that our policies and programs continue to meet the changing needs of communities and stakeholders.

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[4] The Mayor of Edmonton offered support for research in this area by stating publicly in 2005 that one of his most important goals would be to improve the city's capacity to attract and retain immigrants.

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> *As for employment income, with the exception of Sherbrooke, Montréal offers less on average to immigrants than the other CMAs compared in this study. Again the gap in the province's largest metropolis is wider between immigrants and non-immigrants, thus implying that inequities are not just in the regions.*

Immigrants Wanted: Employment Issues and Immigrant Destinations in Montréal and the Rest of Quebec

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Quebec needs immigration. Elected officials and opinion leaders have repeated this for some two decades in view of the demographic problems confronting the province. With a low birth rate immigrants have become widely seen in Quebec as the principal source of any future population growth. And while a majority of Quebecers are favorable to significant immigration many would like to see the new arrivals settle to a greater extent in parts of the province outside of Montréal. Over the past two decades, 'regionalizing' immigration has met with rather mixed results in Quebec. Very often immigrants that initially settled outside of Montréal in the rest of Quebec (ROQ) either eventually ended up in the metropolis or relocated in some other part of the country.

Much effort has gone into identifying the means whereby retention deficits of immigrants in the ROQ would be reduced. In this regard, the focus has been on creating regional economic conditions conducive to immigrants securing employment consistent with their expectations. Analysts (including this author) have frequently contended that the secondary migration of immigration from the ROQ to Montréal arises from the inadequate employment prospects in the early period of settlement.

Along with Toronto and Vancouver, Montréal continues to attract most of the country's immigrants. As observed in Table 1, nearly three-quarters of new arrivals to Quebec project that their destination will be Montréal.

TABLE 1
Immigrants admitted to Quebec by projected region of destination, 2001-2005

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Montréal	30,698	30,508	29,948	33,174	32,134 (74.1)
Québec City	1,831	1,361	1,674	2,081	1,983 (4.6)
Estrie (Sherbrooke)	834	682	945	938	851 (2.0)
Mauricie (Trois-Rivieres)	201	171	322	291	275 (0.6)
Total	**37,629**	**39,583**	**37,537**	**44,246**	**43,373**

Source: Nicole Turcotte, *Tableaux sur l'immigration au Québec Données préliminaires pour 2005*, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective, ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, gouvernement du Québec.

TABLE 2

Unemployment rates in selected Quebec CMAs among immigrant and non-immigrant populations, and for selected groups, 2001

	Chicoutimi Jonquière	Québec	Sherbrooke	Trois-Rivières	Montréal
Total	12.4	6.9	6.9	9.2	7.5
Non-immigrant population	12.4	6.8	6.7	9.1	6.2
Immigrant population	12.3	11.3	10.5	12.8	12.0
European-born	10.0	8.7	8.3	11.0	7.7
African-born	18.8	21.7	22.2	16.0	17.9
Asian-born	8.7	10.0	9.1	13.0	13.1

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

TABLE 3

Average employment income in selected Quebec CMAs among immigrant and non-immigrant populations, and for selected groups, 2001

	Chicoutimi Jonquière	Québec	Sherbrooke	Trois-Rivières	Montréal
Total	$41,154	$39,533	$36,055	$38,472	$41,792
Non-immigrant population	$41,105	$39,453	$36,030	$38,438	$42,632
Immigrant population	$49,095	$42,545	$36,864	$41,724	$37,826
European-born	$44,093	$44,993	$39,717	$40,024	$42,218
African-born	n.s.	$41,461	$51,500	n.s.	$43,648
Asian-born	n.s.	$37,615	$29,423	n.s.	$33,544

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

According to the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada* (LSIC) the settlement pattern of newcomers are similar to their intended destination. Some three-quarters of the immigrants surveyed in 2002 ended up at their declared destination. The remaining quarter ended up in a different area from where they planned to settle. Although the other quarter originally planned to settle in a smaller metropolitan area, most ultimately took up residence in one of the three largest urban centres.

Overall, immigrants cited two main reasons for choosing a given CMA. The majority did so because they had a spouse, partner or other family member living there at the time. In fact, three-quarters of immigrants surveyed said they had family or friends in the region they chose to live. The second most important reason behind destination choice was the prospect of a job, which was cited by 14% of immigrants. Close to 5% made their decision based on education prospects, 5% on lifestyle criteria and 4% on housing.

The LSIC further revealed that the reasons for settling in different areas of the country varied by immigrants' admission class. Since family-class immigrants came to Canada in order to reunite with family members, over 90% of them chose their destinations based on where their spouse, partner or family members lived. Refugees exhibited a similar pattern.

In the larger metropolitan areas, economic class immigrants described family and friends and employment opportunities as equally important in their choice of residence. Nearly 25% of the principal applicants in the economic class chose their place of residence because they had friends living in the area. Another 18% of the immigrants in this admission category settled in the area to join family members who already resided nearby, while 22% cited jobs and job prospects as the most important reason.

Employment-related factors were particularly important for economic-class principal applicants who chose to settle in smaller metropolitan areas or outside a CMA. One-third of these people cited jobs as the most important reason to move to these areas. In comparison, about one-fifth of these new immigrants lived in smaller areas to join spouses, partners or family members already living there.

