

International Perspectives on Migration 12

Glenda Tibe Bonifacio
Julie L. Drolet *Editors*

Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities

 Springer

International Perspectives on Migration

Volume 12

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Editors

Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities

 Springer

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ISSN 2214-9805 ISSN 2214-9813 (electronic)
International Perspectives on Migration
ISBN 978-3-319-40423-3 ISBN 978-3-319-40424-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-40424-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016955048

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This book is dedicated to Otilia Chareka (1968–2011) and her five daughters—Missy, Patience, Patricia, Primrose, and Prisca. All royalties from this book will go to the memorial fund for the children of Otilia Chareka.



Dr. Otilia Chareka (photo courtesy of St. Francis Xavier University)

Foreword

Research on migration to Canada has focused primarily on the large metropolises of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, with far less attention paid to what the authors of this volume term “small cities.” In recent years, a greater number of immigrants have been drawn to small cities, and this regionalization presents both opportunities and challenges. From the perspective of the host community, opportunities may be presented in terms of reducing population decline, promoting economic growth, and supporting the sustainability of Francophone minority communities. Yet such regionalization also poses challenges for communities, where resources, knowledge, and experience may be lacking. Small cities may also offer opportunities for immigrants, including at times better employment prospects and a higher quality of life. At the same time, they may present challenges for newcomers in terms of a potential lack of specialized services to support settlement and a host population less familiar with diversity. This volume makes an important contribution in this regard, documenting and analyzing these challenges and opportunities through a case study approach, while drawing out the theoretical and practical implications.

One of the strengths of this volume is the extent to which interdisciplinary perspectives are seamlessly incorporated into the analyses and the variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives brought to bear in addressing the experiences of immigrants in small Canadian cities. An additional strength is the range of small cities examined and the somewhat recurring themes that emerge. While this is not the first collection of work on small cities, it is likely one of the most wide ranging to date. A breadth of topics are covered—including the role of collaborative partnerships in small cities, social networks, sense of place, identity, belonging, health and well-being, racism and discrimination, political participation, and the specific issues faced by Francophone minority communities—yet the volume manages to retain its coherence. This is important work if the government of Canada’s goal of regionalization is to be successfully realized.

New immigration challenges and opportunities are constantly arising. At this time, the Syrian refugee crisis has drawn Canadians’ attention, and many everyday Canadians have stepped forward to privately sponsor Syrian refugees to Canada.

How large and small cities will work to integrate these newcomers and their effects on these communities pose new and important questions for future research.

Many of the authors of this volume began to work together as members of Metropolis, a research network designed to bring together researchers, policymakers, and practitioners with interest in immigration and diversity. When Metropolis Canada was decommissioned in 2012, we were fortunate to receive funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) to form the Pathways to Prosperity Research Partnership (www.p2pcanada.ca), an alliance of university, community, and government partners dedicated to fostering welcoming communities and promoting the integration of immigrants and minorities across Canada. This support from SSHRC, and the success of the P2P Partnership, attests to the importance of policy- and practice-relevant research in this area, of which research on “small cities” forms an important part.

Pathways to Prosperity Research Partnership
London, ON, Canada

Victoria Esses

Preface

The idea for this collection began at the 11th National Metropolis Conference, “Frontiers of Canadian Migration,” held on March 19–22, 2009, in Calgary, Alberta. A workshop session on “Beyond the Metropolis: Small-Town Migration in Canada” was organized by Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and brought together academics like Julie Drolet, policymakers, government officials, and immigrant-serving agency staff and directors to discuss the settlement experiences in small cities in Western Canada. The discussion focused on the unique challenges faced by small cities but also the promising practices that have emerged over time. Many of the participants in this session agreed that there was a need to further document, share, and learn from these experiences. Following the conference, a national call for papers was launched by the editors to approach immigration in small cities through both empirical and qualitative studies, thoughtful policy analysis and discussion, and practical examples of programs and initiatives under way in small cities in Canada.

Many of the contributors in this book met through Metropolis, an international network for research and public policy development on migration, diversity, and immigrant integration in cities in Canada and internationally. The Metropolis Project was a partnership of policymakers, researchers, and practitioners that developed an extensive local network, with significant linkages across the country and beyond. Metropolis aimed to enhance policy through research by sponsoring activities such as research, seminars, conferences, publications, and other knowledge transfer or mobilization activities in six priority areas: citizenship and social, cultural, and civic integration; family, children, and youth; justice, policing, and security; welcoming communities; economic and labour market integration; and housing and neighborhoods. The Metropolis university-based Centres of Excellence (located in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax/Moncton) facilitated local networks of researchers, policymakers from different levels of government, and practitioners through various events and activities. Metropolis Phase 3 ended in 2012, and we remain hopeful that the partnerships created through the network will continue through the years, as research on immigration and diversity will be needed more than ever in a globalizing world. As members of the Pathways to Prosperity Research Partnership (www.p2pcanada.ca), an alliance of university, community,

and government partners dedicated to fostering welcoming communities and promoting the integration of immigrants and minorities across Canada, we acknowledge the important contributions of academics, researchers, immigrant settlement organizations, and all levels of government in considering the experiences of newcomers in all regions of Canada.

As editors, we have our own personal and familial experiences of immigration, in terms of our respective trajectories as newcomers in small cities in Western Canada. The question of immigration is complex, and its challenges touch our daily lives. We have been inspired and informed by Canadian scholars; formal groups such as Metropolis Canada, particularly Metropolis British Columbia and the Prairie Metropolis Centre, the Canadian Association for Social Work, Canadian Association for the Study of International Development, International Organization for Migration, and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; and informal groups such as immigrant- and refugee-serving organizations in Canada, locally and internationally.

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Acknowledgments

We owe many thanks to all those who have given so generously of their time, effort, and encouragement to make this book a reality. First of all, we are grateful to all contributors for sharing their commendable original work on small cities in Canada for this collection. Their cooperation, patience, and understanding of the difficult moments we have been through the years, of losing a dear colleague and contributor, are very much appreciated.

We also thank the Metropolis network across Canada for supporting research on immigration; the Department of Women and Gender Studies at the University of Lethbridge especially Bev Garnett, Leanne Wehlage-Ellis, and Joanne Fiske; and the CURA Small Cities research program at Thompson Rivers University, for providing valuable assistance to make the publication of this volume possible.

Many individuals have contributed to us in numerous ways. We have been supported by the skills of research assistants, Yasir Ali, Allysa Gredling, and Tiffany Sampson, and the inspiration of Sarah Amies, program director, and her staff at the Immigrant Services, Lethbridge Family Services. We thank our family members for their tireless support, care, and understanding through the years: Glenda is deeply indebted to her husband, Ike, and five daughters, Charmaine, Czarina, Charelle, Czyna, and Charithe; Julie would like to thank her husband Corey Sullivan and her children Thomas and Rosalie Sullivan for their continued support. Finally and importantly, our sincere appreciation is given to those who agreed to participate in the various research projects featured in this collection and whom we cannot thank directly for sharing their voices of life in small cities in Canada.

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Julie L. Drolet

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and Julie L. Drolet

Immigration occurs everywhere, including small cities. Human mobility is now far more noticeable in small localities with faster modes of travel and communication technology and for various reasons such as employment opportunities, family reunification, escape from political repression or civil strife, natural calamities and climate change, to name a few. While internal migration from the rural to urban areas is a projected traditional pattern of the local population, immigration to small cities by foreigners is presumably not. This book is about the perspectives of small cities and experiences of immigration of people from around the world living in small cities in Canada.

In the twenty-first century, Canada continues to attract immigrants, and, in 2010, it accepted 280,636 new permanent residents—the highest number in more than 50 years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC] 2011). In 2012, there were 257,887 new permanent residents of different immigration categories (i.e. family class, economic immigrants, refugees and others) (CIC 2013a) in the country; in 2013, this slightly increased to 258,953 (CIC 2013b). While the traditional destination cities remain the “big three” (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), there is a significant dispersal of new immigrants outside metropolitan cities. Statistics Canada (2010) reported that almost 312,6000 immigrants in 2006 “(regardless of when they arrived in Canada) resided outside the commuting zone of cities”. However, the share of immigrants to population in smaller cities was about 8% compared to 25% in larger cities (Statistics Canada 2010). The 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) indicated that 62.5% of new immigrants who arrived

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between 2006 and 2011 settled in the largest urban areas of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. But Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg have increased their share of newcomers in 2011 compared to 2006 with 6.1% (70,700), 4.3% (50,000) and 3.9% (45,300), respectively (Statistics Canada 2013). According to Calgary Economic Development, there were 17,786 migrants in Calgary and 15,643 in Edmonton in 2013 (CED n.d.).

Immigration continues to be a crucial issue for small cities interested in attracting and retaining immigrants in their communities (Frideres 2006; Zehtab-Martin and Beesley 2007; Derwing and Krahn 2008; Tolley and Young 2011). Among the provinces in Canada, Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario have higher number of immigrants moving to less populated or outlying areas (Statistics Canada 2010). For example, Alberta has become a magnet for immigration driven by its economic growth and demand for skilled labour. While Calgary and Edmonton are the two metropolitan centres in Alberta that attract new immigrants and migrant workers, an increasing number of these arrivals occur in smaller communities across the province. Immigrants from Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia flock to Brooks, Alberta, to work in Lakeside Packers, thus making it one of the “most ethnically diverse small cities in Canada” (Much More Magazine 2009). In Red Deer, Alberta, the number of immigrants rose by 93% in 2007 compared to 2006 (CIC News 2008). The same could be said in other small cities in the country where immigration and the retention of newcomers are viewed as viable strategies for economic growth. Take the cases of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where the number of immigrants increased by 73% in 2007 from its 2006 intake; 31% increase in Moncton, New Brunswick; and 40% rise in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (CIC News 2008). Based on the 2011 National Household Survey, new immigrants who arrived between 2006 and 2011 numbered 2250 in Moncton and 11,465 in Saskatoon. The Atlantic provinces generally have slight increases of immigrants in 2011 compared to 2006 (Statistics Canada 2013). In 2014, the total number of new permanent residents in Nova Scotia reached 2670, while 2837 settled in New Brunswick (CIC 2014).

Immigration to small cities follows the “new paradigm” where newcomers are encouraged to settle in so-called hinterlands or low-growth centres (Wulff et al. 2008, 119) to stimulate regional development and achieve more balanced distribution of population. In Canada, the trend of regionalization of immigration is demonstrated by the establishment of Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP) in many provinces, which has made the situation in small cities a compelling area of study. PNP aims to bring identified foreign skilled workers outside of Canada’s largest cities to respond to labour shortages. Consequently, many smaller communities are exploring how best to increase their regional attractiveness to immigrants (Di Biase and Bauder 2005). According to Krahn et al. (2003, 1–2), “At a policy level, a key concern for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) involves regionalizing Canada’s immigration flows by sending more immigrants to second and third-tier cities, as well as to less populated provinces”. But, with the exception of provincial nominees and government-sponsored refugees, newcomers to Canada are free to choose where they want to settle upon arrival.

Nearly 30% of the Canadian population will be foreign-born within two decades (Peritz and Friesen 2010). By 2031, Statistics Canada projects that the visible minority population will grow by 28% or four times faster than the rest of the Canadian population to about 14.4 million, with South Asians forming the largest group (CBC News 2010). The likely scenario that the “white” Canadians will become the minority in Toronto and Vancouver is often heard in conference circuits. Sustained “[r]ecent increases in immigrant populations bring new cultures, religions and ethnic groups to Canada” (Zehtab-Martin and Beesley 2007, 75), both in larger urban centres and small cities. We argue that immigration in small cities poses different challenges to newcomers and local residents alike. We further posit the view that immigration in small cities in Canada is as important as immigration in metropolitan cities. It is in small cities where the dynamic exchange between the host culture and immigrants, particularly non-white or racialized groups, likely occurs positively or negatively. By and large, the “actions that people take—immigrants and non-immigrants alike—occur at the community level” (Silka 2007, 76). The sense of community or exclusion is, arguably, felt more in small cities compared to large urban centres where immigrant groups find already established social support structures such as those provided by ethnocultural associations. Settlement and integration services are not readily available in smaller communities, which can contribute to social exclusion and difficulties among newcomers, or lack of ethnocultural services may facilitate closer interactions between newcomers and local residents.

However, the issues and challenges of immigration and diversity in communities beyond the metropolis have not been given much scholarly attention. It has not attracted wide interest to bring forth its particular realities into mainstream discussion in the same way as large urban areas have done so. But this book is not about a comparative analysis of the urban-rural immigration scenario in Canada; rather, it is about how small cities experience these challenges. This book, therefore, aims to stimulate interest and explore immigration, settlement and diversity in small cities in Canada based on selected themes of partnerships, resources and capacities; identities, belonging and social networks; health, politics and diversity; and the Francophone minority communities. Small cities, representing about 25% of the Canadian population, have recently attracted, albeit slow, the parameters of local, provincial and national policy debates (Metropolis n.d.). At the international level, small cities have increasingly gained momentum in a number of recent studies that demonstrate the varied dimensions of integration affecting immigrant populations (Wulff et al. 2008; Odem and Lacy 2009; Willem Duyvendak et al. 2009; Normal 2013). In Canada, this book is arguably the first interdisciplinary collection of perspectives and experiences of immigration in small cities. A more contextualized discussion of immigration in small cities is both timely and relevant for anyone living in and with newcomers to better create an inclusive society. In fact, no society is ever exempt from this reality, but how societies respond to changing demographics and emerging issues are key points to consider.

According to David Bell at University of Leeds and Mark Jayne at University of Manchester (Garrett-Petts 2009), the small city is, in fact, the “typical size of urban

form the world over” yet scholars and policymakers do not know much about them. Its perceived “in-between, nebulous character” (Viaud 2008) renders its study complex and its interests often relegated to the margins. “If smaller urban centres are to prosper and maintain their identities in the face of mass cultural influences and big-box retailing, they need to think critically about notions of scale, space, and place. To tell their own stories, small cities need to listen to the vernacular, to local examples and voices” (Garrett-Petts and Dubinsky 2005, 1). With a looming ageing population and declining workforce, the importance of immigration is on the agenda in Canada to maintain the economic and demographic viability of small communities. According to the Conference Board of Canada, “immigration has injected new life into dying Canadian towns” (Keung 2009). It is high time we position the interests and voices of small cities in Canada at the centre of migration discourse.

1.1 Defining a Small City

Does the size of the city matter for immigrant settlement, integration and social inclusion? “Size [does] matters”, according to Hyndman et al. (2006). We also believe it does in the context of small cities. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) undertook a series of quality of life studies on a sample of large- and medium-sized cities to monitor key changes in the quality of life of Canadian residents that led to define a Canadian municipal agenda that includes social inclusion and integration (Viaud forthcoming A). However, quality of life conditions in small cities cannot be inferred by the experiences of large city residents (Viaud forthcoming A). The same could be said of the immigration experiences in small cities which are not the same as in large metropolitan centres. Frideres (2006, 3) notes that “the size and structure of a city has an impact on immigrant behaviours, values and attitudes”. The sense of belonging, for instance, is related to how small cities provide welcoming initiatives and opportunities to newcomers in the community.

But how do we define a small city? The answer depends on who you are asking. Interestingly, we received a wide breadth of abstracts for this book from across Canada, and the submissions included differing views of a “small city”. Teasing out these divergences at the initial phase of the book project has been contentious: some proponents claim that Calgary is a small city compared to Toronto; Winnipeg is a small city compared to Calgary; and so on. There are differences of looking at small, medium and large cities; in sum, no standard definition exists.

Defining a “small city” matters because of different perceptions among academics, researchers and policymakers across Canada, and, for each definition, the characteristics are different. Some contextual definitions include policy issues with a neighbourhood or community focus, or a regional focus. Is a small city a geographic concept, such as a location on a map? Or is it a social representation, a culture or a way of life? Is a small city a function of population density, population size, distance from an urban area or distance to an essential service? According to Viaud (2008, 7, 9),

“small cities are all municipalities between 100,000 and 10,000 people”. Based on this classification, there are 299 small cities in Canada, which represent nearly a quarter of the Canadian population (24.9%) (Viaud 2008, 8). By comparison, medium cities are communities larger than 100,000 in population and account for 21.9% of the Canadian population (Viaud 2008, 7). However, Statistics Canada uses the term “small cities” or “small urban areas” with a population of at least 1000 (CBC News 2007). These descriptive qualifiers of population ignore the availability, number and quality of services and amenities between them.

According to Bourne (2002, 19), Canada’s settlement system “encompasses 600 urban places that meet the minimum federal census population threshold for urban places, namely of 1000 inhabitants, and that have densities of at least 400 persons per square kilometer”. But the Canadian urban system is “typically defined as including only those 139 urban places in the country with more than 10,000 populations” (ibid.). These include “27 census metropolitan areas (CMAs) with more than 100,000, and 112 smaller census agglomerations (CAs) with populations in their urbanized cores of between 10,000 and 100,000” or, according to Statistics Canada, the so-called extended urban regions based on functionality than any political criteria (ibid.).

From another perspective, Frideres (2006, 3) presents the “25 cities in Canada with a population of 100,000 or more”; “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”. Of these cities, another classification emerges: first-, second- and third-tier cities. First-tier cities are Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Krahn et al. 2003, 8), otherwise known as “gateway cities” (Bauder and Sharpe 2002). Second-tier cities include Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton and Ottawa-Gatineau; third-tier cities are those with populations less than 100,000 (Frideres 2006, 4–5). Notably, population size increases or decreases and the classification of cities is not static.

From what context is “small” defined? The “small-big” dichotomy is relational; one becomes “small” from the vantage point of something “big”. As Bell and Jayne (2006, 2) comment, “small cities are faced with the problem of definition and redefinition” as these localities are positioned alongside the “global metropolis dominating global flows of capital, culture and people”. Up to now, finding some ways of understanding what a “small city” is or it’s “smallness or bigness” remains ambivalent (ibid.). It seems that various points of references are used to measure, describe or characterize a small city based on the purpose upon which it is defined. But the most common characterization of a small city is population size.

Defining a “small city” as a place in Canada with a population of less than 100,000 people strictly limits the scope and breadth of scholarly discourse at this time. Undeniably, there are few scholars in Canada working in a “small-city” perspective, and perhaps, many of them would be confined in a certain province. Because population size appears to be a significant determinant in defining a “small city”, we stretched it to accommodate cities having populations less than 100,000 to 200,000 thereabouts or a grouping of small cities within a region that are now the sites of new scholarship in Canadian immigration. By allowing flexibility, we are

able to present in this collection a much wider scope of “small-city” studies in Canada.

1.2 Related Canadian Studies in the Twenty-First Century

As history has shown, small centres have been the frontiers of modern life and the promise of the future. Everything starts small, the beginning of something bigger to come in due time: small cities are precursor to big cities. Yet in Canada, studies on small cities in the twenty-first century remain also “small” compared to studies related to the “capitals of immigrant Canada”—Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Krahn et al. 2003, 1). Radford (2007) calls for “greater research on immigration” beyond these three largest cities in Canada. Vatz Laaroussi and Walton-Roberts (2007, 166) argue that “the local, regional and provincial contexts vary widely (rural, semi-urban, second-tier cities, provinces with declining demographics, minority communities) and must be analyzed in light of their specific and complex features”. For example, McIsaac (2003, 3) criticized the proposed “dispersion strategy” of CIC in 2002 which would direct immigrants to second-tier, smaller cities, including remote areas because of differing economic growth and the lack of institutional or community infrastructure in these areas.

Some notable studies include Teixeira (2009, 323) who examined the rental housing patterns and coping strategies of immigrants in Kelowna, British Columbia, faced with barriers such as “(a) high housing costs; (b) lack of reliable housing information, including lack of access to organizations that provide housing help (government or not); and (c) prejudice by landlords based on immigrants’ ethnic and racial background”. In the same province, Drolet et al. (2008) conducted a community-based study of settlement experiences of family-class immigrants in Kamloops, British Columbia. Newcomers in Kamloops identified retention issues such as “affordability of basic life needs, accessibility to services for themselves and their children (health care, education), safety, community openness and acceptance, proximity to services, employment and activities” (Drolet et al. 2008, 8). Hyndman, Schuurman and Fiedler (2006, 1) used findings from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada to construct an index that ranks five medium-sized cities in British Columbia in terms of their potential attractiveness to new immigrants and confirmed that immigrants are attracted to cities where friends and family or other immigrants live.

Vatz Laaroussi and Walton-Roberts (2005) served as editors of a special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* on immigration outside Canada’s major cities. The papers in this edition suggest that immigrant settlement in smaller cities requires social planning and government cooperation to initiate immigration flows and contribute to social networks, but long-term retention depends upon regional economic development and positive labour market experiences (Vatz Laaroussi and Walton-Roberts 2005, 5). The summer issue of *Our Diverse Cities* (2006) published significant studies on immigration and small cities, including second- and third-tier cities

(Frideres 2006; Garcea 2006; Halliday 2006; Derwing and Krahn 2006; Shanes 2006) and small- and medium-sized cities (Walton-Roberts 2006). This issue highlighted studies on welcoming communities in Sherbrooke (Corriveau and la Rougery 2006), Guelph (Mulholland 2006), Halifax (Coutinho 2006) and Moncton (Belkhdja 2006); recruitment and retention of immigrants in London (Brochu and Abu-Ayyash 2006), Sudbury (Block 2006) and Charlottetown (Baldacchino 2006); and other issues of migration in Quebec City (Guilbert 2006; Bourget 2006). Subsequent issues of *Our Diverse Cities* focused on different provinces and regions: Atlantic region, British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and the Prairies. In these issues from 2007 to 2011, case studies in small-city contexts have come to light in migration discourse (Campbell 2008; Belding and McRae 2009; Lai and Huffey 2009; Teixeira 2011; Drolet and Robertson 2011).

The *Canadian Social Work* in its Fall 2010 issue published the various experiences of settlement of newcomers in Canada with three articles related to small cities: family-class immigrants and settlement workers in Kamloops, British Columbia, by Drolet et al. (2010); housing experiences of racialized workers in Windsor-Essex, Ontario, by Anucha et al. (2010); and settlement and integration supports in Brantford and counties of Brant, Haldimand and Norfolk in Ontario by Sethi (2010). Drolet et al. (2010) highlighted the voices of immigrants under the family-class and settlement workers and call for a more collaborative undertaking among service providers and better informed social workers. Anucha et al. (2010) examined the experiences of racialized workers in Windsor-Essex, a second-tier city in Ontario, and noted the complex interconnections of different phases of immigration to housing and well-being. Sethi (2010) explored the role of host communities, responsibilities of integration and perception of service delivery by newcomers.

Other scholars in Canada have also found a niche of study in immigration and small cities. In particular, Ma (2010) conducted a literature review on immigrant integration in second- and third-tier cities in Canada in five categories for the Peterborough Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration: employment, immigrant services, housing, social and community engagement and demography. In this review, Ma (2010) emphasized the framework of social inclusion, civic participation and educating the local population on diversity as important dimensions of integration. The particular challenges of small cities, broadly defined, remain an important field of inquiry.

While there is an increasing scholarly interest related to “small cities” and immigration, none has so far provided a comprehensive and pan-Canadian attempt to explore its dynamics and challenges in the twenty-first century. This book collection endeavours to break some ground in pushing the issue of “immigration in small cities” to mainstream discussion, emphasizing the various intersections of policy, practice and experiences in today’s globalizing world. We are humbly convinced that this collection of case studies is the first scholarly work that responds to the contemporary realities of immigration to small cities in Canada.

1.3 Organization of the Book

This book provides different perspectives from scholars and practitioners on the challenges of immigration in small cities and on how best to engage different stakeholders in communities with far fewer resources than their counterparts in metropolitan centres, critically examine the effectiveness of prevailing policies and practices in welcoming and integrating newcomers, and gauge new approaches in migration studies. It uses multidisciplinary perspectives in exploring various aspects of migratory flows, social interactions and practices that inhibit or enable cohesion and inclusion in small cities in Canada. As a complement to metropolitan-based works on immigration in Canada, this collection presents specific case studies on immigration in small cities. We contend that the following chapters offer important dimension in migration studies through the myriad ways in which migrants, immigrants and Canadian-born residents interact and how settlement agencies, local governments and organizations develop their own unique strategies to respond to changing realities given their limited resources and opportunities in small cities.

We identified four themes to explore the particularities of immigration in the small city in Canada. These themes are neither exclusive nor exhaustive; rather, it demonstrates the diversity of scholarly engagements that form part of this collection. Although there are more expressions of interests than we can possibly accommodate, we carefully selected the case studies to provide a pan-Canadian perspective. The non-representation of other provinces and territories is not intentional. It simply reflected some apparent absence in the topics submitted to us for consideration and the limitations of publication. We hope that the topics we covered for this collection will enhance further interest on the subject of immigration to small cities in Canada and elsewhere.

Part I presents the theme of *partnerships, resources and capacities*. Small cities rely on collaborative partnerships, shared resources and effective capacity building to respond to local needs. These play an important role in developing social cohesion and productivity of institutions, organizations and individuals in the community. In Chap. 2, Julie L. Drolet discusses the welcoming and inclusive communities and workplaces program initiative in the Thompson-Nicola region in British Columbia (BC). Using survey data from eight small cities in the interior of BC, Drolet examines the levels of inclusion and welcoming initiatives of the city among residents, business owners, mayors, administrative officers and service providers. Ryan Gibson, Jill Bucklaschuk and Robert Annis in Chap. 3 focus on the development of community partnerships in Brandon, Manitoba, to welcome newcomers and integrate temporary foreign workers, including their families. Recent immigration flows induced by the Provincial Nominee Program introduces a host of challenges and opportunities for local service providers, the municipal government, community residents and newcomers. Changing community dynamics to address the complexities of managing immigration in smaller communities present the need for cohesive strategies based on multi-stakeholder engagement and partnerships. In Chap. 4, Michael C.K. Ma demonstrates the efforts of community and municipal

organizations in Peterborough, Ontario, in creating a local partnership council for improving immigrant integration. Collaborative work between resettlement agencies, community organizations and municipal stakeholders is an important component that can improve immigrant integration. Areas of jurisdiction can intersect in small cities, particularly in service gaps, social planning mandates and service delivery practices between and across local institutional bodies of governance in immigrant settlement and integration.