This was deemed to be an important finding for Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which had previously assumed that economic conditions overshadowed all others factors when it came to

TABLE 4

Incidence of low income (%) in 2000, in selected Quebec CMAs among immigrant and non-immigrant and for selected groups, 2001

	Chicoutimi Jonquière	Québec	Sherbrooke	Trois-Rivières	Montréal
Total	12.3	13.1	12.6	13.9	17.6
Non-immigrant population	12.3	12.6	11.5	13.8	14.6
Immigrant population	13.5	26.3	31.2	20.6	29.0
European-born	5.6	22.7	25.5	19.5	17.4
African-born	17.5	40.4	45.8	25.9	35.6
Asian-born	n.s.	26.3	41.0	22.8	38.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

the process of integration. Henceforth researchers were to pay more attention to the family and the broader networks of support that it potentially offered to newcomers. Of course family and community have historically played a vital role in immigrant insertion but they were sometimes viewed as a barrier to social integration.

The LSIC remains a very valuable tool for tracking immigrant integration. However the survey may err in asking new arrivals to weigh the respective importance of family versus employment in destination choices. Asking respondents to select one over the other may distort the intersection between two considerations towards integration.

Hence the more accurate measure of how important economic conditions are relative to other factors in immigrant destination choice may be to compare their employment outcomes in various cities. In effect if the economic condition of a given group of immigrants is similar within and outside the three metropolitan areas, then it is relatively safe to assume that other factors are at work in influencing destination choices.

TABLE 5

Percentage declaring a strong sense of belonging to city/town and ethnic and cultural group by selected ethnocultural groups, 2002

(combined percentage ranking 4 and 5 on a 5 point scale)

	Belonging to city/town	Belonging to ethnic group
Canadian	50.1	35.8
Italian	60.5	55.5
African	48.0	60.0
East Indian and South Asian	59.6	74.1
Chinese	54.2	59.0
Filipino	66.9	81.5

Source: Ethnic Diversity, Statistics Canada and Department of Canadian Heritage, 2002.

Consider the evidence from a number of smaller CMAs in the province of Quebec that have suffered migratory losses to Montréal. Historically, it is true that comparatively to the rest of the province, the metropolis enjoyed better economic conditions, which resulted in substantial migration from various regions to Montréal. However, rather surprisingly, the data presented here may suggest that immigrants in certain regions of the province are open to paying an economic penalty by moving to Montréal!

As observed in table 2 the rates of unemployment in 2001 were roughly similar for the immigrant population of Montréal in comparison with that of Québec City, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières. In fact, the gaps between non-immigrant and immigrant unemployment in Montréal were wider than in the other CMAs listed in Table 2.

As for employment income, with the exception of Sherbrooke, Montréal offers less on average to immigrants than the other CMAs compared in this study. Again the gap in the province's largest metropolis is wider between immigrants and non-immigrants, thus implying that inequities are not just in the regions.

Regarding economic dependency, as determined by incidence of low income, once again only in Sherbooke did immigrants fare worse than in Montréal. Gaps between immigrants and non-immigrants on the basis of low income were relatively similar across the regions with the exception of the Chicoutimi-Jonquière and the Trois-Rivières regions.

Community belonging stronger than city/town attachment

Another piece of evidence that supports and reinforces the idea that family and community belonging may be more relevant in immigrant destinations than is often assumed arises from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey conducted by Statistics Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage. In effect, for most recently arrived ethnic community members, the sense of belonging to an ethnic group is stronger than such feelings towards one's city or town. While this finding may not be surprising, it suggests that there is a need for examining the role of ethnic community attachment in the settlement process – rather than regarding such belonging as incompatible with integration – and considering it as complementary to the process of adjustment.

Conclusion

Very often the challenge for programs that seek to direct immigrants to smaller urban centres is the absence of communities with which they can meaningfully engage. Indeed, while it is rarely quantified by analysts of immigrant settlement and adaptation, it is the sense of community belonging that plays a fundamental role in the adjustment process. It is this, in conjunction with the economic condition and opportunities, that lures immigrants to the cities or lures them away from the smaller centres. This desire for community connectedness in the integration process needs to be further examined if policies of regionalization are to enjoy any success.

Regional economic development becomes an important issue with reference to any policy aiming to disperse immigrants. Part of the reason for the successful integration of Sikh immigrants in the Squamish area was attributed to the fact that employment not only provided economic security but also ensured wider community acceptance and active integration at the workplace.

Regional Immigration and Dispersal: Lessons from Small- and Medium-Sized Urban Centres in British Columbia*

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Government officials have voiced concern over the sustainability of immigrant concentration in Canada's three largest cities. Geographic dispersal provides an alternative to metropolitan concentration. This paper reports on results from research conducted on immigrant settlement in Squamish and Kelowna, two communities in British Columbia not typically considered major immigrant reception zones (see Walton-Roberts 2005 for a fuller discussion).

Both research sites are outside of the Greater Vancouver Regional District; less than 20% of their population are immigrants; and the top five foreign-born groups in each community include English, German and Indian immigrants. Table 1 shows the immigrant and visible minority composition of the research sites as compared to the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) and British Columbia minus Vancouver CMA. In terms of immigrant and visible minority population, Kelowna is more representative of the province outside of Vancouver CMA.

TABLE 1

Selected Population Characteristics of Squamish, Kelowna, Vancouver CMA, and B.C. outside of Vancouver CMA, 2001

Location	Vancouver CMA	B.C. minus Vancouver CMA	Squamish	Kelowna
Population	1,986,965	1,920,773	14,247	147,739
Immigrants as % of total	37.5	14.0	19.2	13.6
% immigrated before 1991	56.0	83.1	70.8	84.0
Visible minority as % of total	36.8	5.7	16.8	3.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census Data.

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Interestingly, Squamish is closer to the Vancouver population profile than to that of B.C. outside of Vancouver CMA.

Two sets of interviews were conducted in each community. To examine the role of linguistic and visible minority factors in settlement experiences, focus groups were held with immigrants, namely European non-English mother tongue speakers (mostly German/Swiss) and non-European (Asian and South American) immigrants. Seventeen semi-structured interviews were also conducted with municipal officials and community leaders in both sites in order to examine the role local communities play in the attraction and retention of immigrants.

Squamish

Located between Vancouver and Whistler, Squamish comprises part of the "Sea to Sky Corridor," which includes the distinct settlements of Whistler, a year-round tourist resort, and Pemberton. Squamish is a resource-based community that is struggling to deal with economic restructuring. Economic diversification has not been easy, and the social heterogeneity of this relatively small community makes community economic development planning a complex process (Reed and Gill 1997). Indians are the largest immigrant group in Squamish, constituting 36.1% of all immigrants, followed by United Kingdom (17.7%) and German (7.3%) immigrants.

The first Indian immigrants came to Squamish in 1962, when the Canadian Colleries Sawmill (now Interfor) relocated from Vancouver Island and a number of former Indian employees (mostly Sikhs from Punjab) followed. In the 1970s, most Indo-Canadian men in Squamish worked in the sawmill. However, some began to work with B.C. Rail and others moved into retail and service sectors.[1] In the 1990s, with the growth of Whistler, many Indo-Canadians began to work in the hospitality sector. Today, Whistler is a major employer for the Squamish community.

Kelowna

Kelowna is part of the Central Okanagan Regional District, which underwent an 8.2% increase in population between 1996 and 2001 and is the third largest urban region in British Columbia. Traditionally known for its agricultural base, the Okanagan also boasts over 40 vineyards. It has recently become home to a number of high tech companies, leading the local Economic Development Commission to promote the region as the "Silicon Vineyard." An independent study conducted by KPMG (2002) on international comparative business costs ranked Kelowna number one in the Pacific region of North America. Kelowna is also known as a retirement community and the economy reflects this with a growing service sector. Of the foreign-born population in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census Data), the largest groups originated from the United Kingdom (21% of all immigrants), Germany (13%), the United States (13.4%), Poland (5%) and India (5%).

Preliminary findings

Municipal and service provider interviews

Interviews conducted with municipal officials in both Squamish and Kelowna indicate that beyond those general services offered to all municipal residents, municipal governments are not active in attracting and retaining immigrants, nor in providing them services. Both municipalities used multilingual staff to provide informal translation services but have not developed a translation programme for municipal documents. In terms of immigrant recruitment, there was some activity in the Kelowna region, specifically directed at business investors and doctors.

With regards to intergovernmental relations, both municipalities stressed that general downloading from the provincial level had caused several difficulties. In Squamish, the victim services coordinator stressed that the closure of the courthouse was particularly deleterious in cases of domestic abuse because support from the local victim services was limited (about one-quarter of the victim support files for 2001 were linked to domestic disputes and spousal assault, and the Director of the programme suggested that approximately 20% to 30% of these cases involved immigrant women). With reference to assistance for immigrant women, Squamish is home to the only women's resource centre in the Sea to Sky Corridor and several of the centre's clients are immigrant women. The provincial government's decision to cut $2 million core funding provided to all women's centres in British Columbia by 2004

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[1] Details are courtesy of J. S. Biln, "A Brief History of South Asian Peoples in the Squamish Valley."

In the case of British Columbia, there is a contradiction between the aspirations of the federal government to disperse immigrants to smaller communities and the current provincial actions which are cutting back on services in regions outside of the main urban centres in health, education, legal, and other areas.

will force these centres to seek alternative funding (Friends of Women and Children in B.C. 2002a).

The municipal concern with provincial downloading, especially in the area of immigrant services, is understandable. Owing to the decreasing number of immigrants landing in the province, Settlement Renewal transfers from the federal government were cut by $3.8 million in 2000-2001 and these cuts are in addition to a 15% across-the-board cut to the funding of B.C. immigrant service agencies (United Way of the Lower Mainland 2002).

Immigrant focus groups

Focus group questions concerned factors influencing decision-making processes regarding settlement location, such as housing, employment, economic opportunity, and co-ethnic community presence. Predictably, settlement decisions were framed by the availability of work and/or family linkages. Immigrant focus groups in both communities revealed the importance of family reunification. Focus group data indicate that parents and grandparents contribute to childcare and are essential to the increased participation of women in the labour force. This was particularly evident in Squamish where employment opportunities in the nearby tourist resort of Whistler have led to a demand for service workers year-round. Among the German/Swiss immigrants interviewed in Squamish, were a number of recent immigrants who had moved to the area *primarily* for lifestyle choices based upon wilderness access but also for the availability of temporary work opportunities given its proximity to Whistler.

In Kelowna, the same combination of work and family presence shaped settlement decisions. In the 1950s, several German immigrants arrived in the area and worked in the orchards with relatives who had settled there earlier. More recent immigrants indicated that their choice to live in Kelowna was shaped by the desire to escape the congestion of the larger cities. However, employment opportunities appeared less obvious, and comments were made about the difficulties of finding work and developing a customer base to support small business ventures.