Part II embraces the theme of *identities, belonging and social networks*. These concepts are central to the integration of immigrants and newcomers in small cities. It sets the gauge for the retention of newcomers; their sense of place, identity and belonging; and their negotiation of limiting social structures in host communities. Chapter 5 situates the global and local interfaces of constructing identity and belonging in the lives of the immigrant Filipina, including temporary foreign workers, in Lethbridge, Alberta. In this chapter by Glenda Tibe Bonifacio, four narrative cases of Filipina lives in a small city in Alberta are used to extrapolate identities and belonging in the context of gender and labour migration. Yaying Zhang examines the transnational ties and competing identities of Chinese immigrants in Kamloops, British Columbia, in Chap. 6. Chinese immigrant identity is reconstructed and reconstituted in relation to changing social contexts including the emerging awareness of a Chinese ethnic identity and a new Westernized identity. In Chap. 7, Cheryl Sutherland presents the sense of place among immigrant and refugee women in Kingston and in Peterborough, Ontario. As spaces that have historically been less ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse, smaller Canadian cities are struggling with how to make their communities more welcoming and inclusive for newcomers. The ways in which place is experienced by diverse women (racial, ethnic, religious or otherwise) and context of exit from their countries of origin greatly affect the way in which women adapt to their new lives in Canada. “Photovoice” is used as a means of exploring women’s experiences and highlights how racialized women struggle with achieving a sense of belonging in small cities where they experience discrimination and racism. Swarna Weerasinghe, Alexandra Dobrowolsky, Nicole Gallant, Evangelia Tastsoglou, Ather Akbari, Pauline Gardiner Barber and Lloydetta Quaicoe discuss the role of social networks in attracting and retaining immigrants in small cities in Chap. 8. The multiple dimensions of social networks among mixed ethnic immigrants (i.e. African Francophones, South Asians and Lebanese) in small cities in four Atlantic provinces are examined based on, for example, their sense of belonging, community and civic participation. Informal networks created by the dynamics of gender composition and their role in labour market integration, education and access to health services are also discussed.

Part III emphasizes the theme of *health, politics and diversity*. These are significant variables in fostering the quality of life of immigrants in small cities. Chapter 9 by Sylvia Reitmanova and Diana Gustafson examines social inequities and the determinants of immigrant women’s health in St. John’s. A critical population health perspective is used to understand the different processes, needs and experiences of immigrant women living in a small urban centre in eastern Canada whose well-being was complicated by resettlement stress and difficulties. Policy

recommendations are offered not only to enhance the health and well-being of visible minority immigrant women but also to facilitate their long-term settlement in small cities. In Chap. 10, Jennifer Ajandi and Melenie Neamtz deal with the perspectives of immigrant youth and the advocacy experiences of the Folk Arts Council of St. Catherine's Multicultural Centre and Rainbow Youth Services to promote and advance social justice and equity. New young immigrants in the Niagara region face difficulties in accessing employment opportunities, transportation, support services as well as barriers in fully integrating in the educational system and the larger community with oppressive practices such as racism and discrimination. Otilia Chareka in Chap. 11 examines the notions and actions of political participation of ethno-cultural immigrants in small cities in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. Dilemmas and challenges of democratic participation, exclusion and marginalization are discussed in the context of increasing civic integration through political participation. The survey of over a hundred participants in Atlantic Canada reveals the unrecognized sense of loyalty and interest to participate in various democratic spaces of inclusion among racialized immigrants.

Part IV presents the theme of *Francophone communities*. Settlement in French-speaking or Francophone communities poses particular challenges for immigrants. Aïcha Benimmas, Lamine Kamano and Fadila Boutouchent outline the relationship between school and immigrant families in French-language minority communities in Moncton, New Brunswick, through immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's integration in Chap. 12. The integration of immigrants, particularly of children into Francophone schools, calls for close collaboration between schools and parents. While aware that integrating immigrant pupils is a complex adaptation process, the path to collaboration between French-language schools in a minority setting and immigrant families is strewn with challenges. In Chap. 13, Aurélie Lacassagne discusses the challenges of Francophone immigration in the Sudbury region. In 2005, the number of Francophones in Ontario increased for the first time in decades due to immigration. This chapter examines key issues surrounding this development and the challenges posed by government interventions in allocating resources and the implications of Francophone immigration for Canada's national identity. Lastly, Jill Hanley in Chap. 14 presents how the trend towards regionalization of immigration policy affected the experiences of newcomers in small cities and towns in the province of Quebec. This chapter discusses the implications of the unique process of immigrant selection in the province, settlement and integration into areas outside of Montreal.

Through wide-ranging case studies, methodologies and theoretical frameworks used by interdisciplinary contributors, this book illustrates how a "small-city" context and place are important attributes in Canadian immigration in the twenty-first century. We affirm the timely contribution of this collection in fostering a better understanding of diverse capacities, challenges and prospects of small cities, local governance and, more importantly, the often unrecognized "small-town" gestures of warmth that entice many newcomers to stay in small cities.

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Part I
Partnerships, Resources, and Capacities

Chapter 2

Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP): The Case in Thompson-Nicola Region, British Columbia

Julie L. Drolet

Across Canada there is interest from many sectors in fostering welcoming and inclusive communities. Provinces, territories, municipalities and neighbourhood associations are engaged in developing plans to attract and retain newcomers to Canada; libraries, schools, employers, police services and health centres, among others, focus on responding to the unique needs of immigrants and refugees (Burr 2011). It is increasingly recognized that meaningful public policy requires a local lens. As Bradford (2009, 14) states, “policy interventions must increasingly work from the ground up to generate solutions rooted in the particular concerns of local communities, attuned to the specific needs and capacities of residents”.

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), formerly known as Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), modernized Settlement Program includes all aspects of integration: to foster active and meaningful connections between newcomers and host communities and enable newcomers to develop a sense of belonging while helping communities better understand the interests and potential contributions of newcomers (Burr 2011). Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) are the mechanism through which CIC supports the development of community-based partnerships and planning around the needs of newcomers (CIC n.d., 6). These partnerships bring together communities with the aim of developing strategic plans to address the opportunities and challenges associated with fostering inclusive and responsive environments and bring together multi-level collaborative

Julie L. Drolet wishes to acknowledge Yasir Ali for working as a research assistant on the report from which this section is based, Tiffany Sampson for her assistance with this chapter and Kamloops Immigrant Services and the members of the WICWP committee in the Thompson-Nicola region for entrusting her with the analysis of the survey findings.

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governance by encouraging cooperation among federal, provincial and municipal governments (Burr 2011) with local stakeholders.

The Quebec provincial government designs, funds and administers their own distinct set of immigrant settlement services through devolution agreements with the federal government, and this was also the situation for British Columbia (BC) and Manitoba until March 2014. Under the terms of Annex A of the 2010 Canada–BC Immigration Agreement, CIC transferred funds to the province of British Columbia for the design, administration and delivery of settlement and integration services for immigrants and refugees (WelcomeBC 2012, 2). On April 12, 2012, CIC announced that the responsibility for the design and administration of federally funded settlement services would be transferred back to the federal government in April 2014 (WelcomeBC 2012, 41). In addition, some immigrant-serving agencies receive significant funding from other sources: federal ministries, crown corporations, municipalities and foundations (Burstein 2010, 2). While CIC is a core government player in immigrant settlement, other federal and provincial governmental bodies (in health, economic development, children and families) play important parallel roles in some provinces, as do some municipalities. However, federal and provincial spending on social services has declined significantly over the past two decades affecting the delivery of services and programmes by community-based agencies, as well as community charities and various foundations (Creese 1998; Richmond and Shields 2005).

This chapter presents a welcoming community initiative located in the Thompson-Nicola region in the interior of BC. The case examines the perspectives of residents surveyed in eight small cities in the BC interior. The study of Thompson-Nicola region in BC is anchored through the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP). Based on the different levels of welcoming community initiatives and the type of methods used in the research, the case highlights the significance of building partnerships and sharing resources to address pressing challenges of immigration to small cities and rural communities in Canada.

2.1 Welcoming Communities: A Review

According to Esses et al. (2010), in a report entitled “Characteristics of a Welcoming Community” submitted to the Integration Branch, CIC, a welcoming community has two dimensions: spatial and discursive. In referring to its spatial dimension, a welcoming community is “a town, city, or region—in which newcomers feel valued and their needs are served” (Esses et al. 2010, 9). The discourse dimension, they further write,

has been described as representing a discourse on responsibility, that is, the responsibility of the host community in the settlement process. Based on this dimension, a welcoming community is defined as having agency and engaging in actions that facilitate the integration of newcomers. (ibid.)

In addition to these two dimensions, a collective effort is needed to create a place where individuals feel valued and included, with a location that has the capacity to

meet the needs and promote inclusion of newcomers and the machinery in place to produce and support these capacities (2010, 9). Esses et al. (2010, 9) stress the importance of “partnership among all parties involved” in the community and not simply be “solely responsible for the outcomes of newcomers’ relocations”. Based on this report, the characteristics of a welcoming community include the following:

employment opportunities, fostering of social capital, affordable and suitable housing, positive attitudes toward immigrants, presence of newcomer-serving agencies, links between main actors working toward welcoming communities, municipal features and services sensitive to the presence and needs of newcomers, educational opportunities, accessible health care, available and accessible public transit, presence of diverse religious organizations, social engagement opportunities, political participation opportunities, positive relationships with the police and the justice system, safety, opportunities for use of public space and recreation facilities, favourable media coverage and representation. (Esses et al. 2010, 5–6)

These characteristics of a welcoming community will be present in different degrees and variations between and among host communities depending on population size, share of resources (government and private) and community-based services, among others. Communities with smaller population sizes are not in the position to compete with bigger and highly urbanized cities, for example, in the provision of employment opportunities to newcomers. Access to certain services may also be limited in small cities as well as its delivery to culturally diverse residents. Because of these, small cities face challenges of attracting newcomers and retaining its residents, both native-born and immigrants. Cook and Pruegger (2003) identify a number of individual factors (age, education, immigrant class and social supports) and community factors—the presence of an established ethnic/cultural community, economic/education/employment opportunities, access to services and community receptivity—as well as quality of life factors such as climate, housing market, size and/or presence of recreational, arts and cultural opportunities that influence secondary migration and considerations in locational decisions in Canada.

For many years urban policy in Canada has been primarily directed to the big city regions (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), and, according to Bradford (2003), “smaller communities sometimes fear they will be ignored”. Yet the small city is not immune to the same challenges brought about by changing economic and social forces unleashed by new technologies and globalization. Small cities need to innovate in order to help local businesses and social agencies as governments begin to address emerging issues of declining population. Bradford (2003) tells the stories of eleven small and medium cities in Canada, the United States and Europe that have made dedicated and creative efforts to turn local assets into a community-wide strategy for economic renewal and a better quality of life. In the summer and fall of 2002, the Laidlaw Foundation organized eleven “soundings” in ten communities across Canada to elicit community perspectives on the social issues facing urban centres and the civic capacities required to respond to these issues. As a result, “more than 240 community participants in groups ranging from 17 to 34 in size contributed their views in this process” (Clutterbuck and Novick 2003, 7). Accordingly,

[t]he civic capacity of large and small municipalities to sustain communities of social and cultural diversity living in states of vitality and harmony is a fundamental challenge to the future of Canada. It is within municipalities that basic states of social inclusion are cultivated and experienced. It is within civic communities that the relationships between citizenship and diversity are established. When social vulnerabilities and racial differences lead to serious disparities of circumstances and prospects, as is disturbingly evident in Canadian communities, then diversity is stripped of dignity and citizenship is devoid of mutual responsibility. (Clutterbuck and Novick 2003, 28)

Jones (2008, iv) avers that “building Canadian immigrant capacity is central to increasing immigrants’ representation on local boards, advisory councils, at public forums and in mainstream public processes”. Drawing from the Maple Bamboo Pilot Project, Jones (2008) examines Canadian federal, provincial and local multicultural policies to situate a study of active multiculturalism in which a locally based project strengthens immigrant participation on civic issues important to them in Toronto and Vancouver. In the Comox Valley, for example, there is recognition of emerging changes:

[...] our community is changing. Our economy is growing and more people are moving to the Comox Valley. New immigrants and long-term residents are living side-by-side with aboriginal people, whose traditional territory we all inhabit. Students are learning in a global environment. Businesses are serving more diverse consumers. In addition, a growing labour shortage means we need to attract diverse new residents to maintain a viable, vibrant workforce. (Comox Valley Welcoming and Inclusive Communities Roundtable 2008)

The National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies (2007, 3) published a comprehensive toolbox which aims to “help communities that wish to attract and retain newcomers” and provide a guide to the “resources and best practices from across the country”. This toolbox outlines the strategies and issues relevant to bringing and welcoming newcomers to small centres. Successful immigrant adaptation and integration depend largely on how newcomers are received in a community (Landry 2008, 6). A welcoming community has many facets and involves the commitment of a great number of stakeholders (Ashworth 2008, 32). Little and Johnson (2008) discuss a long tradition of welcoming newcomers in Canadian communities over the past 80 years, the Welcome Wagon. Founded in 1928 by Thomas Briggs of Memphis, Tennessee, the Welcome Wagon embodies a spirit of warm hospitality and welcome (Little and Johnson 2008, 4). The first Welcome Wagon visit was made in Vancouver in June 1930 and now continues as a service only offered to new residents who move into a community. Yet Depner and Texeira (2012, 74) demonstrate that relatively little is known about immigrants’ settlement experiences, including access to local services, in Canada’s most remote areas, and further discuss the situation in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. Settlement services are designed to meet the initial needs of newcomers in getting settled into their communities, including, but not limited to, providing orientation to their community, information to support meeting basic needs (housing, food, etc.) and how to register children in school and other activities, information on finding and enrolling in language training, support to access mainstream services with assistance and increasing understanding basic rights and responsibilities (Ministry of Jobs, Tourism

and Innovation 2012, 7). Basic settlement services alone are not sufficient in integrating and retaining new immigrants in BC communities, as a community's receptivity to new immigrants is a critical factor to successful integration (Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation 2012, 7).

The "welcoming communities' project" to integrate newcomers in small cities forms an essential aspect of how contemporary governments administer the delivery of services. Neoliberalism provides the overarching perspective that seemingly guides the Canadian government in dealing with immigrant settlement and integration. According to Peck and Tickell (2002, 381), neoliberalism is grounded on the logics of the market and competitiveness which is associated with "aggressive forms of downsizing, austerity financing, and public service 'reform'". This is markedly seen in the devolution of services to local governments, community agencies and private entities. A shift of responsibility takes place from the central government to the local communities, including individuals (Kretsedemas and Aparicio 2004; Dobrowolsky 2009; Pero 2011). Successful immigrant integration is crucial in addressing BC's labour market and demographic challenges over the next decade (Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation 2012, 8).

2.2 Case Study: Thompson-Nicola Region, British Columbia

British Columbia has a long history of diversity and immigration from all parts of the globe. Every year, the province welcomes about 40,000 new immigrants. British Columbia is one of the most culturally rich and diverse provinces where virtually every linguistic, cultural and ethnic group is represented (Szücs 2008). According to the 2006 census, approximately 1.1 million British Columbians (28%) were foreign-born of whom 46% migrated to Canada in the previous 15 years. In 2012, over three-quarters (81%) of the foreign-born in BC reside in the Greater Vancouver area (CIC 2012). While the trend of immigration settlement remains in bigger cities, many small cities in the province are interested in becoming welcoming and inclusive communities for immigrants and other residents, especially as increasing attention is being paid to spreading the benefits of immigration across Canada (Drolet et al. 2008). Canada's federal, provincial and territorial immigration ministers have placed the need for resident retention in many smaller municipalities on the agenda.

The province of British Columbia announced *WelcomeBC* in June 2007, an overall strategic framework within which BC delivers its immigrant settlement, English as a second language and immigrant labour market access programmes and services as well as its welcoming communities' initiatives. *WelcomeBC* pulls together many programmes and services in BC aimed at settling and integrating immigrants and supporting communities to be welcoming of newcomers into one comprehensive strategy (Welcome BC 2011). The provincial government also developed the 2009 British Columbia Newcomers' Guide to Resources and Services to share information and services on the settlement and integration of newcomers. This manual provides information about topics such as housing, banking, health care, education,

cars and driving, employment and business, the legal system, government and citizenship.

While the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) began in Ontario, a call for proposals was issued in Southern Alberta in 2012 with CIC intending to roll out the LIP programme through the Prairies and Atlantic Canada by 2014–2015. A comparable strategy is employed in British Columbia to foster local collaboration among multiple stakeholders. With funding provided by the federal government under the Canada–BC Immigration Agreement, *WelcomeBC* created the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP). This initiative had four community-level elements: community partnership development, knowledge development and exchange, public education and demonstration projects. WICWP started in 2008 as a pilot for 3 years that supported *WelcomeBC* by “fostering inclusive, welcoming and vibrant communities in BC where immigrants can realize their full potential, racism is eliminated, and cultural diversity is valued and celebrated” (Wachtel 2008, 3). WICWP as an initiative involves government and community exploring new ground and evolving an understanding of the work out of experimentation and sharing learnings (Wachtel 2008, 3). According to Thomson (n.d., 3), five long-term outcomes are articulated through the logic model: an enriched and strengthened cultural and social fabric of Canadian society where there is support for the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life in Canada; communities and workplaces are vibrant and inclusive; immigrant newcomers view all BC communities as being welcoming destinations; community adopts integration as a two-way process, which involves commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in Canada and on the part of Canadians to welcome new peoples and cultures; and public institutions and workplaces reflect the diversity of the population. Some smaller communities lack the settlement services, hosting, mentoring and multicultural programmes that are available in larger cities. Campbell River in BC learned through focus groups that some people do not always feel welcome in their community, and, as a result, it now engages in a dialogue to build an inclusive, diverse and welcoming community (Speakers Corner about Creating a More Welcoming Community 2008). In this chapter, the WICWP is explored in the interior of BC, particularly the Thompson-Nicola region.

2.2.1 Methods

Survey data was collected in eight small cities located in the interior of British Columbia by Kamloops Immigrant Services (KIS) from December 21, 2009, to March 4, 2010 (Drolet and Ali 2010). These small cities and the number of surveys completed are as follows: Lytton (5), Merritt (8), Ashcroft (12), Kamloops (45), Lillooet (8), Barriere (6), Clinton (4) and Chase (5). The goal of the survey was to

identify resources for newcomers and to invite respondents to share their thoughts on how to create a more welcoming and inclusive community. A welcoming and inclusive community was defined as one promoting the full participation of all residents in the social, cultural and economic life of the region without discrimination (Drolet and Ali 2010). Overall, 93 surveys were completed by various residents in each community. Respondents included professionals, business owners, mayors, chief administrative officers and service providers in the social and economic sectors. Respondents were not asked to identify their ethnicity, immigration or resident status in the study.

The questions in the survey were comprised of scaled items and open-ended questions. SPSS—Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (now renamed as PASW)—was used to analyze data for certain questions. In order to gain a better understanding of the differences between and among small cities, two groups were formed. A significant number of surveys were completed in Kamloops (45/93), and for this reason Kamloops¹ was regarded as a single group in the latter analysis. Consequently the remaining seven cities formed the other group and were collectively identified as the “rural cities”. The primary aim in using the PASW software was to determine if there were any differences between the opinions of the individuals residing in Kamloops and the other communities and also to determine if there was a significant difference between the two groups (Drolet and Ali 2010). Although the findings from the 93 surveys are suggestive, they are not generalizable given the small sample size. However, a rich qualitative data combined with quantitative measures provide a full appreciation of the responses from all the individuals who had completed the surveys (Drolet and Ali 2010).

2.2.2 Survey Results

The findings of the survey are categorized into four themes: welcoming community, services, policies and plans, and building inclusivity and partnerships. Welcoming community refers to the place of residence as a welcoming community in the interior of BC. Services specifically address the available services offered to newcomers in the locality. Policies and plans include local initiatives to build a welcoming and inclusive community. Building inclusivity and partnerships focus on the processes and linkages in creating a welcoming community for newcomers.

2.2.3 Welcoming Community

About 67% of respondents answered positively that their community is welcoming, and 27% believed it as “somewhat”. The features, which made their communities welcoming for newcomers, include the “small-town friendly atmosphere”, “diversity in the community and multicultural events” and “people help you in the right

direction” (Drolet and Ali 2010). Slightly more than half of the respondents (51%) expressed that newcomers are well or fully included in their communities, and nearly half (49%) of them perceived newcomers to be minimally or partially included. However, some respondents commented that it also depends on the newcomers to feel included in the community and it differs from one person to another. These comments include: “newcomers need to make the effort”, “newcomers can be included as much as they want to be”, and “newcomers need to be out there” (Drolet and Ali 2010).

Respondents echoed two common problems faced by newcomers, which affect their feelings of inclusion in the community—language barriers and availability of services. Lack of knowledge of the English language poses difficulties for newcomers to negotiate their needs in the community and become aware of the existing services available to them. It also inhibits the potential for employment in the community and to know “what is out there”.

Respondents in Kamloops felt their community was more welcoming than the respondents in rural areas. In fact, out of the 45 respondents in Kamloops, 34 had said “Yes” to their community being welcoming, while the remaining 11 had said “somewhat”. Significantly, not even a single respondent in Kamloops selected either the “No” or the “I do not know” option. Meanwhile, out of the remaining 48 respondents from the rural region, only 28 said “Yes”, and the rest of the 20 responses ranged from “Somewhat” to “I do not know”.

2.2.4 Services

Participants in eight small cities in the interior of BC were aware of the services provided to newcomers by the government, business groups and ethnic organizations including education and health care. About 59% of respondents indicated that services to newcomers were adequate to excellent in their community; 14% viewed it as inadequate or poor, and 18% considered the services offered as neutral (neither good nor poor). Some of the reasons for these varying opinions about the delivery of services to newcomers are as follows: “limited services”, “not familiar with any newcomer services”, “no one knows about the services”, “don’t promote the services” and “not enough resources to maintain” the available services.

The percentages of responses about the services found in the community are religious/cultural groups (80%), employment services (73%), ethnic restaurants (69%) and English as a second language (ESL) programmes (52%). The percentages calculated for the Community Orientation Groups (28%) and the Settlement and Adaptation Programs (27%) provide evidence that these programme areas are not well known. A small portion of respondents (2%) were not aware of services/activities offered in their communities, and 34% of them identified other services/activities (Fig. 2.1).

Respondents also showed a relative lack of information on brochures and activities in other languages aside from English, ranging from 12% to 26% in each of the

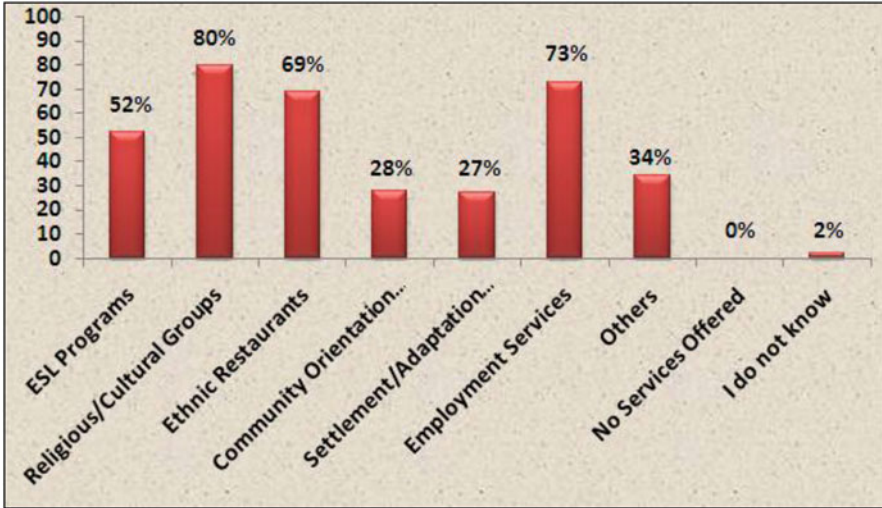


Fig. 2.1 Services and activities to newcomers

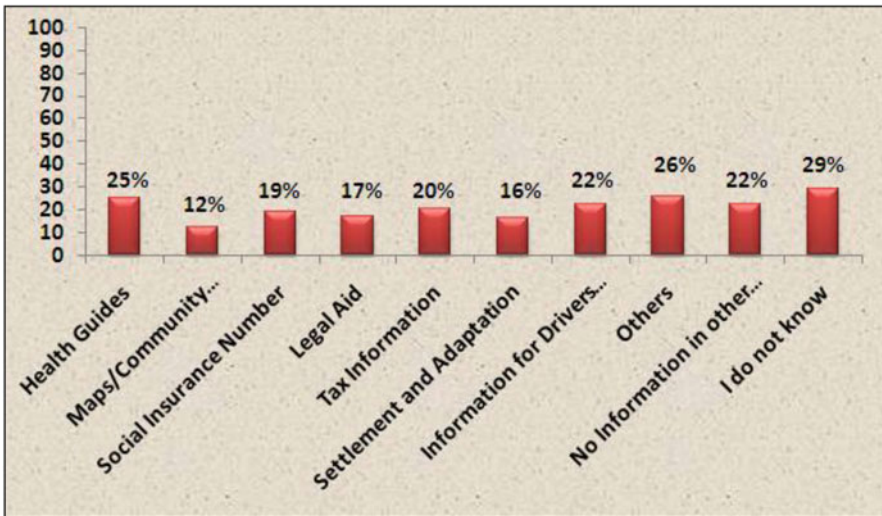


Fig. 2.2 Information, brochures and activities in other languages

eight small cities. About 22% of respondents stated that no information was offered in other languages, and 29% did not know about any language services offered in their community. However, respondents who had selected at least one of the organizations who provided services in other languages were asked to state the language(s) in which the service was offered. About 84% of respondents identified French, which was followed by Chinese (58%), Punjabi (44%), Japanese (30%), Spanish (28%), Arabic (26%) and others (21%) (Fig. 2.2).

It is well established in the community that changes need to be implemented to respond to the needs of newcomers. First, they point to the possibility of translating the services offered in major languages or more access to translation in different levels of government. Second, the promotion of brochures specific to newcomers is important in sharing information to them. This form of advertisement will eventually make newcomers aware of the services available in the area. Respondents opined where these information should be displayed and distributed to newcomers: 82% of respondents identified government offices, 79% in the Internet, 52% in immigration offices, 43% for kiosks, 42% in business establishments and 60% for other venues including schools, library and the Information/Visitor Centre (Drolet and Ali 2010). Finally, funding from provincial or federal governments could make a difference in how these services are delivered.

2.2.5 Policies and Plans

Thirty-nine percent of respondents believed that their communities had policies, procedures or activities that promoted inclusiveness for newcomers; 46% of them were unaware of such endeavours; and 15% answered none (Drolet and Ali 2010). Participants from Kamloops felt that their community promoted inclusiveness (25/28), while few respondents from the rural small cities had the same opinion about their own communities (11/22). Some examples of these activities include the following: “activities, ethnic days (food), cultural facilities and clubs”; “corporate–race relations and policy–council general government”; “local government, everyone is treated equally, provides support to all, provides referrals and network is in place”; and “banner week in March, March against racism, Canada Day and Asian Awareness Month”. From the 36 of the 93 respondents who felt that their communities had policies, procedures or activities that promoted inclusiveness in their community, only one respondent could identify a specific policy, while the majority of the responses identified instead activities like Canada Day.

Whether their community developed plans or steps to attract and retain newcomers, 49% of respondents did not know about this, 31% answered in the affirmative, and 20% answered “No”. Nearly all of the respondents from Kamloops answered in the affirmative (16/17) compared to the response from the rural small cities, which was fairly mixed, with 12/26 respondents answering “Yes” and the other 14 answering “No”. Examples of plans or steps included the following: “looking at strategy to recruit doctors”, “investment attraction”, “social events to invite newcomers”, “constant promotion of availability of jobs”, “downtown enhancement” and ongoing “aggressive marketing” (Drolet and Ali 2010).