With regards to local government service provision, most immigrants had no specific concerns or experiences and their general community concerns were the same as those of the wider population. There were no feelings expressed as to being isolated or marginalized from the wider community or denied services. However, the role immigrant and community groups play in directing immigrants to local services was noted. In Squamish, several respondents commented on the level of comfort they felt in using services (such as those of the recreation centre or the library) but some among the non-European focus group admitted that their service use was limited. In both Squamish and Kelowna, some issues were raised regarding secondary suite by-laws. Access to affordable and appropriate housing was an issue of concern in both communities.

The main general immigration-related concerns were accreditation and language. Both European and non-European immigrant groups indicated that the only real marginalization they had experienced in Canada was linked to the devaluation of their qualifications and credentials. Regardless of where immigrants settle, their route to integration (both economic and social) is delayed if their qualifications are not accepted. Several people, particularly the European immigrants, also cited language training as an important need (which was not being serviced in Squamish, where there are no immigrant service providers or language training venues). In Kelowna, the Multicultural Centre offered general settlement and language classes but, since the time of this research, two new agencies have been selected by the provincial government to deliver these services. These concerns echo the numerous arguments made by others about the need to address both accreditation issues and language training for immigrants. Regardless of where the federal government would like immigrants to settle, these issues will continue to dominate the immigration debate.

Conclusions

Some preliminary but obvious conclusions can be offered at this point in the research. First, in both cases, the municipal governments had virtually no active role in immigrant recruitment. The general community needs and issues that the municipalities face are also pertinent to the retention of immigrants in the communities. In Squamish, the institutional completeness of the Sikh community was noticeable; however, especially for women, the need for more "arms-length" service providers was noted. The main issues affecting immigrant settlement were those linked to provincial control, such as language instruction, and the more complex universal problems such as accreditation. These underscore the importance of developing integrative and cooperative plans for any kind of immigrant dispersal initiative.

Secondly, the pre-existing economic context is a crucial determinant of the successful attraction and retention of immigrants in an area. This is an obvious statement and one made previously (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001). Yet regional economic development becomes an important issue with reference to *any policy* aiming to disperse immigrants. Part of the reason for the successful integration of Sikh immigrants in the Squamish area was attributed to the fact that employment not only provided economic security but also ensured wider community acceptance and active integration at the workplace. In Kelowna, agricultural employment has been the traditional mainstay for immigrants. However, as new immigrants move in, they face a tight labour market. The only real potential labour shortage anticipated in Kelowna is in skilled trades, an occupational category current independent immigrant criteria does not encourage.

Thirdly, while Canadian demographics have been a major justification for new immigrants in the regions, they will also determine what kind of economic needs communities will have. Many smaller communities in the hinterland are moving away from resource dependence. As the communities age and their demographics become more like retirement communities (e.g., Kelowna), the economy is increasingly orientated to personal services, health care in particular. This shapes the labour needs and opportunities in these locations. Health care workers and skilled labour become scarce. This suggests greater selection control at the provincial or even municipal level and active cooperation between all levels of government. This leads to my final point regarding intergovernmental relations. My preliminary findings suggest that, in the case of British Columbia, there is a contradiction between the aspirations of the federal government to disperse immigrants to smaller communities and the current provincial actions which are cutting back on services in regions outside of the main urban centres in health, education, legal, and other areas (Friends of Women and Children in B.C. 2002b). These general service cuts and immigrant settlement fund reductions result in diminished support for integrating immigrants into communities in rural and northern British Columbia. Federal government plans to enhance immigrant dispersal cannot succeed in a provincial political context of service retrenchment outside of the metropolitan cores.

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Canada, and Calgary in particular, are fortunate to be leaders in helping immigrants achieve the goal of basic adjustment to life in their new country – but beyond initial settlement issues, there are only limited formal support systems and community-based strategies in place to assist in extensive societal integration.

A Call to Action: Leading the Way to Successful Immigrant Integration

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Innovation in Integration is a multi-stakeholder initiative that began in December 2003 at the invitation of The Right Honourable Joe Clark and Mr. Fariborz Birjandian, Executive Director of the Calgary Catholic Immigration Society (CCIS).

In the first phase of the initiative, over 30 representatives from local and regional organizations, public institutions and interested individuals met in Calgary to form a Steering Committee that was tasked with initiating a forum whereby stakeholders could enhance their understanding of newcomers' integration as a concept and ultimately find solutions to this important issue. Key concerns the Steering Committee wants to address through this initiative are:

- The lack of general awareness in society as to what immigrant integration means;
- The importance of the integration of newcomers for the entire community;
- The recognition and understanding of current and future issues, challenges, responsibilities and opportunities.

A one-day symposium initiating solutions-based dialogue between leading authorities in the integration field and new voices to this issue was held in Calgary on May 27 2004. In the second phase of the initiative, the results of the symposium were published in the report *A Call to Action: Leading the Way to Successful Immigrant Integration*, launched at the Epcor Centre for Performing Arts on 10 June 2005.

The initiative is currently in its third phase. The Steering Committee is meeting with key stakeholders to present the findings of the *Call to Action* report, and identifying actions the community, organizations, and individuals can take to promote healthy and sustained integration of newcomers.

This summary highlights the recommendations that emerged from the symposium, and some of the key reports and statistics on the issues. To download the full report or for more information on the symposium, including the program and participants, please visit www.ccis-integration.ca.