2.2.6 Building Inclusivity and Partnerships

Communities should be more inclusive and welcoming. This was the strong conviction of 80% (74/92) of respondents (Drolet and Ali 2010). Comparatively, only 5% (4/92) of the respondents did not agree, and 15% stated they did not know whether their community should be more inclusive and welcoming. Moreover, those individuals who had answered that they wanted their communities to be more inclusive and welcoming provided insight on what the term “inclusive community” meant to them. The comments provided by the respondents for this question were fairly similar, suggesting that the respondents had a good understanding of the term. Inclusivity then is perceived as follows:

- All welcomed. All celebrated. No expectation of “blending in” but welcome to bring who they are to us.
- No barriers/ feel welcomed/ accepted.
- Improved understanding and awareness of differences without stereotyping.
- People being comfortable, feeling safe and knowing where to go for help.
- Everyone is welcome regardless of race or religion or financial means.
- Ability to feel included—respected for your differences.

Given a list of options to choose from, the areas in the community which could be developed further to make the community a more attractive and welcoming one include access to housing (72%), language programmes (67%), access to social services (60%), employment agencies (58%), cultural groups (54%), settlement agencies (52%) and others (34%). Interestingly, only one respondent believed that the community does not require any further development. Apart from these possible options, many respondents also pointed out other possible ways their community could benefit from more development. These options included, but were not limited to, town beautification, programmes for children and youth, multicultural groups and community and friendship centres.

In terms of partnerships within the community, between and among agencies, institutions or organizations to offer services to newcomers, 48% of respondents claimed to know about them, 33% did not know, and 19% answered negatively. More respondents from Kamloops were aware of service partnerships for newcomers than the respondents from the rural small cities. Response from rural small cities was balanced by a roughly equal number of respondents either confirming or denying the existence of partnerships within their community. Respondents who knew of partnerships within the community were only able to identify the agencies/organizations/institutions involved, but did not explain the work carried out by them. These included partnerships with the First Nations on health site/tourism; Community Futures; Aboriginal agencies and disability agencies; Red Cross and Kamloops Immigrant Services, Salvation Army, insurance companies and interior savings insurance; and the Chamber of Commerce, Employment Centre, Lion’s Club and the Rotary.

Community partnerships with other agencies, institutions or organizations located outside their community which also offer services to the newcomers were known to 38% of respondents; 40% were unaware; and 22% answered in the negative. Individuals in Kamloops were more aware of such partnerships (21/26) than those living in the rural small cities (14/29). Respondents who knew of these outside partnerships identified the following: federal and provincial programmes and funding, support of the Provincial Multicultural Branch, Seniors Outreach Society, Thompson Rivers University with other universities in BC and cooperation with First Nations, schools and intergovernmental agencies.

Survey respondents offered suggestions on how communities could connect and support each other to welcome newcomers. One is to identify issues and funding to implement the strategy of encouraging immigrants to the interior region of BC. Another point to consider is establishing a common directory, particularly an organization/committee with the city that is mainly responsible for promoting, welcoming and sharing information with newcomers, a welcoming committee. As a result of the survey, Kamloops Immigrant Services developed an online directory of services across all of the sites for use by a myriad of organizations. The results demonstrated a need to share information about services and resources in the region (Drolet and Ali 2010, 4). Similarly, Esses and Medianu (2012) found that the provision of information is a fundamental component of assisting immigrants with their settlement and integration needs. Accordingly, “[i]nformation may facilitate access to and use of services, assist immigrants in their navigation of the Canadian system, promote realistic expectations of what immigrants will face upon arrival in Canada and in the first few years of settlement, and promote knowledge of the Canadian way of life” (Esses and Medianu 2012, 5). A unique way of ensuring that newcomers do feel welcome is to have a registry of newcomers, where newcomers identify what services have been received or accessed and what else they need. Communities should also build networks and support each other in the region. A regular meeting to undertake this sharing of resources is emphasized, including meetings of mayors every 2 years. A bridging work programme, a focus in different languages and a support for multicultural activities are laudable suggestions, too. Information, brochures and activities should be made available in other languages (Drolet and Ali 2010, 5).

2.3 Discussion

An overwhelming majority, or 80%, of respondents from eight small cities in the interior BC desire a more welcoming community for newcomers. Results from the surveys provide evidence that residents perceive a lack of adequate service for newcomers. In particular, responses from Kamloops were slightly more positive in

regard to certain questions than rural small cities. Thus, there is a need to increase awareness of the importance of welcoming and inclusive communities in the region, taking into account the unique context and features of each of the small eight cities.

Overall, the findings indicate that all of the communities in the Thompson-Nicola region need to improve and further develop an awareness of the services provided for their residents, especially newcomers. The information needs of immigrants are considered in relation to knowledge of the Canadian system and way of life and awareness of services and resources available to immigrants (Esses and Medianu 2012, 15). These small cities and municipalities need to engage in a dialogue to consider the implications to policies, procedures and activities in the various community contexts. Facilitating partnerships inside and outside of the community by one of the respondents, there is a “need to network, share resources and support each other in the region”. Increased communication and sharing of resources are, therefore, essential. Information needs to be easily accessed and fully utilized, provided in a multilingual format and culturally sensitive way and widely distributed where immigrants are most likely to search for information (Esses and Medianu 2012, 15). Hiebert and Sherrell (2009, 39) discuss the WICWP as “a far-reaching and bold initiative” to engage with a wide array of partners including the private sector to educate the public about the importance of immigration and improve attitudes to newcomers across society that will likely result in better implementation of existing programmes. After all, building a welcoming and inclusive community is everyone’s responsibility.

Within the context of neoliberal restructuring, cutbacks in service provision impact newcomers in small cities and rural communities. Community agencies and the non-profit sector are challenged with decreasing resources to meet growing demands and needs from diverse populations. While an analysis of the complex state of the non-profit sector is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is widely recognized that these sectors—voluntary, informal, independent, non-profit organizations, non-governmental organizations, community organizations, groups or associations, charities and other groups—are affected by neoliberalism or the tendency of governments to withdraw from its role as provider of services (Richmond and Shields 2005; Veronis 2006). This is particularly acute in the context of small cities where residents from rural communities travel within the region to access health and social services.

2.4 Recent Developments in British Columbia

The Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation (2012)² published an information paper to seek stakeholder input on the proposed design of the BC Welcoming Communities programme. Drawing from the lessons learned in pilot projects such as the one completed in the Thompson-Nicola region, the review considered the

needs of both smaller and larger centres with distinct approaches to support the ongoing delivery of welcoming community initiatives across the province. A key principle which is the direct involvement of multiple partners at the local, community level, responding to the unique strengths and challenges of their community, is critical in creating a welcoming environment for newcomers (2012, 8). A preliminary evaluation of the WICWP pilot was undertaken in 2011 that focused on programme relevance, achievement of immediate outcomes and programme success and found that it was successful in making progress towards its intended goals and objectives (2012, 9). The report states “eighty five (85 %) of participants surveyed indicated a high or very high level of knowledge of particular issues or topics related to newcomer integration as a result of attending a WICWP event or using a WICWP resource” (2012, 9). The refined model for welcoming communities continues to maintain community partnerships with broad representation and inclusion as a key foundational concept to engage workplaces to be more welcoming and inclusive despite the simplified name (2012, 17). The report considers WICWP and LIPs as distinctly different programmes that require collaborative partnerships with a different focus (2012, 37). LIPs emphasize municipal government leadership and strategic planning to improve coordination of settlement services and consideration of the needs of immigrants. WICWP has focused on funding community partnerships to plan, implement and evaluate projects that build capacity for communities to be more welcoming and inclusive (2012, 37). Community partnerships thus involve planning, building and maintaining relationships (2012, 37).

In 2013 a new welcoming community initiative funded by the BC provincial government aims to organize and develop an action plan to foster a welcoming approach towards new immigrants to the community. A Welcoming Community Action Plan is a requirement for community partnerships before implementing activities in the community (Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation 2012, 18). An action plan is a detailed plan describing the actions and steps that will be used to achieve specific goals and objectives. The programme supports community partnership development, public dialogues to enhance knowledge development and exchange, public education through workshops and community activities and resource development to provide long-term support. The partners include Kamloops Immigrant Services and Interior Indian Friendship Society, local government through the City of Kamloops and other community members such as Community Futures and Women’s Enterprise Centre. The Welcoming Community Action Plan aims to engage the Kamloops’ community to be more welcoming and inclusive of new immigrants and to collaborate with the urban Aboriginal population. The integration of newcomers requires a commitment on the part of the community to build positive relationships and partnerships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. Key components of fostering an inclusive and welcoming community include building on these relationships and enhancing existing models of cultural cooperation. The project included community dialogues and a workshop series in 2013–2014 in Kamloops producing accessible online fact sheets, community engagement and employer workshop materials and a recommendation paper. The recommendation paper highlighted two common themes, community education and

community collaboration, that project participants and stakeholders identified as important in becoming a more welcoming and inclusive community (Kamloops WCP n.d.).

2.5 Conclusion

The small cities in the Thompson-Nicola region are welcoming communities to some degree based on the characteristics identified by Esses et al. (2010), presented in this chapter. While these cities do not compare with the employment opportunities found in larger cities like Vancouver or Calgary, there are certain hubs of economic activity going on—in the education and service sectors, both private and public. But beyond the economic lure of the metropolis is the “small-town friendly atmosphere” that residents in the interior of BC are proud to claim. There are divergences in their perceptions as to what extent one community is welcoming over another; the common theme is that one’s community is basically welcoming but could do more to facilitate the integration of immigrants through the provision of effective services.

Across these small cities in British Columbia is the recognition of local governments, community organizations, residents and other stakeholders that partnerships, collaboration and sharing of resources or information to the wider community facilitate capacity building of host members and newcomers. From this vantage, small cities may follow the place-based framework which includes tapping into local knowledge, balancing economic and social policies in the community and governing through collaboration with civil society (Bradford 2005). Kamloops Immigrant Services and its partners are attempting to create a community action plan and community dialogues to promote a welcoming environment for diverse groups of people by involving diverse interest groups in policy formulation and action. The small cities in the Thompson-Nicola region likewise have existing programmes in place since 2007, but its full meaning among the residents needs wider dissemination.

Given the perspectives of residents in the interior of BC, the attitudes and aspirations of local populations on immigration in small cities and rural communities remain important. Local residents seem open to adopting more avenues for integration of immigrants—possibly gleaned from the fact that newcomers are readily visible in smaller communities. Building a welcoming community or the integration of immigrants is a two-way street. Generally, the successful integration of newcomers through effective welcoming programmes spins off to benefit the small city.

Notes

1. Kamloops (population 85,000) is considered to be a small city, while the other communities in the sample are cited as rural communities or rural small cities.
2. The current name of this ministry is “Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Skills Training” in 2013.

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Chapter 3

Working Together: Collaborative Response to Welcoming Newcomers in Brandon, Manitoba

Ryan Gibson, Jill Bucklaschuk, and Robert C. Annis

Over the past decade, Brandon, Manitoba, has received levels of immigration that are unprecedented, following only the capital city of Winnipeg in total new permanent resident arrivals. Over an 8-year period (from 2001 to 2008), Brandon's rate of immigrant arrivals increased by nearly ten times with a 56% increase between 2007 and 2009 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2010). Instigated by labour market factors such as expanding industries and associated labour shortages, immigration to the city has been recent and rapid. As such the community has had to quickly respond to ensure the needs of the growing population are being adequately addressed.

This chapter provides background information on Brandon's recent demographic transformation, discusses how the community has moved toward a planned practice of service delivery, and highlights local initiatives to become a welcoming place. Understanding a community's ability to be inclusive of and support newcomers is a key concern for Brandon, and the lessons learned are important for local and national stakeholders. From a community development perspective, provincial and federal policies and programs directly impact the ability to effectively plan at the local level. As governments continue to view immigration as a mechanism to address challenges related to labour shortages and depopulation, the lessons from Brandon's experience become critical for creating welcoming communities.

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G. Tibe Bonifacio, J.L. Drolet (eds.), *Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities*, International Perspectives on Migration 12,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-40424-0_3

The narrative of Brandon's recent experiences and strategies for becoming a welcoming community is outlined in the following sections. The discussion commences with a brief description of the community of Brandon and its demographics and a review of the recent levels of immigration. The recent phenomenon of immigration to Brandon is explored from a policy perspective and within the context of increasing usage of and reliance on temporary labour migration. In striving to be a welcoming community, Brandon has engaged and sustained a series of partnerships among community organizations, employers, and government departments, three of which are illustrated in this chapter. Although the narrative emerging in Brandon is a local issue, the lessons from this small city have national relevance. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications for both community development and policy. Through intentional partnership Brandon has made important strides toward becoming a welcoming community.

3.1 The Transformation of a Prairie City

Located in southwest Manitoba, Brandon is the second largest city in the province, with a population of 46,051 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013). From 2006–2011 the city's population increased by 11%, largely driven by recent immigration. The city is the major retail and government service centre for the surrounding predominantly rural and agricultural communities. The economic base of the city includes a number of manufacturing and processing industries, with many related to the agricultural industry. Prior to 2001, Brandon's experience with immigration had been quite limited, but over the past 10 years, the city has experienced a significant demographic transformation with increasing numbers of immigrants. This section discusses the transformation, the catalysts for the recent immigration, and the provincial policy context (Fig. 3.1).

Immigrants arriving in Brandon prior to 2001 consisted mostly of international students and high-skilled professionals such as doctors, nurses, and engineers, but this did not amount to more than about 70 immigrant arrivals per year. Driven by industrial expansions, the nature of immigration to Brandon began to change dramatically in 2001 as large numbers of temporary foreign workers arrived to address sector-specific labour shortages. In particular, Maple Leaf Foods began foreign worker recruitment campaigns shortly after opening their large pork processing plant in 1999. This has led to a significant change in immigration trends to the city. Between 2001 and 2009, Maple Leaf Foods hired about 1700 foreign workers through the federally managed Temporary Foreign Worker Program (Economic Development Brandon 2010a). Foreign recruitment campaigns have facilitated increases in immigration to Brandon, such that Brandon reported the second highest rate of immigrant arrivals in Manitoba in 2009, increasing the number of immigrants over six times from 172 in 2006 to 1149 in 2009 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2010). The number of immigrants to Brandon peaked in 2010 at 1433

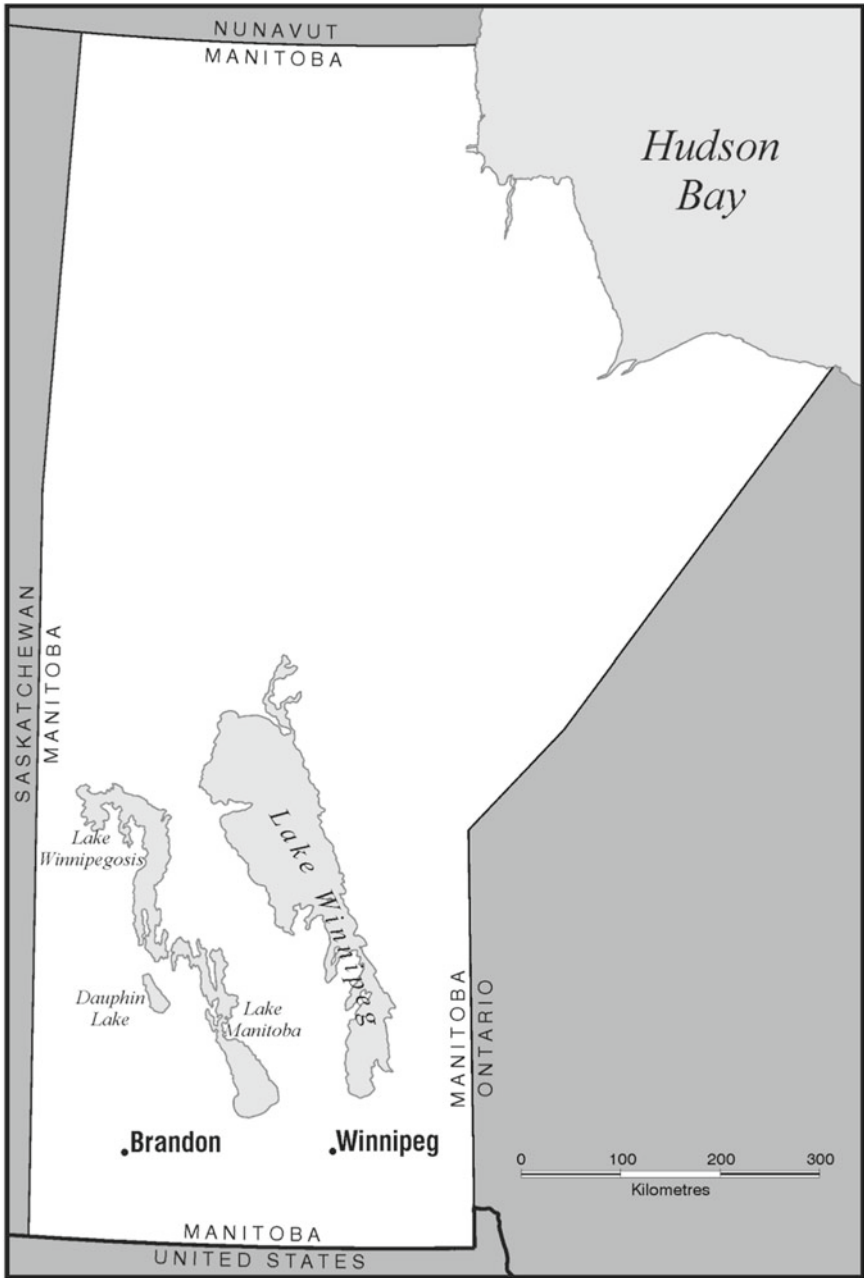


Fig. 3.1 Map of Brandon, Manitoba

and has since declined to 579 in 2012 and 457 in 2013 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2012; 2014).

3.2 Provincial Policy Context

The province of Manitoba is often revered for its successful and proactive immigration strategies. The Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement, established in 1996, provided the Manitoba provincial government with increased immigration-related responsibilities (cf. Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2003). Through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), created by the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement, the province is able to select economic immigrants to meet the needs of the province and receive priority for immigration processing (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1995). Since 1998 the provincial government has proactively used and promoted the Provincial Nominee Program to attract new immigrants to Manitoba (Amoyaw 2008). Through the use of PNP, the total immigration to Manitoba increased from 4635 in 2000 to 15,809 in 2010 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011). In 2009, PNP applicants accounted for 75.1% of all immigrants to Manitoba (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2010). In 2012, the proportion of PNP applicants declined slightly to 71.6% (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2012).

Along with traditional avenues of immigration, the PNP is utilized as a community development strategy to address a number of local issues. It provides opportunities to address declining and aging populations and to attract and fast-track skilled workers required for the labour force (Silvius and Annis 2007; Carter et al. 2008). The provincial government's recent policy target is to increase the annual levels of immigration by 1000 per year until the annual level of immigration reaches 20,000. Since 2002, provincial nominees constitute the largest category of immigrants arriving in Manitoba (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2010). The use of the Provincial Nominee Program has had important influences on small cities and rural communities as the number of immigrants choosing to reside outside the provincial capital of Winnipeg increases annually (see Fig. 3.2). About 31% of all provincial nominees and 13% of other immigrants settle in areas other than Winnipeg. The number of immigrants residing in nontraditional immigrant-receiving communities increased 14% between 2008 and 2009 and is expected to continually increase (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2010). As the province moves toward achieving the goal of 20,000 annual immigrants, it is anticipated that the impact on small cities and rural communities will increase. The provincial initiative to increase the number of immigrants along with the growing trend of immigrant residence in small cities and rural communities necessitates community forums and partnerships to ensure appropriate services and information for both long-term residents and new immigrants.

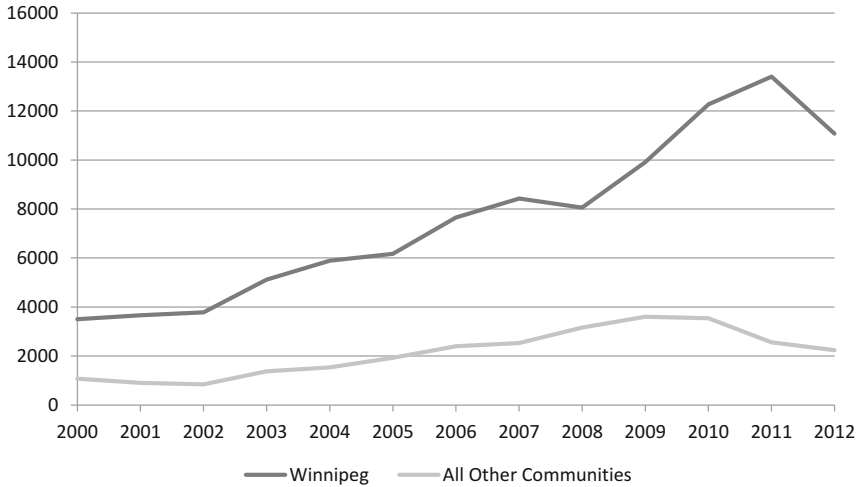


Fig. 3.2 Destination of immigrants to Manitoba, 2000–2012 (Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010)

3.3 From “Temporary” to Transitional Workers

As previously mentioned, the Maple Leaf Foods pork processing plant opened in 1999 and currently employs approximately 2300 workers and processes 85,000 hogs per week (Goertzen 2009; Economic Development Brandon 2010a). Upon many expansions and after struggling to meet associated labour needs with local and other Canadian workers, Maple Leaf Foods began a foreign recruitment campaign in 2001 to hire temporary foreign workers from Mexico. Since this initial campaign, the recruitment of foreign workers continued in China, Colombia, El Salvador, Mauritius, and Ukraine. By 2009, approximately 1700 foreign workers had been hired to work at the plant (Economic Development Brandon 2010a).

Maple Leaf Foods utilized what was formerly known as the Low-Skill Pilot Project, which is a stream of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program regulated and managed by two federal government departments—Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC)—and designed to quickly facilitate the hiring of foreign labour on a temporary basis for specific sectors experiencing labour shortages. Under this program, foreign workers are not allowed to stay in Canada permanently and must return home at the end of their short work permits. However, provincial policy in Manitoba allows temporary foreign workers to apply to the Provincial Nominee Program prior to the expiration of their work permit, affording foreign workers the right to stay in Canada permanently. If the application for provincial nominee status is approved, then temporary foreign workers gain the right of mobility and permanent residency and can begin the process of relocating family members to Brandon. Allowing temporary

foreign workers to become provincial nominees and then permanent residents further contributes to the increase in Brandon's immigrant population.

Given that nearly 75% of temporary foreign workers at Maple Leaf Foods have received permanent resident status, referring to this group as "temporary" causes some confusion in Brandon as it has proved to be a misnomer over the years. The term "temporary" implies temporary needs and does not instigate settlement or service delivery plans since, technically, such temporary residents will leave the community once their work permits expire. Although foreign workers arrive through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, it would be better, and more apt, to refer to these individuals as "transitional" foreign workers since their migration experiences in Brandon represent a transition from temporary to permanent. The misconception of foreign workers as "temporary" can serve to hinder their experiences and negatively affect proactive planning for service delivery. Clear information on the nature of the myriad immigration and migration programs in the community is critical for effective planning.

Understanding changes in the community's population, in both size and composition, is important to many service-related organizations and policy planning processes. Foremost, the task of predicting population change is difficult. To overcome this dilemma in Brandon, a partnership between Maple Leaf Foods and Economic Development Brandon has allowed population estimates to be developed based on the information provided by Maple Leaf Foods. Based on the required employment needs, it was anticipated early on that the total number of foreign workers needed to staff the Brandon plant was around 1700 between 2009 and 2011 (Economic Development Brandon 2010b). Given the dominance of Maple Leaf Foods as the primary attractor of foreign labour and immigrants to the community, the invaluable cooperative relationship between industry and the municipality allows for predictions of future populations. Economic Development Brandon serves an interlocutor role, facilitating knowledge sharing among service organizations in the community.

A key challenge to predicting future population is to understand the mobility of foreign workers and their families. Upon provincial nominee approval, foreign workers can seek alternative employment and migrate anywhere in Canada. The extent to which foreign workers remain in Brandon is dependent on the experiences and perceptions of Brandon as a welcoming community (Moss et al. 2010). Given the brief timeline of the immigration phenomenon in Brandon, the mobility patterns of foreign workers are still largely unknown.

To assist community-serving organizations and other local stakeholders, the population projections prepared by Economic Development Brandon, based on information provided by Maple Leaf Foods, facilitate discussions and planning about how Brandon can be a welcoming community. The projections incorporate population information on current foreign workers, future projected additional foreign workers, and details regarding family reunification. If all foreign workers employed at the processing plant apply for and receive permanent residency and then bring their family members, Brandon could expect about 5100 new residents by 2011 (see Fig. 3.3). The projected new population represents 12% of the city's most current census population. Such a substantive increase of new residents is significant for Brandon and community-serving organizations and requires careful planning.

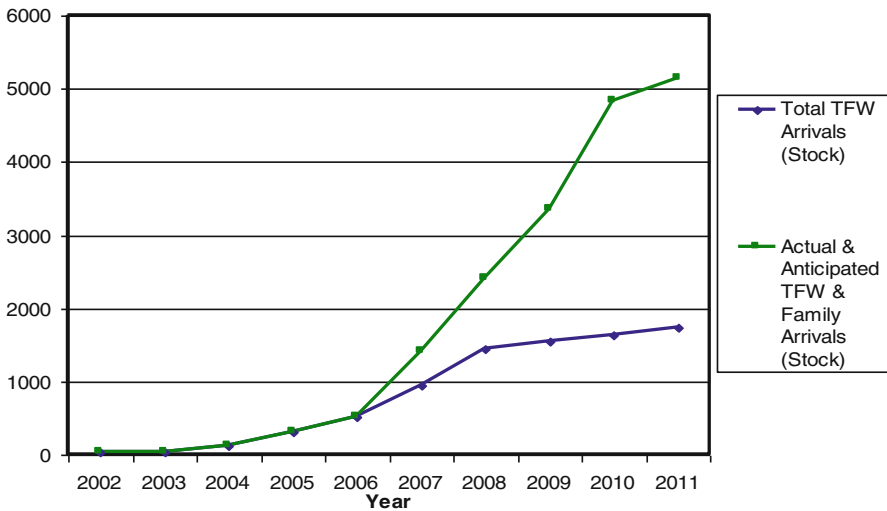


Fig. 3.3 Temporary foreign worker and family arrival estimates in Brandon (Source: Economic Development Brandon 2008)

The recent immigration phenomenon has transformed and continues to transform the city of Brandon. The city has moved from a stable population and homogeneous cultural composition to a city with a growing population and increasing cultural diversity. To respond to the recent changes, community organizations and the city of Brandon have developed collaborative proactive and progressive strategies to ensure a welcoming community.

During the economic downturn in 2010, immigration in Brandon did not appear to be impacted; however, recent statistics have not been officially released. While some communities and regions across Canada encountered sharp economic declines, the experience in Brandon was less pronounced, even when the unemployment rate from 2009 to 2010 increased from 4.0% to 5.0% (Statistics Canada 2010). Foreign recruitment campaigns were sustained until 2009, new immigrants continued to arrive in the city, and community organizations moved forward with welcoming community strategies. Periods of financial downturn often lead to increases in unemployment, which in turn can generate a backlash toward immigrants; Brandon, however, did not encounter significant increases in unemployment rates during the economic downturn in 2010, and, consequently, there was no evident backlash toward immigration in the community.

3.4 Building a Welcoming Community

The concept of a “welcoming community” is important to understand immigration and migration within the context of small cities and rural communities. It implies that newcomers have the opportunity to fully engage in community life (Belkhdja 2005; Corriveau and La Rougery 2006; National Working Group on Small Centre

Strategies 2007; Vatz Laaroussi and Roberts 2005). There is no universal understanding of what a “welcoming community” entails; however, it often includes discussions related to ethno-cultural diversity, civic participation, equal access to services, and meaningful employment.

The hallmarks of a welcoming community include: respect for diversity, accessible public services, a range of educational opportunities, promotes health and wellness for all, is safe and the community talks about safety, invites newcomers to share leisure time activities, and acknowledges faith and spirituality (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies 2007). More detailed characteristics of a welcoming community have been advanced through a large-scale research initiative in Ontario focusing on welcoming community strategies in nontraditional immigrant-receiving communities (Esses et al. 2010).¹ Communities, regions, and governments can utilize the aforementioned characteristics of a welcoming community as benchmarks to measure their own abilities to attract, retain, and settle newcomers.

Small cities like Brandon need to organize in preparation for immigration in order to become a welcoming community. Strategies to prepare for immigration include establishing a multi-stakeholder community or regional group to work through the immigration possibilities and developing a local or regional immigration plan that identifies opportunities, strategies, and targets (Bruce and Lister 2005; Deschamps et al. 2001; Silvius and Annis 2005). It is the community that is faced with myriad important issues related to settlement, such as housing, social services, language, and education. In addition to collaboration on immigration issues, community leaders and community-serving organizations require training and supports to foster community building, partnerships, conflict resolution, and decision-making. These efforts demonstrate that integration of immigrants is a shared responsibility among all levels of government and local communities (Bruce and Lister 2005; Carter et al. 2008).

In 2009, the Rural Development Institute of Brandon University and the Brandon Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group embarked on a research initiative to gauge perceptions of long-term community residents and new immigrants regarding Brandon as a welcoming community, attitudes toward immigration, and multiculturalism. More than 400 interviews were conducted in the city, with approximately an equal number of recent immigrants to long-term residents. Over 80% of long-term Brandon residents and 90% of recent immigrants described the city as a welcoming community, related to the hallmarks outlined by the National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies (2007). This research initiative provides the community with pertinent information for welcoming community discussions, strategies, and initiatives.

3.5 Moving to a Proactive Planning Process for a Welcoming Community

Responding to the social and economic needs of any new resident poses many opportunities and challenges for a host community, regardless of its previous experiences with immigration. Welcoming community strategies, or similar processes,

are required to attract and retain new immigrants to a community. Unlike in metropolitan centers, these strategies and processes are not common to many small cities or rural communities. The ability for small cities and community-based organizations to positively respond to these opportunities and challenges is compounded by lack of comprehensive plans, undeveloped multileveled partnerships, and limited access to funding.

This section highlights three local initiatives undertaken in Brandon to move toward a planned and coordinated process of receiving and welcoming new immigrants: Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group, pre-registration of school children, and linguistic diversity. Each program illustrates a multi-stakeholder-driven process engaging community-serving organizations, city government departments, and the private sector.

3.5.1 Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group

Building a local forum for discussions in addressing recent influxes of immigrants to Brandon was considered an important initiative for creating a welcoming community. In 2007, the Brandon Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group was established to serve as a forum to circulate information and build or enhance existing networks at multiple levels: local, regional, provincial, and federal. The Rural Development Institute, a community-university research unit at Brandon University, facilitated the creation of the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group.

The Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group is composed of a diverse membership of representatives, consisting of community-based organizations (Economic Development Brandon, Brandon School Division, Brandon Regional Health Authority, Westman Immigrant Services), provincial government departments (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, Manitoba Agriculture, Food and Rural Initiatives), federal government departments (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Rural Secretariat, Service Canada), and the business community (Maple Leaf Foods). Through a series of three to four meetings per year since 2007, the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group has improved communication, shared information relevant for planning, and advised local research initiatives.

One of the key outcomes of the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group is the circulation of information regarding upcoming arrivals of new foreign workers to the community. This knowledge sharing allows community-serving organizations to be proactive in programming, like developing language courses with appropriate funding allocation. The Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group has served in an advisory capacity to recent immigration research initiatives such as the *Building Capacity and Knowledge for a Welcoming Community*² and the *Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies*³ led by the Rural Development Institute. These research projects have allowed the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group to gauge perceptions of long-term residents and recent immigrants on issues such as experiences with discrimination, attitudes toward multiculturalism, and the degree to which

people view Brandon as a welcoming community. In addition to serving in an advisory role, the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group has taken a lead in the dissemination of research findings to the community and strategized steps for creating a more welcoming community.

3.5.2 School Pre-registration

Similar to most small cities and rural communities in Manitoba, the Brandon school system has experienced decreasing enrolments over the past 20 years. Recent influxes of immigrants to Brandon have changed the pattern of school enrolment in the city. Through family reunification processes, the number of school-aged children in Brandon is increasing, estimated at 481 new school-aged children in 2010 (Economic Development Brandon 2010b). The arrival of families occurs throughout the year, with children often arriving in the middle of the school year creating challenges for the school division, schools, teachers, and classrooms. Students arriving from foreign countries often require assistance in the classroom to adjust to variations in curriculum or to address English proficiency skills. Funding for these classroom supports is difficult to allocate when the number of students to arrive midyear is unknown.

Community-serving organizations are working with Maple Leaf Foods to facilitate the integration of children into the school system to better prepare schools and families. The Brandon School Division works with Maple Leaf Foods to hold preregistration events allowing foreign workers with provincial nominee status to preregister their children. The school division gathers information on the age, gender, and anticipated date of arrival for all incoming students for planning purposes. Preregistration provides benefits to both the local schools and foreign workers. Through this process, the school division is able to plan for new students and ensure adequate resources are available for incoming students and teachers. For foreign workers, the school preregistration assists in their planning to bring their family members to Brandon. Although the research initiative did not focus on the influence or impact of integrating students into the education system, community stakeholders have recognized the importance of the education system as a mechanism to facilitate integration and enhance a sense of welcoming in the community.⁴

3.5.3 Linguistic Diversity

The arrival of new immigrants to the community requires the provision of services and resources in languages other than English for the first time for many local organizations. Languages such as Spanish, Mandarin, and Ukrainian are now spoken in the city of Brandon. Community-serving organizations and the United Food and Commercial Workers Union assist in providing English as an additional language

Photo 3.1 Bus bench sign in Mandarin in Brandon
(Photo credits: R. Gibson)



training opportunity for foreign workers and new immigrants. This new linguistic diversity has translated into a number of new opportunities and challenges.

Prior to the recent influx of immigrants, multi-language service delivery was not common in Brandon. To respond to the linguistic diversity of immigrants, community-serving organizations provide frontline service in multiple languages and strive to generate resource materials in multiple languages to meet the needs of the newcomers. Historically, local organizations have not budgeted for translation and interpretation, and their present ability to provide multi-language service is dependent on available resources. Organizations now need to ensure adequate resources to respond to the changing demographics of the community, such as health promotion advertising (see Photo 3.1).

The new linguistic diversity has generated a number of employment opportunities in Brandon. Local organizations, government departments, and businesses seek translation and interpretation services for a wide range of services, such as health clinics, banks, and schools. As a result of this demand, a language service cooperative was established in Brandon. The cooperative facilitates training for individuals leading to an accredited translation certificate, employment opportunities for certified translators, and services the community needs for translation. Although there are a number of initiatives to introduce services in languages other than English, the demand for these services exceeds the current financial and human resources of the municipal, community-based organizations, and government departments in the city.

3.6 Implications for Community Development and Policy

Immigration to a small city like Brandon is intriguing from the perspectives of community development and policymaking. Although the situation in Brandon is a local/regional issue, the experiences and lessons learned from this small city have national relevance. Small cities, rural communities, and provincial/territorial

governments throughout Canada are exploring immigration as a means to address population decline and labour shortages. As communities and governments push forward with immigrant attraction strategies and programs, particularly those through the Provincial Nominee Program, it would behoove them to understand and consider the experiences and lessons learned from Brandon. Important implications for community development practice and policy from Brandon's experiences include the need for community forums and collaborative and cooperative local strategies, in addition to sharing lessons learned with a wider audience. At the policy level, two implications are highlighted: the need for increased awareness and fit between policy and local needs and the need for cross-departmental communications.

3.7 Implications for Community Development

As previously discussed, the influx of new immigrants to Brandon has created a profound impact on community development practices in the community. Four key lessons have recently emerged for community development in Brandon: the need for community forums for immigration discussions; the need to build relationships among local stakeholders and government departments; the need to develop a local strategy for settlement, integration, and retention; and the need to share lessons learned.

3.7.1 The Need for a Local/Community Forum for Immigration Discussions

As a small city that traditionally received a low number of annual immigrants, Brandon has demonstrated new capacities to accommodate new immigrants. Since 2001 when the immigration influx began, the city government and community-serving organizations recognized a need to employ planned and coordinated initiatives to ensure it is a welcoming community. A common issue that was initially presented was the lack of communication among and between local organizations, provincial and federal governments, and businesses involved in service provision. The establishment of the Brandon Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group addressed this challenge as it facilitated the exchange of information pertaining to immigration and policy. The ability to bring stakeholders together on a regular basis allowed the community to move to a proactively planned process for immigration and welcoming communities.

Sustaining a Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group forum is not easily accomplished when many organizations individually face challenges to deliver programming and services. Although stakeholders can see value in the process, main-

taining momentum should not be under-estimated. The ability to engage a post-secondary institution, such as the Rural Development Institute, to provide support to the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group has remained a key factor. The Rural Development Institute assisted local stakeholders by performing a secretariat role, guided by the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group members. Placing the day-to-day operating functions of the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group within the institute allowed local stakeholders to concentrate on their own activities. The Rural Development Institute played an important role in acting as the catalyst for partnership formation and knowledge dissemination in the initial process of relationship building among various stakeholders.

3.7.2 The Need to Build Relationships Among Local Stakeholders and Government Departments

As a result of federal-provincial immigration agreements, immigration is no longer the sole responsibility of either the federal or provincial government. As such, the need for relationships among local stakeholders and *both* levels of government emerged as a key lesson in Brandon. Representatives of federal and provincial government departments, with interests or responsibilities for immigration, were invited to be partners in the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group. Regular participation in meetings by government representatives facilitated new and enhanced existing relationships with local stakeholders. Relationships permitted increased exchange of information, clarified misunderstandings and misconceptions, and, more importantly, facilitated dialogue about immigration and settlement concerns.

3.7.3 The Need to Develop a Local Strategy for Settlement, Integration, and Retention

Sharing information was seen as a significant achievement for community-serving organizations, city government, and industry in Brandon. Exchanging information regarding future immigrant arrivals and source countries allowed organizations to plan future human and financial resource requirements. The vast majority of pertinent data pertaining to future foreign worker arrivals is from the employer including information on the number of workers, source country, and potential numbers of family members of new workers. This valuable information facilitates proactive planning within the community in lieu of up-to-date data from other sources, such as federal or provincial agencies. Given the frequency of new arrivals in the community, data collected annually or via the 5-year census cycle does not permit proactive planning in the community.

Local stakeholders, however, realized that a local strategy for immigration would be required to ensure Brandon progresses as a welcoming community. The Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group made a priority to understand the context of Brandon as a welcoming community and by working in conjunction with the Rural Development Institute supported and contributed to a survey of over 400 residents that was conducted in 2009. The survey of both recent immigrants and long-term residents assesses an individual's multicultural preferences (integration, segregation, marginalization, and assimilation), attitudes toward immigration, and welcoming community initiatives. Focusing on three groups (long-term Canadian residents, new Latin American residents, and new Chinese residents), the survey results provide a unique and necessary look into how immigration and diversity are perceived and experienced in the city of Brandon. Information generated from the 2009 survey has been used for discussions among members of the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group and the wider community, providing useful information to assist community stakeholders as they move forward with service delivery practices and plans (Annis et al. 2010; Bucklaschuk 2010).

The Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group and the Rural Development Institute generated discussion papers based on meeting discussions and conversations with key informants from Brandon representing recently arrived families and employers. Discussion papers produced to date focus on family reunification and the temporary foreign worker process. Although a comprehensive welcoming community plan for the community is not yet in place, the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group is currently gathering important baseline information and developing strategic partnerships among local stakeholders, government departments, and industry.

The need to understand how to integrate family members into the labour force is an emerging settlement issue in Brandon that has implications for building a welcoming community. Foreign workers arrive in the community with pre-arranged employment and a basic modicum of institutionalized services and supports; however, since spouses and children do not typically arrive through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, their labour market experiences and intentions are quite different. Responding to the needs of spouses and older children often requires a different suite of support than for the foreign worker. It behooves service providers and local government to better understand the experiences of family members so as to ensure their needs are met.

3.7.4 The Need to Share Lessons Learned with Other Similar Jurisdictions

Similar to how a forum for discussion was created at the local level, the ability to share information and lessons learned from other small cities and rural communities is required. Venues for disseminating academic information on immigration are available through conferences such as Metropolis (see <http://canada.metropolis>).

net/); however, there are limited fora devoted to sharing information on immigration for small cities and rural communities in Canada. Immigration to non-urban centers is a subject often relegated to a cursory conversation or presentation, whereas immigration to Canada's major metropolitan centres is a central and an anchoring topic. Further, participation in such large fora is a challenge for community development practitioners and community leaders because of financial and human resource constraints. An accessible and nationwide forum that focuses explicitly on immigration to small cities and rural communities would be invaluable for smaller communities, government departments, and industry (cf. Burton 2011; Holt 2011). In addition, a central depository, such as a website, for documents and reports would assist all stakeholders by providing one central location for finding informative reports, articles, and presentations.

3.8 Implications for Policy

Two key policy lessons emerge from the experiences in Brandon, which have been derived from 3 years of community engagement, discussions with policymakers, and analysis of survey data. The first lesson is the need for increased awareness and fit between provincial and federal policies and local needs; and the second lesson is the need for cross-departmental communications.

3.8.1 The Need for Increased Awareness and Fit Between Policy and Local Needs

Immigration policy at both the federal and provincial levels is complex⁵ and continually evolving. In this complexity, governments need to ensure immigration policy and programming directions meet the needs and desires of local communities. The rise in the use of Provincial Nominee Program in Manitoba and the trend of immigrants residing in small cities and rural communities necessitate the need for both federal and provincial policies to be responsive to nontraditional immigrant-receiving communities. The experience from Brandon is that the relationships between local stakeholders and representatives from all levels of government must operate in such a manner that increases awareness and communication regarding challenges and opportunities, which will then assist in ensuring that policy decisions meet local needs (Burton 2011). The complexity of immigration policies and programs necessitates a need for clear and concise communication to local communities, community-serving organizations, and businesses. The participation of five key departments of government agencies in the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group facilitated clarity of provincial and federal policies and programs in the local context. As demonstrated by Corriveau and La Rougery (2006) in their discussion of the experiences of Sherbrooke, Quebec, integrated and cooperative relationships between multiple

stakeholders and the involvement of government departments are necessary for the successful welcoming and integration of newcomers.

3.8.2 The Need for Cross-Departmental Communications

As community leaders and community-serving organizations in Brandon identify methods of working together with all levels of government departments and industry, there is a need for enhanced cross-departmental communications within governments. Too often silos within government departments and the lack of cross-departmental communications frustrate and hinder local initiatives. Departments need to locate avenues for regular cross-departmental communication to support smaller cities and their local initiatives. At present, Rural Team Manitoba facilitates the cross-departmental communication between the federal and provincial governments. This is an organization consisting of departments and agencies with responsibilities for rural communities of both the federal and provincial governments. The Rural and Cooperative Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada coordinates Rural Team Manitoba. Information, policy, and programming related to immigration are a regular discussion item at Rural Team Manitoba meetings, which promotes the facilitation of information sharing identified as a challenge in the Brandon experience. The importance and effectiveness of cross-departmental communicators, a role played by Rural Team Manitoba in the Brandon immigration narrative, parallel findings from research conducted by Walsh (2004) and Annis (2008).

3.9 Moving Forward

Welcoming community strategies are essential in small cities and rural communities as they continue to look toward immigration as a mechanism to address labour and population issues. However, many small cities in Canada do not have the capacities to develop multi-sector partnerships to effectively discuss, design, and implement welcoming community strategies that can contribute to adequate education and health service delivery to diverse immigrant groups. The city of Brandon has engaged in collaborative partnerships with Maple Leaf Foods, schools, community organizations, and the Rural Development Institute to ensure a welcoming community for both new and long-term residents. Although this initiative facilitated by the Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group is perhaps a model for small cities with outlying rural populations, it faces steep learning curves regarding service provision, settlement, and welcoming initiatives in part because of limited experiences in these areas. Through local and provincial partnerships, a community-based

multi-sector collaboration has increased the capacity to integrate newcomers and improve the quality of life for all residents in Brandon. This collaborative partnership has allowed planning for the arrival and settlement of immigrants and allowed this small prairie city to actively engage in the attraction, settlement, and retention of new immigrants. The immigration narrative in Brandon continues to unfold, and as it evolves, the use of community partnerships will surely foster a welcoming community.

Notes

1. More information on this initiative is available from <http://welcomingcommunities.ca>.
2. The Building Capacity and Knowledge for a Welcoming Community was a multi-year project funded by the Government of Canada's Rural Secretariat, Manitoba Labour and Immigration, and Manitoba Agriculture, Food and Rural Initiatives to facilitate multi-sector collaboration. Further information on the project is available at <https://www.brandonu.ca/rdi/projects/welcoming-communities/>.
3. The Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies is an international collaborative project to build an understanding of intercultural relations. The project is designed to promote the idea that intercultural relations can be best understood when both recent immigrants and community members are surveyed using similar questions within a community. Further information on the project is available at <http://cacr.victoria.ac.nz/projects/research-projects/mirips>.
4. For further information on the role education systems can play in facilitating integration of youth can be found in Berry et al. (2006) and Statistics Canada (2003).
5. The complexity of immigration policy and program in Manitoba emerges from the devolved responsibilities of the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement. Since 1996, the province of Manitoba received increased responsibilities related to immigration. Further information on the complexities of immigration in Manitoba is discussed under the section "Provincial Policy Context" of this chapter.
6. For community leaders and community-based organization, confusion and frustration can emerge when determining the appropriate level of government to speak to regarding immigration as both the provincial and federal governments have responsibilities. Further, within each level of government, a number of departments and agencies hold differing and complementary services supporting immigration. The Brandon Welcoming Communities Dialogue Group recognized government departments, and agencies at both levels are not always aware of programs and opportunities in other departments.

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Chapter 4

Local Immigration Partnerships: How Is Peterborough Engaged with Immigrant Integration?

Michael C.K. Ma

By 2031, Canada's population growth will be entirely dependent on immigration (Government of Canada 2006). Current trends predict that visible minorities will figure prominently in our future population growth—not just in large gateway cities (e.g. Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal), but also in smaller second- and third-tier cities. Some of these smaller cities are hard at work with federal and provincial counterparts to manage their increased diversity and simultaneously attract immigrants to their areas. By the use of the term “smaller”, I refer to a use of second- and third-tier designations adopted by leading Canadian scholars (Abu-Laban 1998; Derwing and Krahn 2008; Frideres 2006; Krahn, Derwing, and Abu-Laban 2005; Wachsmuth 2008) where population size is a major component of the tiered designation.¹ Peterborough in Ontario is a third-tier city, with a population of 105,945 Canadian-born residents and 10,230 immigrants in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011). The community at large is currently engaged in a provincially supported and community-based investigation into immigration renewal and retention.

This chapter examines the efforts of community and municipal organizations in Peterborough and their involvement in creating a partnership council for improving immigrant integration and retention. It examines the evolution of the manner by which the city and community came together to establish a partnership council that applied for a Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) for a Local Immigration Partnership (LIP) grant.² This grant programme encouraged a multi-scalar or multi-level organizational relationships between municipal, provincial and federal entities; the tripartite structure acknowledged the importance of municipalities in newcomer resettlement (Burr 2011). Through a process of examining minutes, committee reports and studies and conducting interviews and participatory research, this chapter describes how the

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collaborative work among a resettlement agency, a community organization and municipal stakeholders has helped constitute the Peterborough Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration (PPCII). In specifically examining the PPCII, this chapter unpacks this provincial-federal mandate and its relation to local initiatives. In so doing, it investigates the need to move beyond scalar and territorial frameworks to less congealed or static representations of “local, provincial and federal”. My examination, in part, relies on my work with local stakeholders in the area. I was the coordinator of the Community and Race Relations Committee of Peterborough between 2007 and 2009.

The examination shows how the partnership council helps fulfil a provincial-federal mandate while engaged in the ultimate goal of local capacity building. Furthermore, this chapter examines the manner by which community mandates are repurposed through governmental frameworks—those that help establish an institution for immigrant integration. Some questions are raised: Are local efforts still local when such efforts are guided by non-local mandates and conditional funding? If local compliance with a provincial mandate guarantees the funding of a local initiative, then is this a form of co-optation through funding (Scott 2003)?

The interlinked questions pertaining to local expressions of state mandates and the role of state and quasi-state organizations in resettlement are examined. It investigates the relational processes and network forms of organization that move beyond scalar and territorial frameworks (Amin 2002; Collinge 2005; Isin 2007) and towards a framing of state practices (Taylor 2005) that relies on a conceptualization of networks, connections and relational nodes (Thrift 1999, 2000). These relational practices are understood as acting beyond the parameters of agency that the terms of state framing (e.g. municipal, provincial and federal) often produce. The relationship of state and civil society is revealed as this chapter explores how a paradigm of “immigrant integration” becomes incorporated into governance practices adopted by a smaller third-tier city.

4.1 Partnership and Compliance

Currently, all provincial—and many municipal—governments have begun to devise and deploy new strategies to attract and retain immigrants (Ma 2010). Many provinces have drafted either memoranda of understanding or federal-provincial agreements outlining manners by which federal immigrant processes can be better shared locally. These developments tell us that many communities across Canada have come to realize that immigrant newcomers are a key component for future growth and prosperity.

Given that about 75 % of all immigrants during the past decade have relocated to only three large urban centres (i.e. Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal), many smaller communities are concerned with their slowing population growth and lack of ability to attract immigrants (Ma 2010). Peterborough is no exception. To address this lack of attraction to smaller communities, many such communities are involved in efforts

to better understand how they can attract and retain this new sector necessary for population and economic growth—to such a degree that newcomers are almost viewed as a new commodity. More communities are commissioning studies to investigate whether this trend in immigrant resettlement can be altered and redirected to smaller communities or centres like Peterborough.

At the end of 2007, two community stakeholders came together to begin discussions regarding how more resettlement and anti-racist resources could be brought to Peterborough and surrounding areas. These two organizations were the Community and Race Relations Committee of Peterborough (CRRC) and the New Canadians Centre (NCC). The New Canadians Centre has been serving Peterborough and the Kawarthas (popular generic term for an area northeast of Toronto) for over 30 years. As the main immigrant-serving agency, its work with newcomers involves language training and assessment, information and referral, interpretation and translation, employment assistance, counselling, community bridging and education. The agency also educates the public and clients regarding issues pertaining to immigration, diversity and racism. The Community and Race Relations Committee was formed in 1981 in response to racial attacks against international students occurring in Peterborough. It has since grown to become the main anti-racist organization in Peterborough working through outreach, education and community programming.

Gaps in immigrant service provision and newcomer integration were identified and discussed by CRRC and NCC, and for the first time in 2007, they identified the possibility of receiving institutional funding to improve Peterborough's immigrant programming in a manner beyond over-the-counter services. After long consultation and discussion, these two organizations decided to seek out funding from a joint grant, the LIP, offered by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) in partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI). The MCI-CIC Local Immigration Partnership (LIP) grant was created to “strengthen the role of local and regional communities in serving and integrating immigrants” through the creation of partnership councils on immigrant integration in Ontario (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2008).

Beyond a simple desire to bring a funded project benefiting the community to Peterborough, these two organizations decided that it was time to invest in creating an entity that could more broadly address immigrant issues in the community. Carmela Valles, past executive director of NCC, states,

We thought that the opportunities possible through the partnership council (with or without, but better with funding from MCI) will go beyond access to over the counter settlement services but will also include opportunities for engagement, civic participation and leadership for new Canadians. (Valles 2010)

NCC and CRRC made a joint application to the Local Immigration Partnership Initiative issued by CIC, in partnership with MCI, to strengthen the role of local and regional communities in serving and integrating immigrants through the formation of local partnership councils. The call for proposals framed the objectives to improve settlement services, labour market outcomes, regional awareness of immigrant issues and capacity for immigrant integration and establish partnerships that would

begin to coordinate and deliver integration services (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2008). In so doing, these two organizations began the formation of a local Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration. This formation would constitute the first phase of a two-part funding scheme offered by the ministries.

In compliance with the Local Immigration Partnership (LIP) funding model, the strategy was twofold. First, CRRC and NCC would begin outreach activities to local stakeholders to secure their participation (or endorsement) in the creation of an organizing entity. Second, they would submit an application for the LIP grant funding on behalf of the group. The initial meetings involved only four organizations (i.e. CRRC, NCC, Workforce Development and Trent Centre for Community-Based Education). At this first meeting, the working group decided to begin to outreach to other organizations to form the larger group that eventually would become the Peterborough Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration (PPCII) (Peterborough Partnership Council 2008b). In many other Ontario jurisdictions, these efforts were usually led by the city or municipality. In the case of Peterborough, the local efforts were led by a settlement agency and a community-based anti-racist organization. It is in this manner that the Peterborough efforts distinguish themselves from other initiatives. Carmela Valles (2010) states,

We thought that there should be better coordination of programs and services available to new Canadians in the community to address gaps and give support to organizations delivering those programs. We thought that there are a number of organizations who are doing programs for new Canadians but yet don't have the opportunity to get together to network, learn from each other and/or support each other. For example, groups that delivered ESL classes, conversation circles, and tutoring support. We thought that by creating a partnership council, Peterborough would have a vehicle by which it could take ownership of the integration process of new Canadians in the community—including the challenges and successes.

Given that this project was jointly spearheaded by a settlement agency and a community group, they were able to begin the formation in a unique grassroots-based manner. Outreach began through the leveraging of existing networks and connections that the two organizations had developed over 25 years of community-based work and service delivery—relationships extended through private, public, local and provincial connections. They invited a wide assortment of stakeholders to join in the effort and discussion of what could be done in the area of immigrant integration. The working group that was formed began to embark on a process of outreach to a wide audience that included municipal government, social service delivery organizations, community groups, literacy agencies, employment groups, economic development agencies, police services and educational institutions that included high school, college and university levels. Following a process of outreach and identification of pertinent stakeholders, various representatives were invited to attend a meeting to discuss the creation of a Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration. This initial outreach meeting on March 19, 2008, was very successful in securing the participation of many local stakeholders.