Summary of Sector-Specific Recommendations

The *Call to Action* report is a living document that emphasizes the practical importance of integration. It is a summary and analysis of the main ideas, concepts and recommendations deliberated on by symposium participants, and is based on inclusive, solutions-based dialogue. It identifies the key components of integration as well as indicators for measuring successful integration, and offers common sense recommendations for policy and practices in six key sectors: civic participation, education, employment, government, health, and justice. The underlying theme throughout this document is that although integration is a two-way street, these recommendations in fact call on existing institutions and systems within Canadian society to take action to promote healthy and sustained integration of newcomers.

All newcomers to Canada endure an often long and painful process of settlement and adaptation to their new home and community. The settlement process includes a series of measures with short-term tangible outcomes, such as finding a home, familiarization with the new environment, access to basic needs like bank accounts, and how and where to access health care, schooling and employment adequate for survival. Canada, and Calgary in particular, are fortunate to be leaders in helping immigrants achieve the goal of basic adjustment to life in their new country – *but beyond initial settlement issues, there are only limited formal support systems and community-based strategies in place to assist in extensive societal integration.* Integration is viewed as a mental and emotional adaptation to this new environment and full integration is only achieved when a person feels as valued as others. The following is a summary of the discussion and key recommendations in each sector.

Civic Participation

It takes an average of five years for newcomers to become Canadian citizens when applying after three years of residency. Thus, with a wait time of roughly two years, newcomers are prevented from becoming part of our political system, as voters as well as elected representatives. Generally speaking, newcomers experience a feeling of disconnect with the larger Canadian society. There is a perceived "glass ceiling" separating them from full and inclusive participation in civic life. Cultural bias and racism, often real and sometimes perceived, are significant barriers, and there is a feeling that there is a lack of *meaningful* engagement on the part of immigrants.

In order to rectify this, full membership in civic life needs to be motivated by the perception that there will be tangible results and reciprocal benefits. This means that both the immigrant and the larger society understand that it is in their best interest to ensure the full and active involvement of *all* members of society.

Recommendations for this sector:

There is a need for a **redefinition of the process and meaning of "engagement"** that incorporates a better understanding of the changing nature of communities. This redefinition includes taking measures to encourage newcomers to participate in community activities that directly benefit themselves or their families. Indeed, there is far more to civic participation than political involvement, and meaningful engagement in the political process is in fact often the longer-term outcome of other kinds of civic participation.

Civic participation starts at the level of voluntarism and smaller, more local organizations. Thus, **education and training on volunteerism should be provided** for newcomers to facilitate their engagement within larger community organizations. Moreover, it is essential that **new Canadians become educated on the nature and functioning of the Canadian political system**, and that there is a means to facilitate their engagement in the political process at all levels. One specific way to do this is **to review current voting eligibility** in civic elections in order to allow newcomers to vote at an earlier stage in their resettlement in the community.

Indicators for measuring successful integration into civic life:

Participation in political parties. There is debate over the level of involvement of newcomers and minorities in municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government. Some experts believe, generally speaking, that access to elected office for individuals from historically marginalized groups has been greatest at the municipal level, where the financial costs incurred by candidates tend to be lower and the impediment of political party structures is less prevalent. However, others find that often political parties at the provincial and federal levels are better places for these marginalized groups to get involved and have their voices heard.

While this varies across parties and regions, it is safe to say that ethnic and racial minorities have encountered hostile lobby groups, histories of minority exclusion, and the tenacity of negative stereotypes denigrating visible minorities and recent immigrant groups.

An indication of successful integration would be, despite the debate, similar access to all three levels of government for all Canadians, regardless of their ethnicity, and the opportunity for the issues of importance to newcomers to be heard in the political forum.

Voting rates among immigrants. Participation in the "low intensity" activity of voting in electoral politics can be viewed as an important indicator of the integration of immigrants into "mainstream" Canadian political life.

Education

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, in 2002, 47.6% of new immigrants to Calgary over the age of 18 held at least a bachelor's degree or higher, demonstrating a minimum of four years of education at the university level. In particular, the City of Calgary reports that since the early 1990s, the percentage of new immigrants to Calgary who have completed university has risen substantially; this trend was due in part to changes to the selection criteria for immigrants that put greater emphasis on education.

For immigrants, education, by necessity, encompasses even more stages that are considered essential. First and foremost, English[1] language acquisition must occur before an individual can be successful in the Canadian school system. Language training at a variety of levels, from beginner English as a Second Language (ESL) to literacy enrichment, or workplace and community skills for more advanced students, is readily available and accessible.

Language training provides the foundations for further integration into Canadian society so new immigrants will have the ability to converse in and understand the language of their new country. Access to education is a challenge that our education systems are working hard to address. What is more complex is ensuring that new Canadians are actually reaping the benefits of the education system, and are aware of and utilizing all the resources available to them.

Recommendations for this sector include:

Good work is being done by immigrant-serving agencies in providing various essential services, and their continuation is essential. However, we recommend that there be a **collaborative effort to coordinate these services, led by a recognized agency or institution**. We need to **establish English language proficiency benchmarks** and standards, which provide educators a clear idea of the rate of acquisition and reasonable expectations for English language development. These benchmarks would enable us to establish realistic guidelines for students of different ages, those starting at different grades, and those with different backgrounds, with expected ranges of variation depending on other factors. These benchmarks should reflect appropriate developmental progression across grades, and demonstrate alignment with other curriculum outcomes and with other measures of performance, such as achievement and diploma exams or post-secondary entrance requirements.