In part, this meeting was used to introduce the idea of a council to community stakeholders and to secure their support of such an initiative. The founding group

was interested in creating a council of relevant community stakeholders who could come together regularly to develop a coordinated, comprehensive and strategic approach to immigration and integration, one that was tailored to fit the needs of the Peterborough and Kawartha community. The council wished the participation of a wide range of local community stakeholders (e.g. municipal and regional government, community organizations, settlement agencies, language training providers, sector councils, local associations, regional newcomer employment networks, economic development agencies and employers) to help facilitate the access to and improvement of services for local newcomer settlement and integration, access to labour markets, strengthening local and regional awareness, and capacity to receive, integrate and retain newcomers (Peterborough Partnership Council 2008a).

The Partnership Council sought to develop a comprehensive and collaborative approach to immigration by developing a partnership of stakeholders who represent a cross section of organizations that have an interest in working towards positive outcomes for immigrants in the Peterborough communities. The council's effort was also being executed in tandem to meet the criteria of federal-provincial funding. Through the Local Immigration Partnership programme, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), in partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI), sought to fund and stimulate communities to put immigration on their overall planning agenda in order for communities to benefit from the successful social and economic integration of new immigrants (Community and Race Relations Committee 2008). However, the funding application criteria also had the effect of directing an existing desire for better local immigrant dialogue and outcomes towards a provincial-federal mandate for the creation of a new institutional layer: a partnership council.

Of particular interest is the manner by which an initiative to have a broad-based coalition of stakeholders becomes funnelled into a two-phase process of funded research and strategic planning. Already at this early stage, MCI-CIC's mandated formula prescribed two specific phases of funded work: phase one was to involve the establishment of a partnership council and the development of a settlement strategy, and phase two was designed to involve the design and execution of specific deliverable projects and integrated services. Although the initiative to create a working group or council on immigrant affairs was one that sprung from a locally identified need, the outcome became directed towards institutional building. It is in this manner that the provincial-federal framing of the project began to have a direct effect on shaping what began as a local initiative. This relationship illustrates Scott's (2003) argument that project-based funding is a persuasive tool that compels local organizations to mould themselves to fit funded mandates. It also illustrates how scalar and territorial framings of community, municipality, province and federal state fail to fully explain governance and project relationships where "local" initiatives interweave with "external" mandates.

In the effort to comply with the funded mandate, the funding proposal authored by the council incorporated the language found in the call for applications. It states,

We see the Partnership Council strengthening local awareness and coordinating effective services that will welcome, integrate, and retain newcomers. The formation of a Partnership Council is critical to coordinated improvement of immigrant resettlement, language training, labour market integration, foreign credential recognition, and full social integration. (New Canadian Centre 2008)

In so doing, the Partnership Council directly adopts the language and framework of an immigration strategy focusing on the access and coordination of integration services, improvement of labour market outcomes, strengthening of local awareness, improvement of access to settlement services and the enhancement of partnerships directly relating to current services supported by MCI and CIC.

The ensuing submission focused on pursuing a council to help develop a collaborative local partnership that could improve the labour market outcomes of newcomers to Peterborough, enhance its partnerships and provide more effective services tailored to the needs of Peterborough and its immigrant communities (New Canadian Centre 2008), although an independent decision-making body at this stage, the founding group, which later became the Peterborough Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration (PPCII), began to form its mandate and goals in alignment with that of the funder. That is, the application of funding was submitted in advance of the organization establishing its own terms of reference or strategic goals. The partnership council and its governance goals, expressed by the mandate found in the granting formula, became directly incorporated into the founding group's imagination and activity.

Although the council's initial efforts were centred on the notion that local efforts can only be successful if they involved the participation of a multitude of stakeholders in the planning and coordinating of the delivery of integration services (settlement, language training, labour market integration), this framing also becomes institutionalized through a specific funding formula that requires efforts at outreach, planning and action plan to occur under two discrete and specific phases: (1) formation of council, terms of reference, research and development of settlement strategy and (2) implementation of settlement strategy.

The council drafted a work plan that identified three tasks. First, identify a core group of organizations and individuals (founding group) committed to establishing the Peterborough Immigrant Partnership Council. Second, constitute a founding group composed of organizations and individuals representing the cross sectors and multi-government levels to participate in a discussion to form an Immigrant Partnership Council and develop an immigrant integration strategy for the region. Third, draft terms of reference and prepare these for a community launch before the year ended in 2008 (Peterborough Partnership Council 2008c). Through the submission of this three-phase framework, the council was able to comply with MCI-CIC-LIP project criteria.

Soon thereafter, following the collected efforts of council members, the PPCII began drafting the terms of reference. The terms firmly laid out the council's intention to create a framework of research and understanding that would help the community better understand the challenges of resettlement that newcomers and local residents alike face. The terms state,

The Immigrant Integration Partnership Council will enrich the City and County of Peterborough by equipping them to attract, retain, and integrate new Canadians into an inclusive environment. Increasingly, the growth, vitality and quality of life offered by second and third tier Ontario communities like Peterborough and the Kawartha region will depend on their capacity to attract, take full advantage of, and accommodate ethnic, racial and religious diversity. (Peterborough Partnership Council 2008d)

Of note is the manner by which the funding language and process of research leading to implementation and integration, which is required by the grant, and the institutional notion of social inclusion and integration are incorporated into the local framework of the council. This is not to say that the newly formed partnership council was not interested in the integration of newcomers in advance of a funding opportunity, but, rather, that the nature of the collaboration shifted from a local process to one in compliance with project funding determination. By October 2008, the founding group had drafted their terms of reference, submitted their MCI-CIC-LIP application, gathered letters of support, outreached to the community at large regarding the purpose of the council and formally established a membership and governing structure. In advance of receiving formal MCI-CIC funding, the founding group had already established the organizational foundation needed to fulfil the MCI mandate. The nascent PPCII partnership group was working in high gear to prepare the structure of governance demanded by the granting criteria. It is in this manner that anticipated funding begins to exert a shaping hand in the establishment of a local council and community initiative. The founding group had by now fully adopted an MCI-CIC mandate and all but abandoning alternative strategies and practices for acting upon immigrant issues.

As of December 2008, the nascent partnership council organized a public event to announce its official constitution and success in securing the MCI-CIC funding. The founding members include: Greater Peterborough Economic Development Corporation; Municipal Social Planning Steering Committee; Greater Peterborough Chamber of Commerce; Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities; Peterborough and Lakefield Police; Kawartha Pine Ridge District School Board; Northern Lights; Social Planning Council; Trent University; Fleming College; City of Peterborough; GE-Hitachi; Community Opportunity and Innovation Network; Peterborough Chamber of Commerce; Siemens Milltronics; Trent Centre for Community-Based Education; Trent Valley Literacy Association; Workforce Development Board; New Canadians Centre; and Community and Race Relations Committee.

Through the governance and project structure encouraged by the funding parameters, the council mandated itself to create a 3–5-year immigrant integration strategy that would achieve three goals: (a) improve access to and coordination of immigrant integration services, (b) improve labour market outcomes for immigrants and c) strengthen local awareness and capacity to successfully integrate and retain immigrants. As part of its immigrant integration strategy and in compliance with the funding mandate, the council deemed it important to conduct research in order to develop a comprehensive strategy. The council understood this to be a two-part process involving, first, a baseline study examining existing literature from which

recommendations could be made and, second, the design of an integration strategy, which will occur through phase two funding, based on a synthetic analysis of the current state of local integration services. This would involve an engagement with immigrants in a participatory process and the development of a local research coordination group for broad community participation.

The recommendations arising from the baseline study included five areas for examination and improvement. First, that jobs were a key issue in newcomer attraction and retention in smaller centres. Second, that affordable housing was a key component in the successful resettlement of newcomers to Canada. Research showed that housing is becoming more problematic for new immigrants than those who came before (Boyd 2003; Hou 2004; Haan 2005; Carter 2008). Third, that immigrant services were perhaps the most common area selected for recommendation and improvement. The study argues that efforts must be made to make immigrants to smaller communities feel more integrated and a part of the social and political fabric of their new communities. Fourth, that social and community engagement are important for immigrant integration, but that much work is needed to identify which types of collaborations and working relationships are achievable, and that assessment is critical for measuring the success or failure of these engagement efforts. Fifth, that there is a need for a population strategy. The study found that immigration is but one component to the successful sustenance and renewal of a population. Without an integrated population framework, which includes immigrant integration, the study concludes that immigrant integration efforts would only be partially successful (Ma 2010).

Although it was found to be important for second- and third-tier communities to identify specific problems associated with immigrant integration efforts, the baseline study found that a lack of integration of implementation into the design process was present in many immigrant planning initiatives. It critiques a practice of knowledge production that precludes the inclusion of on-the-ground action items alongside the research component of the project (Ma 2010, 13). The study also notes that a paradigm of institutionally framing immigrants as challenges and problems needs to change so that immigrants themselves are not the object of problematization (Ma 2010, 12).

The council-funded baseline study is a significant tool that clarifies key areas for investigation (e.g. jobs, housing and integration), but more importantly, it questions a practice of strategic planning research that does not engage with an on-the-ground implementation of programming and its ongoing assessment. It also questions whether a “better” institutionalization of social service provision or delivery necessarily guarantees better immigrant outcomes. In part, the study argues that adjustments of institutional practices may not account for the need of political practice or community mobilization that goes beyond tweaking resettlement service barriers (Ma 2010, 15). And it does so in a way that situates immigration within the larger context of population and its necessary strategic planning.

Even though the initial impulse behind creating a council was to constitute an entity that could help rethink how various stakeholders could come together to help create a “two-way” integration process of new Canadians, this impulse came to be

ignored by efforts of resettlement planning that exclusively focus on the manner by which existing services can be instrumentally improved for immigrants. Carmela Valles (2010) states,

We envisioned a meaningful integration experience for new Canadians where the expectation was not only for them to adjust to their new community but also for the community to adjust to the diversity of culture, religion, perspectives, skills, talents, dynamic energy that new Canadians bring to their new community.

The intent to produce a two-way integration eventually gave way to a framing focusing solely on immigrant service provision involving the CIC-MCI funding mandate for improved immigrant services. Compliance with funding enabled the council to commission a critical baseline study; however, the council's focus on fulfilling funding mandates also created a situation where the localized efforts of a nexus of Peterborough stakeholders became reframed through a funding and programming schedule not entirely of its own choosing.

4.2 Governance, Autonomy and Representations of Scale

In the 1970s, the state, in part, was understood as a set of institutions that structured the everyday lives of its citizens. More recently, especially by contributions from anthropologists and ethnographic research, the state has begun to be interpreted as a set of practices that relies on everyday lives of its citizens rather than structuring them (Ferguson and Gupta 2005; Sharma and Gupta 2006). Such research has hinged on questioning the scalar representations of state practices and investigating the manner by which differences between local and state practices are not easily distinguishable (Massey 2004).

The notion of the "state" and its practices should be reformulated to allow research to move beyond the constraints of "levels" of government and community as it pertains to immigrant resettlement and integration. A more holistic formulation reframes the way we examine immigration resettlement and retention not as separate government levels, policies and initiatives that interact in a haphazard or uncoordinated manner. Rather, the practices of resettlement should be analyzed as a nexus, or expanded field, of immigrant policies, stakeholders and practices whose activity creates real-world consequences for those who are immigrants and where they live, work and study. In the case of Peterborough, it is clear that the activities of the Partnership Council, which is comprised of various community, public and private sector partners, slowly become activities that are state orientated as they incorporate and fulfil funding parameters. In terms of incorporation, the Canadian state, in the form of MCI-CIC funding, seeks out partners to create local partnership councils where local community-based initiatives are absorbed into larger state mandates and functions. Since a state needs institutions to incorporate individuals and groups to participate in institutions of moral and civic regulation (Valverde 1991), then it is clear that the Partnership Council is not merely a local community

representative organization. Rather, it is an expression of state mandate; however, it also represents itself as a local initiative as it is comprised of local stakeholders and institutions. Therefore, it is simultaneously both an expression and practice of state governance, as well as a community-based enactment of local agency. But we ask, do state practices support or do they co-opt and supplant community organizations? In the case of the Partnership Council and its founding, it is not just a simple civic regulation of individuals, but rather, it involves state practices (e.g. calls for proposals and project funding) that enter into existing community initiatives and practices. Community and local collaboration has been simultaneously created, supplanted and redeployed as the Partnership Council seeks to formalize and institutionalize itself. It is in this manner that the scalar representation of levels of governance (i.e. local, provincial, federal) begins to show its analytic weakness.

In the context of the Partnership Council, the MCI-CIC funding is a way by which a state-funded local council on immigration affairs expresses non-local mandates in the guise of a local initiative. It can be argued that the Partnership Council is working in concert with various levels of government (federal, provincial and municipal) to help set and steer public policy from a position that appears to be from within the local community. However, a more useful representation could attempt to express the very relationships that are created in the moment when community-based social practices operate in a context of state function and corporatism (Gramsci 1971). Representations of local and non-local interests should disappear to make way for a representation of governance practices that are no longer understood to be discrete levels of government practice. Representations of “state”, “non-state” and “local” lose their meanings in this nexus of co-funding, codirection and cooperation. The state presents itself in forms that trouble a conceptualization of federal, provincial, municipal and community spheres as being distinctly separate. These spheres reinforce one another in the context of public policy, citizenship practices and normative political practices (Laforest and Phillips 2001). It is a nexus of federal, provincial, municipal and community forms that configure, administer and produce specific social practices that express themselves at the community level.

One area where we can see the activity of this reformulation of governance is the provincial urban renewal and provincial growth planning. On August 10, 2009, Peterborough City Council adopted Amendment No. 142 to the City of Peterborough Official Plan in order to comply with the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, as required by the Places to Grow Act 2005 (Peterborough 2009a). Although it has been a geographic designation used since the 1950s to denote a region centred around the Greater Toronto Area, it was not an official designation until the Ministry of Public Infrastructure Renewal’s report, *Places to Grow*, coined the term “Greater Golden Horseshoe”. It extends from the west in Niagara Falls to the east ending in Peterborough and from the north in Georgian Bay to the south in Lake Erie. This horseshoe-shaped area includes communities such as Hamilton, Barrie, Toronto, Pickering, Ajax, Whitby, Oshawa and Peterborough. All municipalities within the Greater Golden Horseshoe must ensure their official municipal plan complies with and implements the Growth Plan policy.

The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH) is a provincial plan that establishes a planning policy framework to implement its vision for managing population and employment growth in the Greater Golden Horseshoe region until 2031. With a vision to building stronger, more prosperous and complete communities, the Growth Plan is meant to guide municipal and provincial decisions on a wide range of issues that include transportation, infrastructure planning, land use planning, urban form, housing, natural heritage and resource protection. The Growth Plan intends to achieve this overall vision through an ambitious policy direction that specifically aims to revitalize downtowns to become vibrant and convenient centres; create newly invigorated communities that offer more opportunities for living, working, shopping and playing; provide greater choice in housing types to meet the needs of people at various stages in life; curb urban sprawl and protect farmlands and green spaces; and reduce traffic gridlock by improving access to a greater range of transportation choices (Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure 2006).

After a review of the Growth Plan, the City of Peterborough Official Plan of Amendment No. 142 implemented this by providing policy direction for ongoing and future planning initiatives. The amendment directs the city to accommodate urban growth, support energy-efficient development and transportation, ensure an adequate production of housing to meet community needs and enable the city to harness the benefits of the provincial plan (City of Peterborough 2009c). Although this amendment to the municipal plan was successfully adopted, the process by which it was vetted was not without its challenges. Both the city and the Partnership Council opposed its planning vision for differing reasons. Using the Growth Plan as a platform for debate, the Partnership Council pointed out the absence of immigration in the province's long-term planning, and the city objected to the overly modest projected growth.

We can see the council's intervention into local immigrant planning by looking at the way it has inserted itself into the municipal-provincial discourse on planning. The council wanted to have immigrant issues included in both provincial and municipal plans. In so doing, it involved itself in a politics of commentary that sought to steer the discourse of planning onto the area of immigrant integration and retention. Commenting on the growth plan, Debbie Harrison, Partnership Council Co-Chair, states: "Council members felt that we needed to respond to the obvious lack of vision in the plan for encouraging growth via immigration, and the needs of immigrants in Peterborough" (Peterborough Partnership Council 2009a).

In its efforts to market the council's work and to mount an opposition to the growth plan, the council organized various public meetings and invited media attendance. These public meetings involved pointing out a lack of immigrant integration issues being included in the provincial multi-year growth plan and in Ontario's Places to Grow initiative. The Places to Grow Act proposed an ambitious top-down plan to manage population growth in the Greater Golden Horseshoe Area. In the effort to manage population growth in Ontario, the Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure projects growth of four million people over the next 30 years. There are currently two growth plans: (1) Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe

(released June 16, 2006) and (2) Growth Plan for Northern Ontario (released March 4, 2011). Both growth initiatives are based in the Places to Grow Act 2005. The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe outlines the government's long-term vision for Canada's most populous and fastest-growing region. It aims to create complete, livable communities, with a greater mix of housing, parks, businesses and services and greater transportation choices (Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure 2006).

The Growth Plan has received numerous awards for its excellence in planning which include multiple awards from planning institutes and associations.³ The awards spurred David Caplan, former Minister of Public Infrastructure Renewal, to state,

It is a great honour for us to be recognized with an award of this kind. Long-term growth plans, like the one we developed for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, and the one we are starting to develop for Northern Ontario, are crucial to Ontario's future and will ensure Ontarians have the communities and quality of life they want and deserve. (Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure 2006)

Although award winning in its attempt to create an overall plan encompassing the economic engine of southern Ontario, the plan omits one critical component: immigration and population. In their February 2008 public presentation, the Partnership Council questioned whether the growth plan addresses the issue of "who will live in these renewed spaces". The council argued that the plan failed to address how the populations of these renewed places will be sustained and increased so as to enjoy and use these new reinvigorated spaces. And they showed that the key element of immigrants and immigration was glaringly omitted (Peterborough Partnership Council 2008a).

Using census figures from Statistics Canada, the Partnership Council demonstrated that Peterborough has a shrinking population. With a declining birth rate, population growth below the national average, immigrant growth below national and provincial average and the highest senior population in Ontario's 15 census metropolitan areas, the question of population is a key topic for Peterborough (Statistics Canada 2006). The Partnership Council pointed out that the provincial focus on urban renewal could not be successful without an equal focus on the renewal of population. They critiqued the plan for lacking a comprehensive strategy on how to populate these renewed spaces, increase regional population, encourage migration and resettlement and develop inbound immigration and for lacking integration of immigration into the built boundary (Peterborough Partnership Council 2008a).

In addition to their opposition to the provincial growth plan, the Partnership Council also critiqued the City of Peterborough's urban planning strategy and response to the Ontario Growth Plan. Although the municipal report, *Planning Peterborough to 2031: How the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe will affect the City of Peterborough*, challenges the manner by which the province of Ontario has approached an area of regional planning that includes Peterborough, it does so without directly addressing the need for a population and/or immigration strategy (City of Peterborough 2009b). The city's response identifies immigration

as a component of growth in many Ontario cities; however, it does not include itself as a member of those cities needing an immigration strategy. The City of Peterborough's response to its poor record of immigrant attraction relies on the suggestion that Peterborough's situation is unique because it is innately and spatially remote unlike other Ontario communities. The report argues that Peterborough is:

the most spatially isolated Urban Growth Centre (UGC) in the GGH, located about 30 kilometres further away from its nearest UGC than any other pair of UGCs. Because of this isolation, Peterborough has generally developed as a self-sustaining community that relies less on economic synergies with neighbouring municipalities to achieve its growth than most other municipalities in the GGH. (City of Peterborough 2009b)

As a logic of urban and geographic isolation, the document claims that it cannot support the growth numbers suggested by the Growth Plan. As a response, it refutes the plan but without offering alternative means by which to grow and sustain the community.

To engage with the City of Peterborough, the Partnership Council invited city planners to attend a meeting and present its position. On June 9, 2009, Malcolm Hunt, Director of Planning and Development Services, City of Peterborough, made a presentation to the Partnership Council regarding the city's opposition to the provincial Growth Plan. Hunt presented the city's preoccupation with population decline and the need for new Canadians. He argued that the original population forecast made by the provincial plan was too modest considering the existing and future projected declines. Hunt states:

We are in trouble because our population is aging (we have 25,000 seniors right now—the forecast predicts 50,000 seniors by 2031), there are no youth to replace us, our schools are closing, and the young workforce is leaving because they can't find jobs. Most people in the City are not aware of the impact of our demographic profile in the future...Our first priority is to stop population decline (generated by the aging population)...The actual population growth is our second priority. The planners have a hard time to see even how to accomplish the first priority. (Peterborough Partnership Council 2009b)

Although Hunt's presentation reflects the city's preoccupation with population decline, it also demonstrates that the city has yet to appreciate the need to incorporate an immigration and population strategy into an overall planning vision for the area. While the city planner's perspective identifies immigration as a possible solution to population decline, it was not included in their official plan. Partnership Council members point out that it is important to "underline the possibility of newcomers being a great source of population growth" and to participate in an effort to proactively amend the provincial growth plan in a way that will best suit the population and immigration needs of Peterborough (Peterborough Partnership Council 2009b).

On June 16, 2009, the Partnership Council drafted a letter addressed to Planning and Development Services, City of Peterborough, explaining that "immigration is vital and necessary" because immigrants are major contributors to the viability of the Peterborough community. The letter encourages the city to recognize (a) that there is a growing immigrant population in Peterborough, (b) that settled newcomers offer much to the city and (c) that "the city's plan does not deal with the important

political response to population growth”. It implores that “the question for planning should not be ‘where do we belong in Ontario?’ as a way of avoiding some of the policies for the Golden Horseshoe”, but rather how can immigration be integrated into existing planning parameters. The letter argues that it becomes incumbent upon the city to discover the benefits of following the Places to Grow legislation and to work actively to amend it with a positive component for immigrant growth (Peterborough Partnership Council 2009c).

On the one hand, these intra-municipal negotiations concerning immigration, occurring between the Partnership Council and the city, demonstrate that local governance of immigrant issues are issues that are routinely negotiated through competing provincial, municipal and community levels—which calls into question how discreet levels of governance in regard to immigrant resettlement can be accurately expressed or identified. On the other hand, it can be argued that the Partnership Council was engaged in a subtle politics of demand (Day 2004) whereby institutional organizations and municipal stakeholders gathered to constitute an institutional form (i.e. council) that could legitimize issues regarding immigrant integration through a simultaneously oppositional and consultative process. CIC-MCI funds the council to design and implement a “Made in Peterborough” strategy for immigrant integration and retention. But in doing so, it also creates an entity that opposes the Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure’s Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe while simultaneously critiquing the City of Peterborough’s response to the Growth Plan. The state funds the Partnership Council, but it opposes the state in both the municipal and provincial domain. Indeed, the ongoing activities of the Partnership Council could be understood as state functions deployed in and through the field, by existing members of a local group that masks state functions. The complexity of the Partnership Council’s role suggests that scalar notions of state levels seem to be inadequate to describe these intra-immigrant stakeholder relationships and the negotiations that occur between them.

A key aspect in addressing immigrant issues that cuts across multiple levels of governance is the manner in which social actors interpret and internalize their roles in a chain of accountability and planning. Addressing immigrant resettlement in the case of the Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration necessitates a framework for investigation that is critical of scalar presentation of immigration governance (Sharma and Gupta 2006; Isin 2007). Many existing studies on regional immigration rely on a framework of investigation where municipalities, provinces and the federal government are seen as working discretely in separate worlds of governance (Ghosh and Pyrcz 1999; Halifax Regional Municipality 2005; Walton-Roberts 2007). The prevailing model of investigation remains rooted in understanding immigrant outcomes as the purview of different levels of government. An approach that de-privileges and de-emphasizes an understanding of the way separate levels of governance work in relationship to immigrant resettlement may bear new insights into the existing challenges that Peterborough faces. For example, from the perspective of a settlement agency, the issue of immigrant employment is not understood—neither by client nor agency—as a federal immigration policy failing to meet the expectations of a municipally market-driven labour market. In the case of an

unemployed skilled immigrant professional, it is not just a disconnection between federal immigration processes and existing local labour market realities, but rather, it is an expression of how a federal points system evaluations, officer evaluation, existing labour conditions, professional associations, recertification or accreditation and family and community network support, among others, all mix together to form the sometimes bleak reality of professionally trained and practising professionals who find themselves unemployed in Canada. That is, the federal, provincial and local levels of governance and coordination all play out on a very real, personal and lived level of reality that challenges conventional understandings of immigrant outcomes as the purview of multiple and separate levels of governance. Similarly, in the case of the Partnership Council's efforts to intervene in the local immigration context of Peterborough, it can be argued that relational networks and nodes between community and municipality work together in a way that exceeds a strict framing of funder and funded, civil and state or local community and external governance.

4.3 Interconnected and Local

Although the collaboration between the New Canadians Centre (NCC) and the Community and Race Relations Committee (CRRC) of Peterborough was intended to secure funding for the creation of a new cross-sectoral immigrant service and resource, the result also helped create a new institutional layer—which has acted both as a form of internalized governance and as well a vehicle for the expression of local agency concerning issues of immigration. The perennial question of jurisdictional competition, which includes a lack of direct communication and/or consultation among the community, municipality and province, remains a constant challenge in the context of immigrant integration and resettlement planning. These consultative engagements also illustrate the wideness of these communication and planning gaps, rather than illustrating a harmonized vision and course of action.

One goal of this study has been to examine the manner by which these gaps in immigrant planning occur and are perpetuated at the community, municipal and provincial levels. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has partnered with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) to strengthen the role of local and regional communities in serving and integrating immigrants through offering funding to promote and implement Local Immigration Partnerships (LIP). However, the partnership council born from this funding finds itself in a position where it can neither fully guarantee the implementation of its strategic plan—since it finds itself within the jurisdictional area of municipal planning—nor does it have official input with either municipal or provincial planning processes.

Even though the local compliance of existing community stakeholders has sought to comply with provincial and federal mandates for immigrant planning (i.e. though MCI and CIC), the community of Peterborough still finds itself without any guarantees that the funded initiatives will find a receptive municipal or provincial landscape upon which to flourish. Although a funding regime may create community

compliance, it does not guarantee that the resettlement strategy is in anyway feasible because such planning is contingent on municipal and federal jurisdiction. That is, it depends on a local municipal context where immigrant conditions are lived and created on an everyday basis. And it simultaneously depends on federal jurisdiction because immigration and immigrant landing policies and procedures are governed far from the local population (i.e. through MCI and CIC policies and programming). Existing gaps in immigrant planning continue to be perpetuated because there are no existing overall planning nor organizational structures that take on the responsibility of research, monitoring and service provision in a manner that coordinates various levels of governance or institutional power. These gaps are systemic issues. In the case of local planning, the municipality of Peterborough currently does not take on immigration as an actionable component of its multi-year growth plan because it technically falls outside of its purview. In fact, its entire immigrant resettlement efforts are in the form of a small grant it provides to the New Canadians Centre in Peterborough. And yet, the issue of population, according to Malcolm Hunt, Director of Planning and Development Services of the City of Peterborough, is of paramount importance. Hunt's primary concern is with the ageing population and Peterborough's lack of youth to reproduce the population. Peterborough planners are concerned about ageing, but from a planning purview are not considering immigrants or immigration as a potential solution to this problem of population decline.