There are currently no "markers" or assessments indicating what is required for "success" at the next level of schooling. Research should be done to determine an average rate of achieving benchmarks, including the stage of "reclassification" as fluent English proficient (FEP) and no longer requiring specialized English instruction. Barriers, such as language or lack of familiarity with the school system, can inhibit student and parental involvement in immigrant education. Thus, we recommend that educators **encourage the partnerships that build networks with the parents of immigrant children**.

Indicators for measuring successful integration into the education system:

- Success in education (diploma, university entrance/exit exams);
- Family/parent involvement in the education of their children;
- Increased awareness of diversity in all levels of education;
- More joint planning and dialogue in meeting the diverse needs of ESL learners;
- Congruency between programming and funding;
- More emphasis on success stories by the media;
- A clear move from awareness to practice.

3. Employment

One of the primary contributions to the economy by immigrants is the impact of their children. Because immigrant families tend to invest so much on their children (indeed, the sake of their children being the primary cause of migration of both refugees and immigrants), second generation

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[1] Or French language skills in primarily French-speaking areas of the country.

Full membership in civic life needs to be motivated by the perception that there will be tangible results and reciprocal benefits. Both the immigrant and the larger society understand that it is in their best interest to ensure the full and active involvement of all members of society.

Canadians tend to have much higher education levels, significantly higher entrepreneurial drive, and a clear tendency to economically outperform their peers.

While immigrants' value to the economic system is more robust over time, and despite the fact that immigrants tend to be highly educated, **labour market conditions for immigrants tend to be poorer than for the Canadian-born population.** One of the primary reasons for this, in addition to language barriers and discrimination, is the difficulty in verifying and recognizing foreign credentials.

This issue was addressed in most party platforms in the 2006 federal election campaign. The current government under Stephen Harper stated in its platform, released January 13 2006, that the Conservative party will create a **Canadian Agency for Assessment and Recognition of Credentials**, "to provide pre-assessment of international credentials and experience [...] and work with the provinces and professional associations to ensure foreign-trained professionals meet Canadian standards while getting properly trained professionals working in Canada quickly."

The long-term integration of immigrants is a matter of salience for the health of the Canadian economy. Canadian market trends show growing labour shortages due to an aging Canadian population combined with fewer young people entering the workforce, and the anticipated large and rapid exit of retiring workers in the coming decade. Newcomers to Canada can, and should, constitute an attractive pool of educated and skilled workers.

Recommendations for this sector include:

There needs to be **mechanisms in place to ensure equal access to employment opportunities**. In addition, while Canadian-born citizens might understand how to utilize transferable skills, newcomers may not know how to do this. This will limit immigrants' ability to achieve upward mobility in the workforce. Furthermore, political, business and government leaders who champion equitable employment should be identified and invited to participate and speak on the real need for and benefits of employment, human resource strategies, and recruitment and hiring policies that promote equal access to employment.

This can be done through an **effective campaign and communications plan that includes positive messages in the media** and through speaking engagements to business, professional and trade associations. Government and business leaders need to **identify where bottlenecking is taking place regarding recognition of foreign qualifications** and hiring of qualified immigrants in the employment sector, and work to develop effective solutions and strategies that address and correct ineffectual policies and procedures.

Indicators for measuring successful integration into the employment sector:

- Immigrants are as satisfied with the job they do, as proud of their work, and have the same freedom to live a life of quality outside of their place of employment as all other Canadians;
- Immigrants have the ability to utilize transferable skills;
- Immigrants have the ability to network and to achieve upward mobility;
- The economic performance of second generation Canadians;
- Income is *not* a primary indicator.

Government

Successful long-term integration of newcomers necessitates the design of "good immigration policies" for Canada. Good immigration policies allow for the transition from the potential economic and social opportunity of immigration to realizing actual economic and social advantages for the country. The development of effective policies necessitates, therefore, **a pan-Canadian vision** on integration. This includes analysis of possible institutional barriers to immigrant's integration in key areas. Key areas in the integration process include, but are not limited to:

- Access to initial and long-term settlement services;
- Language training;
- Access to employment;
- Cultural orientation;
- Recognition of qualification and experience;
- Racism/discrimination;
- Family reunification;
- Immigration status;
- Building communities.

As mentioned above in the Employment section, Canada has not been particularly successful in integrating the skills and talents of these workers into the Canadian labour market. This is the result of an outdated system for recognizing foreign credentials, and does not reflect "good immigration policies." Research suggests that immigrants and refugees with academic and professional qualifications, who have been trained outside of Canada, continue to encounter **numerous barriers to the Canadian labour market**. These barriers include:

- Minimal Canadian employer contacts;
- Lack of information about available programs and services;
- Misunderstanding of the culture of Canadian workplaces;
- Impracticable requirements for licensing and accreditation where the final authority for assessing and recognizing foreign credentials resides mainly with employers, professional and regulatory bodies, and educational institutions.

Hopefully, the establishment of the Conservative government's Canadian Agency for Assessment and Recognition of Credentials, also discussed above, will help to overcome these barriers and ease newcomers' access to the Canadian labour market.

Another initiative, emerging from the 2005 federal Liberal budget, has allowed for the development of an integrated, comprehensive, national immigration portal: the **Going to Canada Immigration Portal**. The portal will be developed in collaboration with the provinces and territories, and the following government departments:

- Citizenship and Immigration Canada;
- Human Resources and Skills Development Canada;
- Health Canada;
- Industry Canada;
- Canada's Campus Connection Web Portal.

The portal will provide comprehensive on-line information and services to help immigrants make informed decisions about coming to Canada and better prepare them for integration into the Canadian labour market and society *before they arrive*. It will also continue to facilitate their integration after they arrive in Canada.

Recommendations for this sector include:

A coordinated approach to integration as well as a close partnership between the federal and provincial levels of government, cities, and industries/businesses are necessary components to design a plan that deals with the integration of newcomers. A pan-Canadian vision needs to be developed for all matters of integration under the leadership of the federal government. This includes:

- The development of a common and inclusive definition of integration;
- The design of workable and relevant policies;
- The allocation of adequate resources;
- The creation of effective programs and services;
- The design of evaluation and measurement tools to allow for the assessment of successful integration policies.

Community awareness and participation in integration processes is fundamental. The current funding allocation for settlement and integration programs has remained, however, at the same level for the past six years. There is a need to review these funding levels and to adjust them accordingly.

Community based organizations play a vital role in facilitating long-term integration. They can initiate and coordinate communication between various stakeholders involved in the integration process by reinforcing already existing partnerships with the government, educational institutions, and employers as well as building new ones.

The federal and provincial government must **make resources available at the community level to further strengthen existing and create new formal and effective mechanisms** that lead to the creation of opportunities for the integration of newcomers. These include: increasing access to long-term settlement services; increasing resources to design work oriented language training; increasing access to internships, job shadowing and employment; implementing a review of hiring policies; facilitating ongoing cultural orientation; coordinating provincial, education, and licensing bodies to recognize qualifications and experiences; and facilitating anti-racism/anti-discrimination education.

Health

Citizenship and Immigration Canada claims that **more than 46% of the more than 10,000 new immigrants to Calgary each year are unable to communicate in either official language**. This has certain implications for the health sector specifically. Recent developments in the health services sector have included the adoption of medical interpretation; translation and interpretation services; cultural sensitivity training for health care and medical professionals; modifications to service delivery models to reduce barriers; recruitment of bilingual staff; enhanced mechanisms for ethnocultural community involvement in service planning, delivery and evaluation; and promoting awareness of health services for ethnocultural communities.

Recommendations in this sector include:

A **community-based model** for the delivery of health services must be developed that incorporates qualitative statements of newcomers and the issues defined by immigrants themselves. These include perceptions of how their new lifestyles are affecting their health; their health-related beliefs and practices; how they combine ethnic and biomedical remedies and practices; their health aspirations; and the obstacles they encounter in attempting to use and interact with the biomedical establishment. Funding for such a program needs to be long-term and sustainable and must serve to connect the health services with the other sectors discussed in this *Call to Action*.

The Ethno-Cultural External Consultation, as well as the current literature, indicates that **language is the most significant barrier to accessing health services** for not only newcomers but also for those individuals that have lived in Canada for many years who speak English as a second language. The provision of health services in the absence of trained interpreters can lead to distorted communications and poorer quality of care.

Although the Calgary Health Region has made progress in this area by developing the Interpretation and Translation Services Unit – the first of its kind in Canada – the provision of qualified interpreters is limited to the most common languages and to non-urgent situations. Interpreters are not currently available for physician's offices or clinics. Thus, **provision of qualified interpreters who have special training in medical terminology and cultural and linguistic interpretation and translation should be implemented.**

Currently, many immigrant-serving organizations provide some initial health services, such as nutrition information. It is imperative that we **reduce protectionism and territoriality of the health care system and health care providers** and end the debate over who can best provide health services. Immigrant-serving agencies often have the first direct contact with newcomers, and it is a good place to ensure that some health-related issues are acknowledged and dealt with.

Indicators for measuring successful integration into the Canadian health care system:

- An increase in the number of foreign trained professionals working in the health care system and serving as active members of health care organizations;
- An institutionalization of diversity training for interpreters in medical terminology and cultural and linguistic translation;
- A calculation of what the cost would be of *not* providing qualified interpreters or *not* providing health services to immigrants on arrival, which results in overuse of emergencies, increased hospital admissions, etc., versus providing adequate services for new immigrants.

Justice

In Calgary in particular, the Calgary Police Service (CPS) must be acknowledged in their attempt to bridge the gap with the almost 200,000 individuals of varying ethnocultural groups. Their attempt to educate newcomers to Canada and address their specific needs through the Cultural Resources Unit is a constructive and crucial step towards achieving blind justice for all Canadians. However, there is a perception of racism and bias within the Canadian justice system.

Recommendations in this sector include:

A community-based approach, as suggested by the Department of Justice Canada, should be further developed in order to address issues such as a perceived "gap" in justice accessibility and delivery, and bias and racial discrimination. Many of the systems are already in place; however, these must be strengthened in order to accommodate what will likely be an influx of immigrants in the near future.

A **greater effort on the part of all actors** (the immigrant, the ethnocultural community, the service provider, the municipality, the province and the federal government) **to improve access to what is known as PLEI** (public legal education and information) is needed. This could be done through expanding services already in place, such as the CPS's You and the Law project, or the distribution of materials in a variety of languages to ensure that all newcomers are provided with clear and concise information about the rights afforded them as citizens of Canada, and the resources available to them.