The Partnership Council has attempted to develop a plan to integrate and retain newcomers consistent with those of the city and province. In terms of immigrant planning, it has involved itself with research and planning, but more importantly, it has sought to interject itself into a realm of multi-governance planning within the context of the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure 2006) and the City of Peterborough's Growth Plan response, *Planning Peterborough to 2031: How the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe will affect the City of Peterborough* (City of Peterborough 2009b). These attempts, on the part of the Partnership Council, demonstrate that successful immigrant planning can only come about through a sustained involvement of many stakeholders within the context of an expanded field of immigrant resettlement agents and actors. An expanded field of reference also throws into question the manner by which we understand "local" interests when external non-local funding helps create such local capacity.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has critically examined the manner by which provincial and federal governance is embodied in the local immigration partnerships funded by MCI-CIC. It demonstrates that a scalar method of understanding immigrant planning is lacking. Perhaps a non-scalar framing of multi-level governance and the manner by which local and municipal practices shape immigrant policy and practices are needed for

future research (Isin 2007). However, a practice of non-scalar representation is not an easy proposition. Notions of local, provincial and federal levels pervade academic and governmental representations of governance. Is it possible to create non-scalar representations and analyses of immigrant resettlement and coordination practices without a metaphoric use of networks and relational nodes? And from a planning and organizational perspective, in the effort to move beyond scale, can this modelling enhance and benefit immigrant planning? Non-scalar representations are not only “representations” but are tools of analysis that allow for an altered understanding of the way social governance and community social planning occur at the “local” level. As forms of representation, they are not only abstractions but are lived practices.

In the context of Peterborough’s attempts at immigrant integration and resettlement, new forms of representation have the possibility of altering, and perhaps improving, the way immigrant and population planning is conducted. Peterborough’s immigrant and resettlement groups are incorporated into governing themselves through a normative practice of a partnership council: a council mandated by MCI-CIC framework to coordinate local immigrant integration efforts. Although this chapter does not suggest that community-based advocacy becomes wholly absorbed into acceptable forms of consultative activism and governmentality through its funding, it does suggest that there is a multi-scalar interaction occurring that resists easy framing. This chapter has sought to chronicle how the collaborative work between a resettlement agency, community organizations and municipal stakeholders has helped constitute the Peterborough Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration. It has demonstrated that a process of resource building, which tries to create a critical mass to inspire, outreach and get people involved in a process of institutional creation, follows an often unclear and serpentine path. Due to its grass-roots beginning at the community level, this effort has been able to secure participation from various institutional, political and social spheres.

Although local studies and initiatives demonstrate that provincial agencies understand the need for immigrant growth, it is not always a vision shared by its municipal counterpart. In fact, the City of Peterborough’s response to the provincial growth plan evades the very question of population growth or population strategy. And there is little evidence to show that the existing local response to population decline will change without significant change in leadership or governance. As supported by Statistics Canada’s prediction of Canada’s net population only coming from inbound immigration after 2031, we can safely say that without a deliberate strategy for immigrant attraction and retention in small cities, there can be no future growth for Peterborough as its population shrinks and ages.

Strategies for future immigrant growth and localized integration can only occur when strategic plans for integration concentrate not only on instrumentally improving immigrant service provision, but on a strategy that involves integrating the community at large into a population strategy. This is similar to the welcoming communities approach. As other members of the Greater Golden Horseshoe Area benefit from immigration, it is incumbent on Peterborough—as a small city—to find new ways to exploit this resource and integrate Canada’s existing wealth of immigration.

Notes

1. The gateway cities, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, are understood as first-tier cities; second-tier cities are cities where population levels are less than 1 million but greater than 300,000; third-tier cities are populations between 300,000 and 100,000.
2. As an initiative arising from a 2005 provincial-federal agreement to co-fund integrated settlement services, which could address gaps in delivery structure, service delivery and community planning, the LIP grant programme was created in 2008 to support local collaborative and multi-stakeholder partnerships in Ontario. These partnerships were envisioned as vehicles that could help create or enhance inclusive environments for newcomers and their receiving communities alike.
3. These include the Daniel Burnham Award of the American Planning Association, the Award for Planning Excellence of the Canadian Institute of Planners and the Leonard Gertler Award for Distinction of the Ontario Professional Planners Institute.

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Part II
Identities, Belonging, and Social Networks

Chapter 5

(Mis)Givings in a Prairie City? Identity and Belonging of Filipina (Im)migrants in Lethbridge, Alberta

Glenda Tibe Bonifacio

5.1 Introduction

Migration is an experience of the self, a personal journey for those who leave their places of origin. The movement from one place to another carries with it material and subjective meanings. By material, in the context of international migration, I refer to the physical deportment of the body to another place quite different from where it was culturally nurtured and emplaced by role expectations. Materiality also indicates the change in economic conditions where one leaves behind the comfort of home, such as the availability of household help and resources. Mobility also implies change, transformation or seeming difference in its social interactions with another culture or a different social system. These changes undeniably affect one's notion of identity and belonging, even misgivings of migration.

In Canada, racialized immigrants like Filipinos become differentiated from the historically constructed 'ideal immigrants' inscribed in white bodies, particularly Anglo-Saxons. By racialized, I concur with Winant (2004, 155) as a 'racial signification' which is 'necessarily a social and historical process' in a society that constructs phenotypical characteristics of difference like race or ethnicity. Racialization is, basically, 'an exercise of power in its own right' (Garner 2010, 20) that subordinates one group over another. Arguably, the body inscribes not only gender but also race and migration status. The tradition of a white-settler society constructs non-whites, with the exception of First Nations peoples, as visible minorities in Canada. Visible minorities are essentially racialized (Epp et al. 2004; Galabuzi 2006; Johnson and Enomoto 2007; Agnew 2009) and are often viewed as 'forever immigrants' and not necessarily 'real' Canadians. For example, Sikhs and Chinese in

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G. Tibe Bonifacio, J.L. Drolet (eds.), *Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities*, International Perspectives on Migration 12,

DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-40424-0_5

Canada, despite over 100 years of immigration history, are still primarily viewed as immigrants or newcomers in daily tropes of living (Nayar 2004; Fernando 2006; Das Gupta et al. 2007; Mahmood 2009). Often, racialized immigrants are subjected to this question: where do you come from? Skin colour thus becomes the primary marker of difference; accented English is another. Filipinos in Canada are mainly documented as postwar immigrants and have become subject to racialization process in immigration policy and practice as well (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997; Coloma et al. 2012).

Filipinos in Canada appear differentiated from white Canadians based on their race and ethnicity—the two most significant indicators of ‘othering’ practices in a Western society. *Othering* is the process of ‘identifying an individual or group of people as the Other, marks them as strange, foreign, exotic, or heathen’ (Critchfield 2010, 520). *Othering* seems to be a conduit of migration in the lives of racialized immigrants and newcomers in Canada and most likely elsewhere, too. One’s physical appearance is the canvass from which ideas about a particular group are inscribed, making them objects of identity construction. A racialized person’s interaction with members of the mainstream social group affects view of oneself, meanings of identity and belonging in diaspora (Nayar 2004; Agnew 2005).

The racialized Filipina (i.e. female Filipino) immigrant or migrant worker in Canada, herein referred to collectively as (im)migrants, is part of the globalizing process since the last half of the twentieth century that intricately shapes notions of identity and experiences of belonging. I argue that the intersections of global-local forces facilitate the positioning of Filipina (im)migrants in small cities like Lethbridge where their identities as foreign worker or immigrant are visibly marked. Indeed, Filipinos have ‘visible identities’ based on their race, gender and class, among others (cf. Alcoff 2006). Filipinas in Lethbridge have multiple identities shaped by gendered labour migration from the Philippines.

In understanding Filipina migration to Lethbridge and its implications to identity and belonging in a small city, this chapter is divided into six sections. The first section outlines the data, methods and feminist approach used in this study; the second section provides a brief overview of the Lethbridge locale and demographics; the third section provides immigration overview from 1906 to 2013; the fourth section positions Filipina identities in global and local contexts with four cases of Filipina (im)migrant lives in Lethbridge to demonstrate the intersections of gender roles, labour migration and identity construction; and the fifth section examines their avenues of belonging in a small city in Alberta. A concluding section that deals with the prospect of whether to stay or leave the city, emphasizing the best the city has to offer or not—(mis)givings—wraps up this chapter.

5.2 Data, Methods and Feminist Approach

In examining Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge, I selected narrative accounts from focus group discussions in Lethbridge conducted in 2009–2010 as part of a larger research project on *Pinay* (colloquial term for Filipino women) on the prairies

supported by the University of Lethbridge. Initially, Filipinas who were immigrants and migrant workers at the time of the study were invited to participate in one of the four focus group sessions to discuss their experiences of migration, settlement and integration, particularly in how they participate in community activities. These women were recruited through snowball sampling which appears easy enough for me as Filipino temporary foreign workers (TFWs) occupied frontline servers in fast-food chains like Tim Hortons and McDonald's in Lethbridge at this time. As well, many Filipino women frequent Catholic churches during Sundays which became a good venue to find possible participants for the study. After the focus group sessions participated in by 16 Filipina (im)migrants, I selected from their narrative accounts four sample cases to highlight in this chapter.

A feminist approach to the data collection of women's stories is imperative here. This means a recognition of the power relations between the researcher and the participants and reflective practice (Naples 2003). As a Filipina, I inhabit insider/outsider status (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli 2012, 563) with my respondents, insider because I share the same ethnicity, national identity and migration experience, but this migration experience differentiates us in many ways, for example, entry into Canada—as skilled immigrants, TFWs or dependent spouses. My positionality as an academic somehow sets another difference based on class which necessitates a culturally appropriate negotiation of the research process. The focus group session, then, was conducted in an informal manner in which all participants have established rapport prior to the actual session or may have been friends or associates. One focus group session was conducted in a house of one of the participants; the rest were conducted in restaurants agreed upon by the participants. Like in any Filipino gathering, food is an essential component of the focus group sessions. The host of the house prepared native delicacies for the *salu-salo* (party), while others are free to bring any food to share, albeit not culturally expected. In the restaurant sessions, light refreshments were provided as a token of appreciation for their time to participate in the study. In all these sessions, I interacted with them as if I am one of them using a Filipino language. The four cases of Filipina (im)migrants in the next section were taken from the transcribed materials which I translated into the English language. Pseudonyms were assigned to ensure confidentiality and privacy of the selected accounts.

'Gendered geographies of power' (Mahler and Pessar 2001) provide the feminist theoretical frame to examine the varied scales or spaces simultaneously inhabited by Filipina (im)migrant in Lethbridge: home, work, community, nation, etc. In this framework, Mahler and Pessar (2001) argue that gender is a core concept in human relations and power hierarchies and intersects with race, class and other social identities and agency. The notion of 'power geometry' (Massey 1994), also referred as 'social location', suggests that conditions of modernity have particularly situated individuals, groups and people with differing 'access to and power over flows and interconnections between places' (cited in Mahler and Pessar 2001, 446)—locally, nationally and globally. Mahler and Pessar (2001) incorporate the idea of 'geographic scales' (e.g. body, family, state) (445) and social agency—both corporal and cognitive— into its theoretical frame of gendered geographies of power (447).

Agency reflects an (im)migrant's ability to negotiate limiting structures in society and is not only a consequence of so-called extra-personal factors but also by using initiative, resourcefulness and cognitive skills, for example, of imagination, planning and strategizing (447) in the course of migration and settlement. Gendered geographies of power provide a better conceptual tool in understanding how marginalized (im)migrants are particularly situated simultaneously across scales—family, community, nation and state—in which gender organizes their roles and social expectations, shape their decisions to migrate, form their identities and belonging and are affected by policies and practices in both sending and receiving states, among others. The simultaneity of spaces indicative of gendered geographies of power relates well with global-local positionings and identities of the Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge.

5.3 Lethbridge Locale

Lethbridge became an incorporated city in southern Alberta on May 9, 1906 (Alberta Municipal Affairs 2011). It is idyllically situated at the 'crossroads of four major highways' connecting the city to metropolitan Calgary in the south, the Montana (US) border in the north, the Trans-Canada Highway and Saskatchewan in the east and the Crowsnest Pass and British Columbia in the west (The Friendship Force of Lethbridge 2007). A rich natural display of the rolling coulees surrounds the city's landscape, with the University of Lethbridge constructed to fit within its natural terrain. In 2011, Lethbridge ranked 19th of the top 25 'best places to live in Canada' by *MoneySense*, captivating its locale in its website as,

A vibrant agricultural distribution centre in south Alberta, Lethbridge has a great climate, advantageous Job prospects: and is one of the fastest-growing cities in Canada. Nestled close to the Rockies, it's a city that enjoys Chinook winds with the highest average winter temperatures of all Prairie cities.

Many residents in Lethbridge find the two-hour drive to Calgary or an hour drive to the Alberta-Montana border onto the nearest city of Great Falls about 296 km convenient for best shopping deals and leisure. Lethbridge is a destination city for Aboriginal people, retirees, students, migrant workers and immigrants and transit city for tourists with numerous hotels and array of restaurants for diverse tastes. About 15,000 students from the province, across Canada and around the world come to the city to attend the University of Lethbridge and the Lethbridge College each year. These student demographics add to the 36% of the population under 25 years old in the city in 2007 (Lethbridge Public Library n.d.). As a small city, Lethbridge is uniquely positioned as the education hub south of Calgary and a dynamic economic centre with 'ready supply of industrial sites, big box stores, smaller strip malls and office towers in and around the city' (Economic Development Lethbridge 2010).

Aside from young people, Lethbridge also attracts an increasing number of retirees with 14.2% of the population as seniors in 2006 (Government of Alberta Seniors and Community Support 2011). Based on the 2006 census, there were 3455 Aboriginal population, 8645 immigrants, 5065 visible minority population and 510 non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada 2007). In 2010, the city population reached 86,659 and was the fourth largest city in Alberta based on population size (City of Lethbridge 2011). The population of the city reached 90,417 based on the municipal census in 2013 or an increase of 1.5% from the previous year; of this figure, the highest percentage increase was in West Lethbridge, where the university is located, at 3.4% (City of Lethbridge 2013). Lethbridge is thus a diverse small city in the Canadian prairies.

Lethbridge is surrounded by rural communities with thriving farmlands, feed lots and ranches. Conservatism, like the rest of Alberta, is still the prevailing ideological framework for politics, governance, social policies and practices (Caldarola 1979; Wesley 2011). Mormons and Christian groups have active presence in the city and the county of Lethbridge as well as in nearby towns, forming part of the so-called Bible Belt in Alberta. While white Christian groups visibly own the religious landscape of Lethbridge, there is a small Lethbridge Islamic Centre in 13th Street South, a newly constructed Buddhist Temple of Southern Alberta in 40th Street South, a Lethbridge Chinese Alliance Church in 6th Avenue South, a Japanese United Church in 9th Avenue North and a number of ethnic-based faith organizations like the Lethbridge Vietnamese Canadian Buddhist Congregation. A faith-based group that frequents downtown Lethbridge for shopping and socialization on Thursdays or Fridays is the Hutterites' colonies in the rural outskirts, the Anabaptist sect which follows the 'practice of complete social equality and community of goods' dressed in their sixteenth-century attire that 'set them off conspicuously from the larger society' (Palmer [1972] 1992, 39). The Low German-speaking Mennonites are another faith community in southern Alberta that are often seen in Lethbridge shopping areas.

Lethbridge celebrated its centennial in 2006 with much community fanfare. It joined the Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination (CMARD) in 2007 under the auspices of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, with a CMARD team forming a subcommittee of the Community and Social Development Committee of the City of Lethbridge Council. Lethbridge became the 24th municipality in Canada to join CMARD, which lists 58 member municipalities as of March 2013 (Alberta Human Rights Commission 2013). The existence of CMARD indicates that Lethbridge attempts to be a welcoming and inclusive community for all.

5.4 Immigration Overview

The history of Lethbridge and surrounding areas is rich in stories of migration. From 1906 to 1913, considered as the 'great years' by some residents, the city of Lethbridge experienced 'rapid growth and expansion' both in its population and the

economy (Galt Museum brochure). Like the rest of Canada at this time, the ideal immigrant was constructed as ‘white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant’ sourced out among the British, Americans and Western Europeans by the 1910 Immigration Act to ‘work on farms and factories and build the economy’ (Galt Museum n.d.). Consequently, the British, Americans and Canadians from the east moved to the area and formed the ‘elite of early Lethbridge society’ (ibid).

But fewer immigrants from ideal source countries arrived in Canada, which prompted the government to allow the entry of Eastern and Southern Europeans who were considered ‘acceptable’ by preconceived standards of racial hierarchy of whiteness. From 1903 to 1914, there was a marked increase in the migration of Ukrainians, Poles, Italians and others in continental Europe to develop Canadian farms and industries (Goutor 2007, 23). The southern Alberta coal mining industry was in need of labour, and its workers included Italians, Slovaks, Russians and ‘other European[s]’ (Davies 2002). Lethbridge was also a ‘major Hungarian centre in early Alberta’ (Kovacs 1981, 52) many of whom came to work in the coal mines and settled in the area. Eastern Europeans comprised a large community in the village of Stafford then (Crowson 2014).

Still, white Anglo-Saxons embodied the ‘national subject’ who were deemed, according to Thobani (2007, 3), ‘venerated one, exalted above all others’ upon whose ‘quintessential characteristics of the nation and the personification of its values, ethics, and civilizational mores’ rest. After the anti-Asian riot in Vancouver in September 1907, the local newspaper, *The Lethbridge Herald*, published an editorial urging the province of Alberta to follow the move of British Columbia to disenfranchise the Chinese and the Japanese, on the notion that these ‘Orientals had no right to compete with either white labour or white votes’, and further states,

We do not want people without our ideas of civilization, without our ideals of government, without our aspirations as a province and a nation to bear any part in the election of our representatives. We have enough poor stuff in the voting class now. (cited in Palmer 1992, 316)

Despite the prevailing racial discrimination against non-white immigrants during this period, some Chinese, Japanese, East Indian and African Americans arrived in southern Alberta to work in the Crowsnest Railway and the sugar beet fields (Galt Museum n.d.). Most Chinese and Japanese immigrants in prairie towns later worked in their own establishments such as laundries, restaurants, market gardens and confectionaries (Wishart 2004, 139). With the advent of World War II and the War Measures Act in Canada, Japanese Canadians were forcibly removed from their residences and detained in prisoner-of-war camps; many were sent to ‘ghost towns in the B.C. Interior, sugar beet farms in Ontario, Alberta and Manitoba’ (Ikebuchi Ketchell 2009, 21). After the war, a number stayed in the Lethbridge area. Ryutaro Nakagama opened the first Albertan Japanese food store in Lethbridge in September 1947 (Yamagishi 2010).

Lethbridge is one of the prairie cities with the ‘highest proportions of long-established immigrants’, mostly British and Europeans, who arrived in Canada before 1961 (Mulder and Korenic 2005, 153). With the change in immigration

selection policies to points system in 1962 and other changes in 1978 and 1989, immigrants to Lethbridge came from different countries around the world. About 42.7% of immigrants in Lethbridge arrived in Canada between 1971 and 1996, and they comprised 13.9% of the total population in the city in 1996 (Mulder and Krahn 2005). While the proportion of visible minority populations in Alberta is much lower than in Ontario and British Columbia, the Japanese predominate in Lethbridge with 1315 in 2006 compared to the Latin Americans (705), Chinese (920), South Asians (575), Black (410), Filipino (350), Southeast Asians (305), West Asians (200), Koreans (125) and Arabs (30) (Statistics Canada 2007). Between 2001 and 2006, the percentage of immigrants in the total population in Lethbridge remained constant at 11.8, and the 'recent immigrants' increased from 0.9 to 1.3% (Amies 2010).

According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), there were 12,420 or 12.1% foreign-born in the Lethbridge census agglomeration (CA) and 1400 or 1.4% non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada 2013). In this same survey, recent immigrants or those who arrived between 2006 and 2011 comprised 18.4% or 2290 of all immigrants in Lethbridge. The United Kingdom and Netherlands were the top source countries for all immigrants in Lethbridge with 15.9% and 12.3%, respectively (Statistics Canada 2013). In contrast, the top source countries of all immigrants in the province of Alberta were Philippines (10.8%) and India (9.2%) (Government of Alberta 2012, 2013).

Refugees now call Lethbridge home. Government-assisted refugees like the Vietnamese in the 1980s had been resettled in the area (Indra 1989). Since the Canadian government agreed to take in Bhutanese refugees in 2007, Lethbridge is one of the few target destination cities to resettle Bhutanese refugees from Nepal; more than 70 of them arrived in the summer of 2010 under the auspices of the Lethbridge Family Services (LFS)-Immigrant Services (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010; LFS 2010; Massinon 2012). As of 2014, the Bhutanese community in Lethbridge has risen to over 1000 making it the largest in Canada (Tams 2014; Zentner 2014).

Alberta is a resource-rich province with a large oil and gas economy. Demand for skilled workers for the manufacturing and service industries has made the province the destination for interprovincial migrants and temporary foreign workers (TFWs). As of December 2009, there were 816 TFWs in Lethbridge (LFS 2011). Most TFWs desire to obtain permanent residency through the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Another class of TFWs is comprised of live-in caregivers under the federally sponsored Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) who work as nannies and caregivers for the elderly and the physically challenged, majority of whom are Filipino women (Pratt 2004; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005; Bonifacio 2009). Participants or their partners in this study initially arrived as TFWs in Lethbridge.

Filipino TFWs in Lethbridge, like other TFWs, were at the centre of controversy involving foreign labour recruitment in Canada in early 2014. They mostly staff fast-food chains with alleged higher hourly rates compared to local workers (Tomlinson 2014). As racialized workers, Filipinos are quite visibly marked and identified in a small city like Lethbridge. Suspension of hiring foreign workers and

cancellation of Labour Market Opinion (LMO) in the food service industry in April 2014 became the response of the Canadian government amidst alleged abuses of the TFW programme (Goodman 2014). Many Filipino TFWs have left the city as a consequence of this suspension; they bore the brunt of public outcry against abuses of the TFW programme by Canadian employers and the failure of the federal government to effectively regulate foreign labour in the country and protection of the rights of workers, both local and foreign.

5.5 Positioning the Filipina: Local-Global Identities

How are Filipina (im)migrants positioned in a small city like Lethbridge in Alberta? Their marked presence employs a complex positioning of local-global identities, local as residents of Lethbridge yet global as part of the feminization of labour migration fostered by economic globalization (Amoloza 2007). By and large and invariably, the Philippines is a top source country for immigrants and TFWs in Canada since the 1980s. In 2001, there were 328,000 Canadians of Filipino origin or about 1.1 % of the total population in the country; of these number, 98 % were born in the Philippines (Lindsay 2001). While Vancouver and Toronto are the most favoured destinations of majority of Filipinos in Canada, the total number of Filipinos in Alberta based on the 2006 community profiles reached 51,090; of these, there were 29,285 females and 21,805 males (Statistics Canada 2007). During the same year, Filipinos in Lethbridge numbered 400, including 210 females.

The locale, Lethbridge, is part of the widespread global labour recruitment of Filipinos, particularly women. As of December 2010, there were over nine million Filipinos living outside of the Philippines: 4.42 million were permanent residents or 47 % of the total number of Filipinos overseas, 4.32 million were overseas workers with temporary resident status (45 %), and 0.70 million (8 %) were considered irregular migrants (Nicolas 2012) or those without proper documentation. The sheer number of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) makes the Philippines the largest migrant-sending country in the world (Piper 2008, 3), where about 25 % of its labour force are working abroad (Solomon 2009). However, the mobility of Filipino workers is also gendered based on occupational categories and labour demands in destination countries. Female OFWs exceed males in certain gender-specific occupations.¹ Destination countries of OFWs post highly gendered occupations such as caregivers in Canada, domestic workers in Hong Kong, entertainers in Japan, construction workers in Saudi Arabia or nurses in the United States. Wherever they may be, they form part of the *bagong bayani* (new hero) in their role of supporting the Philippine economy through billions of dollars in annual remittances (Rodriguez 2010).

Filipino migration to Lethbridge is highly gendered, too. Of the total 245 Filipinos in the city based on the 2006 census, there were 155 females and 90 males (Statistics Canada 2006). A plausible explanation of this gender imbalance is the gender-skewed LCP participated mostly by Filipino women and the gender-segregated occupation in service industries that hire them. This local reality is not

much different from the gendered Philippine labour migration: for example, females are mostly domestic workers and nurses, while males are mostly engineers and construction workers.

The following four cases (Maria, Delia, Ana and Marilou) below illustrate the individual positioning of the Filipina in local-global contexts. By global, these Filipina (im)migrants form part of the larger exodus of Filipinos out of the Philippines in search for better economic opportunities. As a developing country, the Philippines cannot provide sufficient and sustainable economic and social benefits for its over 94 million people; migration is, thus, a survival strategy (Parreñas 2002; Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2008). Gendered role expectations of men and women intrinsically tie with who migrates for work to help the family left behind (Bonifacio 2013). Colonialism, neocolonialism and attempts of modernization or export-led industrialization connect the country into the Western global loop for cheap labour, particularly women, and market for commodities and extractive resources (Licuanan-Galela 2001). Canada, Alberta or Lethbridge is part of the global link to harness the already educated young Filipino labour for its own economic advantage amidst a greying population and presumably persistent labour shortage (Spieza 2002; Knowles 2007; McMullin et al. 2008). They arrive in Canada as ready skilled labour force whose English language proficiency enables them to work immediately at entry-level jobs.

Positioning the local context rests on what are the social and economic realities in Alberta, particularly in Lethbridge, that tie in with the global trends. Filipinos provide the needed labour to sustain economic growth in the province and maintain the 'lifestyle' (i.e. middle class) of the community, with continued access to affordable goods and services. As production workers, Filipinos fill the much required labour pool and, if they are TFWs, ensure the supply of labour within a contracted period that guarantees profitability of business especially in small cities like Lethbridge. A middle-class lifestyle is arguably at the backs of racialized labour in Canada (Zaman 2006, 2012; Block and Galabuzi 2011) like those provided by the Filipinos. For example, in the absence of a national child-care programme, middle-class families with young children seem to depend on the labour of Filipinas who represent over 95% of all live-in caregivers in Canada. In Lethbridge where numerous seniors' lodging homes abound, Filipinas are the visible workforce as home-care workers or kitchen staff. Essentially, live-in care work performed by Filipinas enables Canadian women with caregiving responsibilities to hold paid employment; the exchange between them is an example of the international transfer of care work (Parreñas 2005, 2006). The expected reproductive labour of a Canadian woman seems to be shared with, if not passed on, to the shoulders of the Filipina. Both, the local Canadian woman and the Filipina (im)migrant, contribute to society, but their reproductive labour remains undervalued (Pratt 2003; Fudge 2011; England and Dyck 2012).