Locally, while the CPS has made great strides in its efforts to address the needs of immigrants, **we recommend that it proactively develop strategies to recruit and hire more visible minorities**. This would further erase the barriers to cultural plurality, eliminate perceptions of systemic bias, and truly reflect the city that the force serves. Given Calgary's immigrant growth patterns, the need to incorporate newcomers into established justice occupations, such as the professions of law and policing, has become increasingly important to ensure that communication barriers are reduced and that confidence and trust are built and maintained.

Indicators for measuring successful integration into the justice sector:

- Canada's Department of Justice claims: "confidence in the justice system requires the presence of familiar faces;" therefore, an indicator for measuring success in the justice sector is greater representation of immigrants and visible minorities in law and policing professions;
- Decrease in prejudicial treatment of members of the various ethnocultural communities on the one hand, and on the other, a decrease in perception and suspicion from within those same communities that police are responding prejudicially.

About the Authors

JILLIAN DOWDING received an M.A. in Military and Strategic Studies from the University of Calgary's Centre for Military and Strategic Studies in September 2003. Her research interests include the regionalization of security measures and the development of a cooperative security architecture in Latin America; Colombian domestic politics and guerrilla movements; and the hemispheric traffic of drugs, small arms and organized criminal activities. Jillian first began work in the immigrant sector as Coordinator for the Alberta Association for Immigrant Serving Agencies' bi-annual Provincial Settlement Conference in June 2003, and as a volunteer host to a refugee from the Sudan. She has been an active participant on the *Innovation in Integration* Steering Committee, and was Coordinator of the May 27 2004 Symposium. Currently, Jillian is Program Director for the Latin American Research Centre at the University of Calgary and continues to conduct research on a wide variety of security issues.

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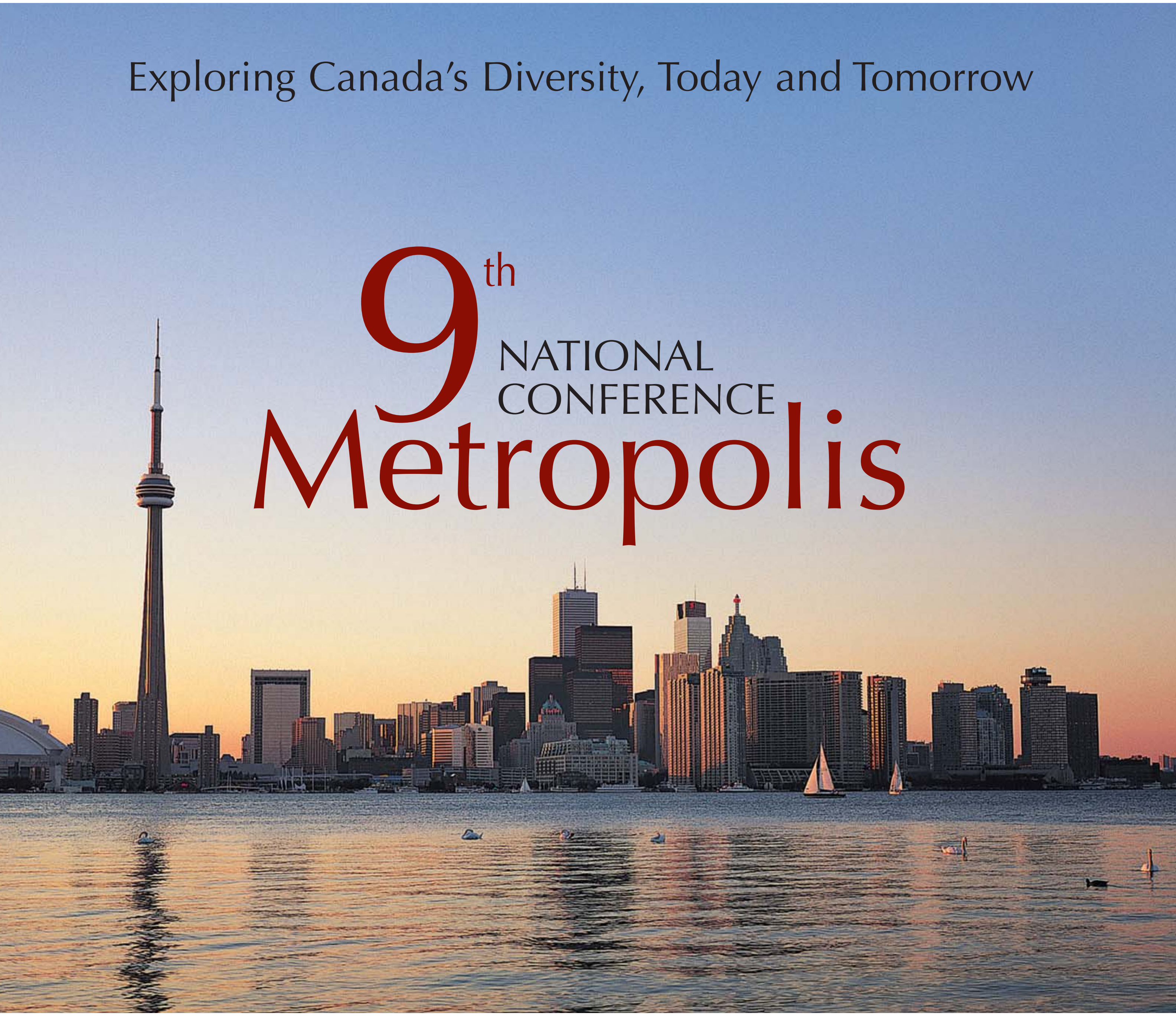

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