But, most importantly, the local context positions the Filipina as an 'outsider' in Lethbridge. The mainly white community of earlier Britons and Dutch immigrants situates the racialized Filipina as a member of a marginalized group who tends to occupy lowly paid jobs such as caregiving and minimum-waged TFWs. In popular

stereotypes, Filipina is synonymous with nanny, caregiver or domestic worker (Eric 2012). Domestic work seems ‘inscribed’ on ‘Filipina bodies’ (Pratt 1998) in which race, gender and work intersect in how they, as foreign workers, are constructed by policy and practices (Lenard and Straehle 2012). The recent backlash against TFWs in Canada (Atkinson 2013; Crawford 2013) has exacerbated the already negative perception of Filipino workers in Lethbridge as taking away Canadian jobs. In a university town like Lethbridge, many students have anecdotally complained about not finding part-time jobs to augment their income because of the practice of hiring TFWs by local businesses. The claim that TFWs are competing jobs with Canadians and should, therefore, ‘go home’ is more popularly accepted than recognizing that the contracted low wages paid to them basically maintain affordability of goods and services within a given period compared to the volatility of business with a high turnover rate of local workers, plus allegedly the better work ethic of Filipino workers (Brownell 2014; CBC News 2014; Gollom 2014).

The identity of the Filipina as an immigrant or a foreign worker in Lethbridge lies at the crux of economic globalization that connects the lived realities of coming from a developing country to the racialization of labour in a developed country like Canada. Filipina identity as an overseas worker is considered ‘heroic’ (known as *bagong bayani* or new heroes) from the perspective of the Philippine government because of their economic contribution. In contrast, a Filipina in Lethbridge appears valued, albeit temporary, only as her labour fills a particular demand in a highly gender-segmented occupation like live-in care work where no local worker is available. She is considered primarily as a foreign worker; her aspirations to become part of the community are entirely dependent on government’s approval and compliance to certain requirements (e.g. number of months of live-in work for caregivers under the LCP). Thus, TFWs are Canada’s ‘disposable workforce’ (Guy and Boti 2011) who are not expected to become permanent residents in the country.

Maria, Delia, Ana and Marilou in Lethbridge demonstrate the simultaneity of local-global identities as they inhabit multiple spaces—home, work, community, nation and state—that shape their lives. How these identities and belonging play out in a small city like Lethbridge is described in each case below and the following section.

5.5.1 Case 1: Maria

Maria is 48 years old and hails from Pampanga, a province in central Luzon in the Philippines. She was employed by a Philippine government agency for 10 years before she and her three children were sponsored by her husband, Lito, to immigrate to Canada in 2005. Lito’s salary as a mechanical engineer in an industrial firm in Pampanga cannot sustain the growing demands of his family, particularly for education and health care. He arrived in Canada as a skilled worker in 2003. After securing a permanent job in a manufacturing firm in Lethbridge, Lito decided to sponsor his family. Maria is, thus, a dependent spouse. She cares for her three young children and

has found a part-time job in a retail store. For Maria, the role of mother comes first to ensure the well-being of her children in Lethbridge, and she postponed finding full-time employment. Her daily routine is walking her two kids in a nearby elementary school in the morning, then going to her shift at work until 3:00 in the afternoon and heading home to prepare dinner for her family. The oldest child is already in junior high school and picks up the two younger siblings in the afternoon. They regularly attend Sunday mass in the morning as their time to be together and if money permits, drive to Calgary for a little shopping in factory outlets.

5.5.2 Case 2: Delia

Delia is 32 years old and works as a TFW in a fast-food chain in Lethbridge. She has a degree in business management from the Philippines and worked as a restaurant manager for 4 years in Manila before she came to Canada in 2008. Delia left behind a child in the Philippines in the care of her mother. Her husband, Pedro, works as a construction worker in Saudi Arabia. Theirs is a transnational family: Delia in Canada, Pedro in Saudi Arabia and their child in the Philippines. Because of the possibility of being able to bring her family together in Canada, Delia became a TFW whose entry-level requirement is that of a high school graduate; she is, thus, deskilled. She shares a rented room with another female TFW who works in the same fast-food company; the house is owned by her employer.

At the time of the study, Delia was already nominated by her employer for permanent residency under the Provincial Nominee Program and was waiting for the results of the application, perhaps for another year. She is scared of complaining to her employer about the non-inclusion of some overtime work in her paycheck for fear of withdrawing the nomination. Delia spends her time mostly at work; she takes on additional shift, if there is an opening, to earn enough money. She has a relative in Calgary and plans to move there when her husband and child eventually arrive in Canada. More work opportunities are possible for her husband, an engineer, in Calgary and a chance to save on housing costs by living with her relative for the meantime.

5.5.3 Case 3: Ana

Ana is 55 years old and came to Canada as a live-in caregiver in 2002. She arrived in Calgary directly from Hong Kong where she worked as a domestic worker for 9 years. Her employer met her at the airport and they drove to Lethbridge. Ana has a degree in education and worked as a casual teacher in her province in Isabela in northern Luzon, Philippines, for about 2 years before she decided to apply for work overseas. Her salary in Hong Kong as a domestic worker was five times that of her

income in the Philippines, a very attractive incentive to support her three children, parents and siblings.

Ana was already separated from her husband after the birth of her third child. The husband does not provide any financial support since their separation. She met another Filipina domestic worker in Hong Kong who was recruited to work as a live-in caregiver in Canada and made the necessary contacts to include her. In less than a year after obtaining a Labour Market Opinion (LMO) through an employment agency, she arrived in Lethbridge. In her experience, applying for a work visa to Canada from outside the Philippines seems faster.² In Canada, she attends to two children of a middle-class family; the male employer is a lawyer and the female employer works in a private firm. She takes a Saturday day-off to be with other live-in caregivers to cook and share Filipino dishes in a weekender house. Ana dreams to be reunited with her children after she completes the requirements of the Live-in Caregiver Program and saves enough money for the application fees and other expenses. She plans to file a divorce in Canada when her children finally arrive in the country. Ana intends to stay in Lethbridge because of the affordability of housing, the existence of the University of Lethbridge and the friends she has come to trust. She is prepared to work in seniors' home-care facilities which abound in the city.

5.5.4 Case 4: Marilou

Marilou is 47 years old and came to Canada as an independent skilled immigrant in 1998. She has a masters' degree in human resources administration from the Philippines and now works as an office assistant in a private firm in Lethbridge. She completed a distance education in office administration in Alberta to obtain a Canadian certificate. Marilou's foreign-obtained credentials are not recognized in Canada. While completing her online education, Marilou worked as a sales clerk in a grocery store close to her house. She now lives with her 15-year-old daughter and husband, Tito, who works in a production plant as a shift worker. Both plans to save enough to buy their first house while financially supporting their ageing parents in the Philippines. Oftentimes, most of their savings are sent to the Philippines to cover the medical expenses of their parents. Lethbridge has a lower cost of living than in Calgary and their plan seems achievable.

A normal routine for Marilou is simply home to work and vice versa from Monday to Friday. As a family, they sometimes go to Calgary to watch Filipino movies and meet up with *kababayan* (hometown folks or co-national) for the weekend. They sometimes attend Filipino social events and support fundraising drive to the Philippines, especially for typhoon survivors. Marilou, her husband and daughter are now Canadian citizens.

5.6 Avenues of Belonging

From a multiscalar perspective of gendered geographies of power, the Filipina in Lethbridge, as represented by Maria, Delia, Ana and Marilou, emphasizes multiplicity of identities intersecting global-local contexts. In spaces—home, community and nation—that they occupy, gender is intrinsically linked with avenues of belonging to make their lives in a small city productive and meaningful. As daughter, wife, mother, worker and Filipina, the gendered role expectations and feminized work trajectories facilitate the options available to them in Lethbridge. Migration status as a TFW, dependent spouse or permanent resident prescribes some limitations in engaging with others in the community. Social location (Mahler and Pessar 2001) of the Filipina (im)migrant in Lethbridge dictates their access to rights, resources, benefits and privileges. A TFW has different access to resources in Lethbridge than a permanent resident. For example, a TFW on a working permit cannot pursue an education to meet Canadian qualifications compared to a permanent resident or citizen. ‘Power geometry’ thus operates in this case where Filipina (im)migrants are situated differently and with varied capacities to utilize these resources.

To belong is an innate human endeavour, and the capacities of racialized Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge to find avenues or spaces of belonging indicate their agency. Agency points to how these Filipinas exercise power in dealing with challenges at home, at work and in the wider community to make sense of who they are, similar to what Mahler and Pessar (2001, 446) calls ‘exerting power over these forces and processes as well as being affected by them’. While there are many possibilities to explore this, I will focus on three areas— home, work and the community—in Lethbridge. These areas purport to be sites to explore the interplay of multiple identities and belonging gleaned from the narratives of Maria, Delia, Ana and Marilou.

5.6.1 *Home*

Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge, like other migrants, have a ‘complicated relationship with home’ (Ralph and Staeheli 2011, 517). Where is home? This is the apparent question that resonates among (im)migrants. Is home far away, a location left behind upon migration? Or is home where they are now, in a strange place? I argue that home is both, a transnational space of mooring where comfort and familiarity are found and created. Maria, Delia, Ana and Marilou have homes, or an ‘imagined’ home (cf. Anderson 1991), in Canada and the Philippines. They desire to be simultaneously a part of both homes: here and there. To remain attached to the family left behind in the Philippines through remittances and aspiration to be reunited with them in Canada are obvious manifestations of identity and belonging to a home in a global-local context. Ralph and Staeheli (2011, 518) conceptualize

homes as ‘locations, as relationships, as simultaneously fixed and fluid’. Hence, home is ‘as sedentarist and as mobile’ (ibid.) that form part of subjective belonging for (im)migrants.

Drawing from the cases of Delia and Ana, both TFWs, the original loci of their homes are in the Philippines. But both imagined a home with their family in Lethbridge or Calgary upon eligibility and completion of their respective requirements for permanent residency. Delia has already shown initiative and resourcefulness in preparing for eventual family reunification by getting extra work shifts to earn more money. Her cognitive skills include strategizing which place in Alberta could offer the best employment opportunities for her engineer husband’ and this time, it is Calgary. In contrast, Ana intends to stay in Lethbridge once reunification with her children is successful. For Ana, the imagined home in Lethbridge is without her husband. But Ana employs similar cognitive skills in her plan to still include her husband to ensure the successful exit of her children from the Philippines because any underaged children travelling outside the Philippines require parental consent.

Lethbridge, a small city, enables Marilou to meet the demands of both homes, one in the Philippines with an ageing parents and one in Canada. With lower costs of living and less areas to spend money compared to Calgary, Marilou and her husband can save a little for their first house in Lethbridge and still be able to send money to the Philippines. Maintaining relationships of homes across borders is important for Marilou and Tito to sustain the bonds and expectations of a daughter and a son to elderly parents.

Maria and Marilou, both permanent residents, are happy to have their family in Lethbridge. But home is also a site for reproducing gendered role expectations as Filipino mothers, mainly responsible for the care of children. They are outside the cultural borders of the Philippines, yet they embody the tropes of what is to be a good mother (Parreñas 2001; Bonifacio 2013), whose family responsibilities are primary and career aspirations secondary. Living in Lethbridge allows Maria to manage well her reproductive and productive roles: walking kids to school and going to work with ease unburdened by traffic.

5.6.2 *Work*

Work per se has multiple meanings and attachment (Neff 2006; Roessler 2012; Antunes 2013). For (im)migrants, work is more than a way to earn a living although it may be the foremost meaning of work upon arrival in a new country. Since identity is a product of a social process (Jenkins 2004), work facilitates identity construction and ways of belonging. Filipinos are visibly marked as TFWs both in the public and private domains, that is, as frontline service staff of fast-food stores or live-in caregivers; thus, their identity is mainly work based and racialized. The economic niche that Filipinos inhabit in Lethbridge creates a public identity of a subordinated working group. Following the idea of ‘power geometry’ (Massey 1994),

Filipina (im)migrant workers in Lethbridge provide much needed labour in the service industry but have less or no access to grievance mechanisms of labour laws in effect in Alberta. As bonded labour tied to a specific employer for the duration of their working permit, Filipina TFWs like Delia are scared of filing any complaints for fear of deportation. Under the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) for which some TFWs are promised a path of permanent residency, employers hold the key to their dreams; in the meantime, getting redress for violation of working conditions is set aside.

Survival jobs (Kelly et al. 2009) define initial workplace identity of Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge. But Marilou defies the categorization of low-skilled worker and exercised her initiative to enrol in an online course to obtain Canadian certification. She balanced work and studies by demonstrating smart use of resources, working close to home so she can spend time with her online studies. Marilou now belongs to another category of workplace identity: professional. However, Filipino professionals in Lethbridge and elsewhere in Canada have not attracted much scholarly attention so far, generally, only about studies about them when deprofessionalized from nurses to caregivers or nannies.

Belonging at work spans more than hierarchy of workers; it offers a vision of class. Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge form part of the ‘new heroes’ nationalist paradigm of the Philippines where they sort of enjoy certain benefits as *balikbayans* (returnees). The high Canadian dollar value to Philippine peso provides them better financial stretch to sustain themselves in Lethbridge and send money to the Philippines. In the local-global interface, work accords an identity of middle-classness in the Philippines (i.e. buy house and car) where hardwork in Canada is the key. Living in Lethbridge with few huge shopping malls like those found in Calgary or Edmonton makes them more prone to saving and, thus, have more disposable income to purchase material necessities.

5.6.3 Community

Community implies ‘relationships between a group of people, usually in a certain locale’ and ‘share some common goals, values, and perhaps a way of life that reinforce each other, creates positive feelings, and results in a degree of mutual commitment and responsibility’ (Bruhn 2005, 11). I apply this broad conceptualization of community in exploring ways of belonging of Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge based on three measures: Canadian citizenship, ethnic group affiliation and religion.

Citizenship offers equal access to rights, benefits and privileges. Becoming a Canadian or naturalized citizen presumably enables immigrants equal opportunities with the native-born. But lived experiences of racism and discrimination tell otherwise. Acquiring citizenship rights, however, does not guarantee equal protection and privileges for racialized immigrants. Among the four cases of Filipina (im)migrants, only Marilou and her family were Canadian citizens at the time of the study. Delia and Ana expressed enthusiasm to become Canadian citizens after they

become eligible for permanent residency. Maria and her family have yet to apply during the focus group study. The favourable uptake of Canadian citizenship is reflective of the general trend among first-generation Filipino immigrants in Australia and Canada (Bonifacio 2003, 2013). The important values attached to Canadian citizenship are ease of travel as holders of Canadian passport with no need to acquire visa to many countries like the United States; right to vote; and guaranteed social and legal protection of the Canadian government, including divorce. For them, obtaining a Canadian citizenship indicates a symbolic completion of migration journey and integration in their adopted country. While this vision appears simplistic, it is without doubt in cognizance of the complex challenges they face as racialized immigrants to have such status.

Filipinos belong to a collectivist culture (Tolentino 2004) where belonging to a clan or group is an integral aspect of their lives. Filipinos generally seek out social networks of friends, associates or referrals identified while still outside of Canada. These networks become their first point of contact for information upon arrival in Canada and seemingly not the immigrant-serving agencies in the area (Bonifacio 2008). Marilou and her family visit Philippine hometown friends or *kababayan* in Calgary and attend social events organized by Filipino organizations in Lethbridge. They also participate in fundraising events to help disaster-affected areas in the Philippines whenever possible. I surmise from Marilou's narrative that she supports these events in Lethbridge, even when organized by non-Filipino groups.

Religion is another avenue where Filipina (im)migrants find space to belong. Many Filipina (im)migrants in Lethbridge embrace Catholicism, the dominant faith in the Philippines. Attending Sunday mass service is a regular activity of Maria and her family. According to Tulud Cruz (2006, 9), 'faith is significantly woven in migrant [Filipino] women's lives' and connects with how they resist and negotiate oppressive practices in host countries. Deep religiosity of Filipinos in diaspora has been observed in a number of studies (Fresnoza-Flot 2010; Langman et al. 2014; Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri 2014). With the presence of Catholic and other Christian churches, Lethbridge appears to be an ideal community to practice their faith. TFWs like Delia and Ana observably even volunteer as altar servers or members of lay ministries alongside permanent residents. Somehow their active participation in religious life makes their 'invisibility' becomes visible (cf. Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri 2014). Anecdotal evidence suggests that churches in Lethbridge have become busier with the presence of Filipino (im)migrant attendees.

Membership in an ethnic community and participation in religious life not only foster belonging for Filipina (im)migrants but also reproduce gender role expectations and social control (Fresnoza-Flot 2010; Bonifacio 2013). Women are the bearers of culture (Yuval-Davis 1980; Rasmussen 2000) and, through their actions and behaviours, transmit desired cultural values to their children and the wider ethnic community. Cultural values retain their importance with people who share similar ways of life prior to migration. Observance of ethnic practices with *kababayan* produces cultural bonds among members. In a small city like Lethbridge, these bonds appear stronger with a similarly small ethnic community like the Filipinos. Participation in public events like heritage days symbolizes being one with the com-

munity in sharing a part of their culture through, for example, food consumption and cultural shows.

As member of CMARD, Lethbridge aspires to be a welcoming community. According to Bob Tarleck, former mayor of the city, ‘[...] People here are hard-working, highly educated, and accepting of cultural and ethnic differences’ (Community and Social Development Committee of Council [CSD] 2008). It prepared a social policy of inclusion in *Towards a Brighter Future: A Framework for Social Policy and the Priorities for 2009–11* in 2008, which states the vision of Lethbridge as a ‘city in which all individuals, families and communities have opportunities for healthy development leading to social well-being’ (CSD 2008, 2). Further in *A Welcoming and Inclusive Lethbridge: The Community Action Plan 2011–2012*, Lethbridge embarks on a decade-long ‘strategy of combatting racism and all forms of discrimination and championing equity and respect for all’ (CMARD Team Lethbridge 2011, 4). Indeed, the city government of Lethbridge envisions an inclusive community where all individuals from diverse groups, broadly conceived, can find a place to belong and call Lethbridge home—like Filipina (im)migrants.

5.7 Prospects: To Stay or to Leave?

Lethbridge is a small city in Alberta, mainly a university town where education is the main sector of the local economy. There are opportunities as well as challenges in living in this area close to the main metropolitan city, Calgary. The usual question among (im)migrants like the Filipina in this study is whether to leave or stay in Lethbridge for good. The qualifier ‘for good’ is surely very uncertain. Most of them are open to intra- or interprovincial mobility depending on the circumstances, particularly the lure of more economic opportunities in Calgary and elsewhere. But for Ana, Lethbridge offers the best place for her children with the proximity of the University of Lethbridge or the Lethbridge College, affordable housing options compared to Calgary, community of friends and economic prospects in the home-care industry. Similarly, Marilou intends to stay in Lethbridge because of its lower cost of living compared to Calgary and the capacity to send more money to ageing parents in the Philippines.

Belonging is a subjective goal that changes parameters through the years. Home, work and community are notable spaces to belong and nurture identities that remain fluid in time. Filipina (im)migrants, demonstrated in the lives of Maria, Delia, Ana and Marilou, have found certain niches of belonging in the complex layered global-local interface and carve a place to call their own—for now in Lethbridge.

Notes

1. Female OFWs were numerous in the following categories in the 2010 deployment of new hires: clerical and related workers (5514) and service workers (135,168). Of these service workers, there were 8750 caregivers and caretakers and 94,880 domestic helpers and related household workers deployed in 2010 (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration [POEA] 2010). Male OFWs comprised the largest group in the following categories in the 2010 deployment of new hires: administrative and managerial (590); agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry and fishery (1047); production, transport equipment operators and labourers (97,631); professional technical (24,470); and sales (3744) (POEA 2010).
2. According to the accounts of focus group participants for this study, it takes about 2 years or more to be issued a visa to Canada from the Philippines. In Hong Kong, for example, it could take 3–6 months.

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Chapter 6

Conflict and Negotiation: Transnational Ties and Competing Identities of Chinese Immigrants in Kamloops, British Columbia

Yaying Zhang

In his book, *Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues*, Li (2002) surveys studies on immigrant integration in Canada and finds that much of the research effort on the integration of immigrants in this country focuses on the process of assimilation, with the implicit assumption that immigrants' conformity to the social and cultural values and practices of native-born Canadians represents "successful" integration. Li asserts that these studies frequently measure how immigrants change in accordance to the benchmarks established by native-born Canadians. As such, the study of immigrants' "successful" adjustment is based on the "expectation of immigrants becoming similar to native-born Canadians, and rarely on the understanding that Canadian society and its social institutions also need to accommodate to immigrants and their needs" (Li 2002, 52). The ideological bias of this approach is clear: immigrants who adhere to their linguistic, social and cultural patterns have yet to conform to the behavioural standards of native-born Canadians in order to integrate into Canadian society. Thus, despite the definition of integration in official discourse as a two-way street that requires the accommodation and adaptation on the part of immigrants as well as Canadian society, "it is immigrants and not Canadian society or institutions that are seen as needing to change" (Li 2002, 52).

In the last decade or so, there has been a gradual shift in focus in research on immigrant integration in Canada. Assimilation to the host society is no longer seen as the only foreseeable or desired end result. Researchers note that the assimilationist model is significantly limited in view of the fact that current immigration and settlement patterns are deviating from the traditional ways in which previous immigrant groups have been, or have been perceived to be, incorporated in Canada (Wong 2002; Satzewich and Wong 2006; Mahalingam 2006). Although assimilation may have been conceptualized as a linear process at one time, recently, many

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researchers are now addressing the notion of a more complex and globalized form of immigrant adaptation and integration (Hiebert and Ley 2006; Wayland 2006; Kobayashi and Preston 2007;¹ Waters 2009). A highly salient concept emanating from this discourse is transnationalism or transnational ties. Transnationalism refers to practices or activities that necessarily require regular social contacts over time across national borders and cultures. It involves “the creation of new identities that incorporate cultural references from both the place of origin and the place of residence” (Wayland 2006, 18). Although transnational practices have always occurred, even among the earliest waves of immigrants, recent technological advances around the globe facilitate the movement of people, practices and ideas between nation-states, thereby making transnationalism more visible than ever before.

A number of scholars observe that recent immigrants retain extensive ties to their home countries while attempting to settle and develop in the host societies. While most of the previous studies with transnationalism as their focus placed emphasis on the social, political and economic dimensions of transnationalism (Mahalingam 2006; Satzewich and Wong 2006; Jones 2008), not much attention has been paid to immigrants’ identities as a function of transnational ties. In this chapter, I will examine how Chinese immigrants in a small city in western Canada negotiate their social positioning and construct multiple identities as they are exposed to dual world-views, cultural practices and beliefs and as they make decisions and develop subjectivities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to both Canada and China. The premise of this study is that immigrant identities are flexible, are subject to multiple influences and interpretations and are not something that can be easily abandoned or adopted, as assumed in the traditional assimilationist model. This premise corresponds to Hall’s (1990) hypothesis that because of globalization, immigration and increased travel, national and cultural borders have become fluid, forcing the deconstruction of hegemonic coherent identities in modern societies. For example, national citizenship, once seen as an important step on the path to greater integration in the host society and an important source of identity for newly naturalized immigrants, is now perceived as “flexible” by a new generation of “hyper-mobile” immigrants (Ong 1999). Consequently, in relation to contemporary globalization and the transgressing of national boundaries, citizenship appears to have lost much of its original meaning, particularly in terms of the feelings of belonging, loyalty and responsibility that it is supposed to evoke among newly naturalized immigrants.

6.1 Background and Methods

This chapter focuses on the experiences of Chinese immigrants in Kamloops, British Columbia. Kamloops is located in the southern interior of British Columbia in the Thompson-Nicola region, about four hours northeast of Vancouver on the Trans-Canada Highway. As a small city in a relatively remote and underpopulated region of the province, Kamloops has a relatively small population and a much

smaller immigrant population. According to the 2006 census, the total population in Kamloops was 80,376, while the total immigrant population was 8496 or about 10% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2007). Of the total immigrant population, only 290 came from the People's Republic of China. Sixty-five of them were classified as "very recent immigrants", i.e. they settled in Kamloops during the 5-year period between January 2001 and May 2006 (BC Stats for Immigration Partnerships & Initiatives 2007). The same census showed that the total population in Vancouver, a city in the Greater Vancouver Regional District, was 578,041, and its immigrant population was 260,760, about 45% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2007). Of the 68,045 immigrants who came from China, 15,675 settled in Vancouver between January 2006 and May 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013). Compared with the Chinese immigrant population in the metropolitan city of Vancouver, Chinese immigrants in Kamloops constitute only a small fraction of the total population in the city. One can expect that although Chinese immigrants in Kamloops may share some commonalities with those in Vancouver, they have their distinct stories to tell in the context of a small city.

As a city that housed one of the earliest Chinatowns in North America, Kamloops is an ideal site to understand the challenges of integration for Chinese immigrants in Canada. The Chinese history in Kamloops dates back to the Gold Rush era in the 1850s and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s, when Chinese immigrants were victims of overt racism in a white settler society.² A study of the construction of multiple identities of Chinese immigrants in Kamloops at the beginning of the twenty-first century not only shows how the position of Chinese immigrants has changed from the past but also reveals many vestiges of the old racist ideology that remain in our public consciousness, social structures and institutions. Today Chinese immigrants experience parallel challenges faced by earlier Chinese immigrants who came to Canada for a better future, but found themselves confronted with unequal access to employment, limited chances for social mobility, marginalized and with inadequate opportunity to integrate into the Canadian society.

This chapter is qualitative in nature. Since qualitative research methods come closer to the complexities of the research participants' lived experiences, they allow me to seek traces of the multiple identities they construct as they negotiate cultural practices and beliefs that are informed by their experiences in both China and Canada. I conducted qualitative interviews with recent immigrants from China who had resided in Kamloops for at least 3–5 years. Immigrant participants were recruited through the Kamloops Chinese Cultural Association. Directors of the association contacted recent Chinese immigrants through their contact lists to inform them of the purpose and requirements of the study and to invite their participation. A total of 14 immigrants expressed interest to participate in the study. I limited my selection based on the diversity the respondents offered, in terms of their gender, age, regional backgrounds and years of stay in Canada. For example, I avoided having more than two participants from the same geographical region. I believed that the more diverse their backgrounds, the more I would learn about the spectrum of their perspectives and experiences. As well, in choosing the participants,

I looked for immigrants who were not only willing to take part in the study, but ones who were, based on my experiences with them, open and willing to explore their transnational experiences and multiple identities.

At the end of the recruitment, I was able to work with a sample of five male and five female Chinese immigrants. All the participants gave informed consent and were assured that their names and the information they provided would be kept in confidence, their anonymity protected through the use of pseudonyms. They all had received post-secondary education in China. Four of the participants were from the so-called astronaut families—or transnational families—caused by migrations related to the search for work for adults, and education for children, and are characterized by separation and reunification of different members of the family unit over time (Hiebert and Ley 2006, 74). All these immigrants had kept regular contact with their families and/or relatives in China. Unlike Chinese immigrants in previous times, these immigrants could indulge in more frequent and longer contact with loved ones left in China, thanks to rapid transformations in transportation technologies as well as communication technologies such as the Internet and telephone.

I had two interview sessions, each lasting an hour and a half, with the research participants, who were interviewed individually, in a local park or the participant's home. Before the interviews, I asked them if they would let me use a tape recorder, but they expressed discomfort at speaking in the presence of a machine that was "eavesdropping". Considering the cultural and political background the Chinese immigrants had come from, I understood very well their concern and readily gave up the idea of a tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin, in a semi-structured manner, with open-ended questions followed by more specific questions based on the participants' own responses. That is, although the wording of most questions was formulated in advance to ensure coverage of the same general topics across the various interviews, many responses were followed up with impromptu probes. Thus, while the interviews were standardized to some extent, the format allowed for considerable flexibility and conversational give and take. I took extensive notes during the interviews. I later translated these notes into English, collated and analysed for thematic issues. The interviews covered five general areas: (1) memories and experiences with Chinese culture before immigration, (2) current lifestyle and life story, (3) sense of self and ethnic identity, (4) experiences with racism and discrimination, and (5) attitudes towards the future. In addition to the interviews, I had many opportunities to interact with and observe the activities of Chinese immigrants in Kamloops, including the research participants. I often took part in events organized by the Kamloops Chinese Cultural Association of which most of my participants were members. As much as possible, I remained attuned to the way they spoke about Canada, their life in this country and their feelings towards their home country. Although these activities were not used as primary data sources, participant observation complemented and enriched the information provided by the interviews, giving additional insights to my interpretation of the primary data. The role of an insider researcher somehow informed the research process.

In examining how Chinese immigrants construct multiple identities drawing from their transnational experiences and the personal meanings and salience they

attach to their identities, I have divided this chapter into three main themes: (1) emerging awareness of Chinese ethnic identity, (2) development of a new Westernized identity, and (3) ethnic identity as a response to racism. The following discussion resounds with voices of Chinese immigrants about their experiences of (re)positioning themselves in a small city in western Canada. I use the concept of “(re)positioning” in the sense that it highlights the dynamic aspects of the various kinds of encounters that Chinese immigrants are engaged with. “(Re)positioning” also carries the connotation that subjectivity is socially and culturally constructed and that an individual’s identity is a complex interweaving of positionings rather than a unitary, coherent social identity (Zhang 2006, 43–44).

6.2 Self-Identification and Emergence of Chinese Ethnic Identity

As Oyserman (2007) suggests, the concept of self often differs across cultural boundaries since cultural experience conditions the self as much as it conditions values, ways of thinking and social relations. It functions to “organize past and present experience illuminate one’s future possibilities, sustain motivation and control behaviour in pursuit of the selves one might become” (Oyserman 2007, 432). In their migration from China to Canada, immigrants may undergo self-modification due to a series of changes in socioeconomic system, in cultural practices and in individual lifestyles, and this kind of modification is by no means a one-time action but is achieved gradually during the process of their adaptation to the new society. It is in this new social environment that immigrants’ sense of self is redefined to fit the new circumstances and modify cultural values. Since immigrants are exposed to dual worldviews, cultural practices and beliefs, their home culture or host culture alone may not be sufficient to help us understand the cultural identity of immigrants. To demonstrate how Chinese immigrants’ sense of self has been modified in the Canadian context, it is useful to examine how they viewed themselves while in China.

Chinese notions of the self have been influenced to a great extent by Confucianism, which views individuals as social relational beings whose identities are associated with, and perhaps inseparable from, one’s family and social roles (Tu 1985; Tian 1999). Despite the vast and dramatic changes in China’s political and socioeconomic conditions in the last 60 years, individuals still tend to be defined by reference to their social relations and functions, i.e. by relation to significant others (particularly other family members), to their occupation and to their place of birth. Independence from family or social relationship networks is rarely observed.

Lin was a high school teacher in China before she and her daughter settled down in Kamloops 4 years ago. Her main reason for immigration was so that her daughter could receive education in the public school system in Canada with the hope of being accepted into a good Canadian university afterwards. Her husband is still in

China, reluctant to give up his well-paid and respectable position in the Chinese government. Lin and her daughter travel back to China every summer to stay for 2 months, and her husband comes to Kamloops every winter around Christmas to stay for a month. So the three spend 3 months together yearly as a family, a situation which typifies an “astronaut” family. Lin described the meaning of family to her:

Family is very important to me, not just as an actual unit consisting of family members, but as a concept and an ideal. My values, such as to take education seriously, to respect the older generation, and to always do things that reflect favourably on you and your family members, have been passed down to me from my parents, who received those values from their parents. I always considered myself an important member of my family—that’s how I viewed myself in China.³

Occupation was another important reference in Chinese immigrants’ construction of their identities when they were in China. Some said that their occupation determined how they should interact with others in their everyday affairs. Yuan, who was a doctor in China, related the difficulties she had while in China in distinguishing her personal identity from her social role as a doctor:

In China, I didn’t really know about myself. Everything I did was observed and monitored publicly by my supervisors and colleagues. At work, I felt I must speak and act according to the behavioural standards for a doctor. Even at home, I had to be very careful because all my neighbours knew I was a doctor. You asked me how I thought about myself in China, the only thing I could tell you is that I didn’t have a self which I could call my own essence. I’m not saying that I didn’t have an essence, but for most of the time, it was suppressed.

While in China, Yuan perceived herself as an individual whose identity was so tied up with her social role as a doctor even at home. Although she wanted to act as she pleased, she was unable to do so because of social constraints. As a consequence, while her sense of the self as an individual was vague, her notion of the self as a social being was clear.

Self-identity is a vague concept among the Chinese people. Chinese immigrants have difficulty describing their own identity because most Chinese do not have very clearly defined notions of the individual self. One’s identity is mostly associated with family, occupation and other social functions. It is not surprising then that the Chinese selected birth place as the most important source of identity besides family and occupation. As Tian (1999, 171–74) observes in his study of Chinese immigrants in Toronto, the traditional Chinese notion of *gen* (roots), used to designate one’s birth place, ancestral village or nativity, remains a vital source from which many, if not most, Chinese derive their personal identities. Chinese see regional identities as innate to a person’s identity—i.e. “one does not have to do anything to become Beijngnese or Shanghainese but is born that way” (Tian 1999, 171).

The factors of family, occupation and birth place are significant to the extent that they provide Chinese immigrants with a set of “objective” markers from which they constructed themselves in China. Personal identity was not something that was particularly important to them when they were in China. In migrating to Canada, the Chinese moved from a world in which individual identity was not a central concern to one in which they were pressed with increasing force to adopt a particular concept of personhood, as bearers of individual identities, and of identity as a member

of a collective or community, rather than of a family, which was quite at odds with their previous understandings of themselves and their needs. For most Chinese immigrants, it was not until they left China to live in Canada that their self-identity became an issue. No longer part of their familiar social relationship networks, they began to be aware of their Chinese ethnic identity. As Tian (1999, 174–80) argues, one of the greatest changes for Chinese immigrants' self-identification from China to Canada is the emergence of the awareness of their Chinese ethnicity which in turn plays an important role in their interaction with others in the Canadian context.

For Wei, who had his own business in China and now resides in Kamloops with his wife and son, the perceived differences between himself and others in China were based on family background, education, occupation, place of birth, etc. In Canada, however, he quickly recognized the differences between Chinese and non-Chinese people physically and culturally. Moreover, his sense of being Chinese became stronger the more he interacted with non-Chinese, and that sense of difference helped form his primary identity in Canada:

People see me as a Chinese. Everything else about me—where I come from in China, what I did there, who are my family members—seemed to be of little importance here in Kamloops.

Like other Chinese immigrants, Wei became more aware of his “Chinese” status upon migrating to Canada. In fact, they were even more aware of their Chinese identity than the Chinese in China (Tian 1999). Dong, who was an engineer in China but now works in a local fast-food restaurant, was rather articulate on this point:

When I was in China, I was the same as everybody else. I was “invisible.” Like everybody else, I didn't consider too much my Chinese background. Of course I knew I was Chinese, but you don't consciously think about it. I was never considered a minority or outsider. Even when I travelled to different cities where people spoke a different dialect, I didn't think I was too much different from the local people or treated differently. But it's completely different here. I have become a “visible minority.”

The perceived differences between Chinese immigrants and local white residents facilitate not only an intense feeling of Chinese identity but also a way of coping as immigrants, especially at the initial stage of immigration. It is a well-documented phenomenon that new immigrants often obtain help from groups who share a common ethnicity with them (Mahalingam 2006; Satzewich and Wong 2006). Arriving with little knowledge about Canadian society, poor English skills and little experience working in an unfamiliar labour market and facing uncertainty as to their future in Canada, many newly arrived immigrants have to seek assistance from the existing ethnic community, which provides a vital source of information, recreation, jobs, neighbours and basic goods and services for them. One way many Chinese immigrants cope is by identifying themselves as “ethnically” Chinese because doing so allows them to draw upon resources in the local Chinese community. For example, Jingping, who was a government employee in China but is currently unemployed, identified herself as Chinese because the support she received from the local Chinese community gave her a sense of affinity with other Chinese:

I'm very grateful for the support I received from my Chinese friends in Kamloops when our family first arrived. We chose to come to Kamloops because we wanted our son to attend Thompson Rivers University. None of us spoke English well at the time. Our friends at the Kamloops Chinese Cultural Association helped us find an apartment to rent, helped us open bank accounts, and install phone and internet services. I can't imagine how we could have survived without this crucial support.

Most of my participants believe that the existing Chinese community is helpful in terms of providing them with information, entertainment and a familiar social environment. Clearly, the existing Chinese community in Kamloops, similar to those in metropolitan centres (Wong 2002; Hiebert and Ley 2006), plays an important role for new Chinese immigrants to get social support, serving as the starting point for their adaptation to the Canadian society. It is possible that in comparison to immigrants in large urban centres, Chinese immigrants in a small city such as Kamloops are more likely to seek and receive support because the smaller Chinese ethnic community in the city may provide a stronger sense of "togetherness".

As mentioned earlier, occupation is another source of identity among the Chinese, but this changed when they migrated to Canada. The Chinese immigrants in this study held varied occupations in China such as government official, doctor, high school teacher, business owner and engineer. Most Chinese would consider these occupations as good jobs, particularly in a country where the majority of the total population is made up of peasants. At the time of this research, none of the immigrants had been able to find a job in Canada that was comparable to what they had in China. It is not surprising then that for these immigrants, becoming Canadian citizens was not necessarily the final goal of migration. Educated and economically savvy and acting as members of a larger international network of migratory population, several immigrants travel frequently between Canada and China for business purposes and family reunions. Although Kamloops is a small city, it is often considered the transportation hub of British Columbia's southern interior. Its highway connections as well as pan-Western and international air service make it convenient for Chinese immigrants to undertake international travels. These experiences help Chinese immigrants retain a collective feeling, vision and love for their home country. The more they maintain close connections with their families, friends and business partners in China, the less desire they have for becoming long-time residents of Canada. Wei had a clear plan for his life:

My wife and I have immigrated to Canada for the education of our son. Once our son has graduated from university, we will go back to China. We still have connections there that will help us locate good jobs. We hope our son will find a job in a transnational company so that he can often fly back to China to visit us.

In addition to travel between the two countries, Chinese immigrants have access to the telephone and Internet which make it easier to maintain connections with their families, relatives and business partners in China. While such transnational ties help them to maintain cultural and social links with China, they can also make them view their ethnic identity more positively. Fang, a manager of a small company in China who now works as a chambermaid in a local hotel, plans to return to China to

join her husband when her daughter finishes high school in Kamloops. She describes how she spent her leisure time:

In my spare time, I'm almost always on the internet or on the phone. I read Chinese news, watch Chinese movies. I talk with my husband and friends in China. This constant communication is deeply satisfying to me. My knowledge of Chinese culture and current events makes me feel proud to be a Chinese in Canada. Another reason I keep constant contact with China is that I don't want to feel like a stranger when I go back to China to live again in a few years.

Fang's experience suggests that, to some extent, immigrants can construct and live in "imagined communities" (Anderson 1983), which cross geographic, cultural and political borders. The transnational experience of immigrants also forces them to rethink their assumptions about their culture and identity. Such rethinking profoundly influences their need to "imagine" or "project" an idealized ethnic identity in order to assert, negotiate and make sense of their social positioning.

6.3 Identification with Canada: Development of a Westernized Identity

Upon settling in Canada, immigrants are apt to experience changes in the way they see and identify themselves. The degree of change is influenced by the extent to which immigrants can reflect on their own positions and their encounters with others in the host society, as well as the extent to which they maintain transnational ties with their home country. In this section, I discuss how Chinese immigrants in Kamloops increasingly begin to identify themselves as individuals, as they develop their new "Westernized" selves.

The process of self-identification refers to how individuals identify themselves or search for their identities in and through their interactions with others. According to Oyserman (2007), one's identity can be both stable and fluid. "Fluidity is experienced both as open potential—allowing one to believe in one's ability to grow, improve, and change—and as the result of automatic responsivity to situational cues" (Oyserman 2007, 432). To search for an identity, thus, involves situating oneself within social relationships or situational cues. In other words, self-identification is a process influenced and maintained through actual or imagined interpersonal agreements on what the self is like and is a process constituted by various transactions between individuals and the society.

For Chinese immigrants, coming from socialist collectivist China to capitalist individualistic Canada, the concept of self is bound to undergo dramatic changes. These changes, in fact, may heighten immigrants' sensitivity to or awareness of how their personal identities are influenced by their circumstances. In the process of establishing "proper" relationships between themselves and the larger Canadian society, they acknowledge the influence of Canadian values. They agree that there are many benefits linked to identifying with Canada and building a new life here.

Wanyan, who is now in the process of applying for citizenship, commented: “Of course, I’d like to adopt Canadian ways and values. That is why I came to Canada. It is the country of my choice.”

The perceived Canadian values that Chinese immigrants consider significant are notions of personal privacy, inner experience and individuality. Native-born Canadians tend, unlike the Chinese, to be more individualistic and more concerned with realizing personal interests and development. Canadians, in turn, are perceived to be less accommodating to family and community values than Chinese and more apt to strive for high degrees of self-reliance and independence. Like some of the research participants in Waters’ (2009) study,⁴ the longer Chinese immigrants in Kamloops have lived in Canada, the more “Westernized” or “Canadianized” they perceive themselves to become. Lin, Hui and Wenxin were most articulate on this point:

I find that in Canada I don’t have a familiar social relationship network to rely on any more, as I did in China. I’m on my own and must learn to be independent in this country. I’m in my mid-40s now, but perhaps what I’m learning to do is what most Canadians learnt in their late teens or early 20s. (Lin)

My identity was never an issue in China. I was taught to put collective interests before my personal interests, to study hard and to serve the country. The Confucian tradition taught me to be humble and obedient to elders and authorities. I never stopped and asked who I was. But here in Canada, I can’t find any traces of my past. I have to start over again. Although it feels terrible sometimes, I can feel my sense of self awakening in me. It’s terrifying but also liberating. (Hui)

In China, I often felt engulfed by the complex *guanxiwang* (social relationship network). I did not have time or space to reflect on who I was. I was just drifting with the flow. Sometimes, I felt as if I was drowning. Since I came to Kamloops, however, I’ve had lots of quiet time to sort through the various entanglements I had been caught up with over there, and in the process, I see myself more and more clearly. Some say that immigrants live on the edge of society, caught between two worlds. But for me, this is a priceless space of privilege. Removed from both my old country and the new one, I feel more acutely aware of my own presence. (Wenxin)

Heightened self-awareness relates to the fact that most of the Chinese immigrants in this study came to Canada without extended families. As suggested earlier, the traditional Chinese self is closely associated with one’s primary group, i.e. the individual self is always positioned in relation to other family members, especially one’s parents. However, in leaving their extended families and relatives behind, Chinese immigrants began to realize their selves as existing independently from their family in China. As soon as Lin arrived in Canada, she realized that she was no longer herself in China where family support was readily available. Her situation in Kamloops forced her to realize that although she was still her mother’s daughter, her husband’s wife and her daughter’s mother, she had to learn to be more self-reliant. The reality of her situation in Kamloops, in turn, forced Lin, as it did others, to re-evaluate the way she thought about herself, i.e. she began to think of herself as being more independent (Waters 2009).

That privacy is highly valued in the West has had great influence on Chinese immigrants’ self-awareness and self-concept. Fang claimed that her first visit to her doctor’s office in Kamloops was unforgettable:

It was very different from my experiences in China. I was led into a room to wait for the doctor. When the doctor came in, the first thing he did was to close the door and then he began asking me questions. I was very impressed. In China, doctors would not be so careful about patients' privacy. They would just ask the patient questions in front of other doctors and patients. I feel that I am respected as a patient here and I like it.

Having others respect their privacy is, in fact, a behaviour which many Chinese immigrants learned to assert after arriving in Canada. I speculate that such demands for privacy reflect their ability, if not desire, to separate their personal life from their social life and are also a sign that they value their own individuality. Qing, who came to Kamloops 3 years ago and is now taking ESL courses at Thompson Rivers University, described her perception of the different approaches to privacy in China and Canada:

In China, you don't have personal secrets. Your leaders, colleagues, and neighbours know everything about you. Here in Canada you can keep your secrets to yourself. If someone asks about your private matters, you can simply give a vague answer and the other person, instead of being offended, would understand that you want to keep the matter private to yourself.

In the course of settling in Canada, Chinese immigrants have experienced substantial cultural and social changes, and prompted by these differences, they have changed their concepts of self. One could say that they have become more "Westernized"—i.e. more independent, individualistic and protective of their personal privacy—a change which many immigrants have willingly undergone in the hope of being accepted as "ordinary" Canadians. In this regard, the context of a small city such as Kamloops may facilitate easier adaptation of Chinese immigrants to Canadian values and practices. Compared with Chinese immigrants in large cities, where extensive ethnic social networks are available, those in Kamloops may have greater opportunities to observe and participate in local Canadian ways of life. At the same time, it is reasonable to expect that the kind of change Chinese immigrants undergo in terms of their personal selves is more gradual than immediate. As well, the ways in which immigrants develop their sense of identities are informed not only by the values they embrace in Canada but also by the way in which they reflect their Chinese values and transnational experiences.

6.4 Ethnic Identity as a Response to Racism

Although Chinese immigrants in Kamloops are consciously aware that they are developing a sense of a new Westernized self, none have denied their Chinese ethnic identity. While they have, in many instances, willingly identified themselves as Chinese in order to seek support from the local Chinese community and maintain connections with their roots, there are also involuntary reasons why they continue to identify themselves in ethnic terms. Ethnicity is a salient marker to others and influences how a group is defined, responded to and treated. Based on personal experiences with prejudice and racial stereotyping in a small city like Kamloops,

Chinese immigrants believe that the term “Canadian” is reserved for describing white people and it would not be accepted by others if they used it to describe themselves.

As the 2006 census illustrates, immigrants constituted about 10% of the total population in Kamloops. The number of visible minorities in the city was even smaller. Of the total population of 83,725, only 5720 were visible minorities or about 6% of the total population as of 2013 (Statistics Canada 2013). In interacting with other non-Chinese Canadians, Chinese immigrants’ own sense of being ethnically “Chinese” strengthens; the more negative their interactions with other Canadians, the stronger their Chinese ethnic identities are apt to become. In the realms of the neighbourhood and community, where white people represent the dominant social group, Chinese immigrants learn what meanings their race and ethnicity hold for the larger society by watching how others respond to these aspects of their identity. They learn how salient their ethnicity and race are to others. With this information, they begin to decide whether these aspects of their identity are their own private affair or whether Canadian society has an interest in them. In their settlement in Kamloops, they can exercise a great deal of choice regarding the traditional Chinese practices and values they wish to integrate into or discard from their personal lives; on the other hand, ethnicity is far from an optional facet of their public lives because others continue to define them in racialized terms and to impute significant meanings to these differences. As Henry and Tator (2002, 11) observe, racialization occurs when meaning is attributed to particular “objects, features and processes in such a way that the latter are given special significance and carry or are embodied with a set of additional meanings”. Chinese immigrants’ specific traits and attributes, such as accent, diet, name, beliefs and practices and place of origin, may be racialized and deemed as “abnormal” or “foreign”.

As “foreigners”, the Chinese immigrants in this study are constantly asked to explain various aspects of their “culture” to the local residents—ranging from food customs to foreign policy issues to tips on the best Chinese restaurant in town. In the process, they try to decipher various meanings associated with their constructed identities. The dual roles of informing and absorbing the new culture uniquely position the Chinese immigrants to be aware of social hierarchies and power relations among various social groups. Societal expectations based on ethnicity seem to define Chinese immigrants closer to their ethnic identity than to their Canadian identity. White Canadians tend to identify them ethnically as Chinese and expect them to be knowledgeable about Chinese culture and history. Hui and Wenxin described their encounters with local residents:

My white neighbour repeatedly asks me why I want to stay in Kamloops, what I like about Canada, and when I plan to go back. He also tells me that he is interested in “China issues” and wants to discuss those issues with me. His questions make me feel as though I’ll never be able to call this city and country my “home.” (Hui)

Every time I go to my dentist’s, the hygienist would tell me about this Chinese wedding she had been at many years ago. She would ask me about the strange things she saw at the wedding and what they meant. The truth is I have no idea what she was talking about. To my knowledge, what she described didn’t sound like anything that would happen at a Chinese

wedding. It's sad and embarrassing that she would so stubbornly associate me with something I didn't identify with. (Wenxin)

These statements vividly convey the dilemma faced by racialized immigrants. They are not perceived as Canadians since they do not fit the image of what a "real" Canadian looks, sounds and behaves like. While most white Canadians, as "the racial norm" (Tuan 1998, 22), have the social privilege to ignore their racialization, a more problematic picture emerges for Chinese immigrants who are not part of the racial norm and whose identities are therefore consciously racialized, defined and infused with the meaning of "foreigner". Indeed, as Fernando (2006, 32) observes, in Canada, "The racialization of Chinese Canadians relies on the discourse of pervasive foreignness". Such stereotyping, while not intentionally meant to alienate or offend, occurs frequently. Many of the Chinese immigrants in this study recall being the first and sometimes the only Chinese family to live in the neighbourhood and subsequently treated as representatives of their race and culture. Moments of awkwardness and feeling out of place seem common experiences in Kamloops with fewer ethnic groups compared to Vancouver.

As Tuan (1998) suggests in her study of racial discrimination against Asian Americans in the United States, racial minority groups generally understand that race shapes their perspectives on life and they are aware of how race informs their experiences with others. "The array of psychological, social, and structural privileges accompanying... 'whiteness' does not benefit them" (Tuan 1998, 22). Chinese immigrants in Kamloops are aware of the existing social hierarchies and their marginalized status that is made more visible in a small city. In turn, they experience a strong need to create a positive identity, to project themselves as hardworking and law abiding and create a "favourable impression" or at least to avoid eliciting further "negative images". Dong described his effort to "save his face" as a Chinese immigrant:

Most of my coworkers, including my supervisor, are white Canadians. I feel that at the beginning they all looked down upon me. But I work very hard. I wanted to prove that I'm an honest person and a diligent worker. I think they treat me more respectfully now. We must use our real behaviours to influence the Canadians so that they will trust us, understand us and accept us.

Dong and other immigrants are motivated to establish a positive image, for them to be accepted as Canadians, by other Canadians. However, Chinese immigrants face a dilemma: on the one hand, they might be hesitant to interact with members of the larger society because of their lack of English language skills and their fear of being perceived negatively; on the other hand, to gain acceptance by Canadians, they have to interact with other Canadians and present themselves positively.

In light of the pressures to assimilate into the Canadian society and the racial and cultural intolerance underlying those pressures, the question of whether Chinese families openly discussed racism and discrimination comes to mind. Discussions with family members on this topic involved retelling incidents that had happened to them and their friends, of thwarted careers, and warning their children to "watch out" in their own lives. Jingping spoke of her concern for her son's future:

I always tell my son that he has to work twice as hard and perform twice as well, because in order to be equal he has to be twice as good. He has to compete for jobs and things with the white people, and his only advantage is working harder than others.

One could argue that Jingping's anxiety about the challenges her son might face is not unwarranted. Even though the values of democracy and equality are widely propagated in Canadian society, economic, political and social inequality along racial lines still exists, and Chinese immigrants still experience racism in their everyday life in disguised or covert ways (Zong 2007). For example, studies show that despite Chinese immigrants' high educational qualifications and proficiency in the English language, they encounter discrimination in the Canadian labour market, as evidenced by their lower earnings and employment that is not commensurate with their qualifications (Man 2007; Wang and Lo 2007; Zong 2007). Such inequality in the Canadian labour force is borne not only by immigrants but also racialized Canadian-born and Canadian-educated individuals (Pendakur and Pendakur 2007).

Comments from Chinese immigrants in this study reveal that they have developed a collective strategy to get by in Kamloops—stay quiet, behave and hope that nobody bothers them. This strategy makes sense in many ways, yet the costs associated with it may be steep. Certainly, on the surface, being characterized as a quiet, nice person seems much better than being stereotyped as a lazy or welfare-dependent minority group. However, as Tuan (1998, 133–37) argues, the price paid for behaving and being obedient is that you are not taken seriously because those in power expect obedience. Thus, “quiet nice people” are not expected to complain or raise any fuss even when clear injustice is present. Nevertheless, Chinese immigrants in this study rarely interacted with non-Chinese members in Kamloops in their everyday lives. I would suggest that, at the time of this research, they were not ready to engage themselves with the mainstream society due to lack of English skills and their fear of being discriminated against. Those who had experienced discrimination reported that as a response they would attempt to reduce the frequency of interactions with non-Chinese Canadians. Yuan had “given up” on being accepted as an equal:

I've tried very hard to speak English well and to adopt a Western lifestyle. Around Christmas time, I put up a big tree in the living room with lots of lights on it. But I find that no matter how hard I try, Canadians still treat me differently from how they treat other Canadians. I think the difficulty is not that you do not want to learn nor you are not diligent. I think discrimination here is very strong, deeply rooted in some people.

It is perhaps not surprising that none of the Chinese immigrants in this study claimed to have extensive ties to their neighbourhood. Through their interactions with members of the mainstream society, they learned the importance others placed on their racial and ethnic identities. However, Chinese immigrants reported being aware that, for the most part, the stereotyping they experienced was not intended to wound or alienate. They would rather assume that the incidents of stereotyping were largely based on the ignorance of generally well-intentioned people.

In subtle and not so subtle ways, like early Chinese immigrants who found themselves marginalized and with inadequate opportunity to integrate in Canada (Li

1998), those in Kamloops found themselves excluded from the racial and cultural centre of “whiteness”. They expend emotional and mental energy keeping their social “antennae” out to assess how safe their social surroundings are. Lin and Wei spoke of their anxiety in relating with members of the mainstream society:

You feel conscious about how they’re going to treat you and they are going to treat you differently than how they treat white people. Sometimes, if you pay attention, you can notice the difference in some cashiers’ attitudes in the supermarkets. They would greet white people warmly, with a big smile. When it’s your turn, you can see they have turned cold and distant. I think it actually had socially hindered me in some ways. I do not feel comfortable talking with them. (Lin)

I keep a close eye on the diplomatic relationship between China and Canada. I think our status in this country is vulnerable to changing political conditions. It is beyond our personal control. I believe our lives would be affected if Canada was to go to war with China. I’m not exaggerating. You only need to look at how they treated the Japanese Canadians during WWII.⁵ (Wei)

The fear, irrational or not, that somebody might be hostile to them or that international tensions between Canada and China might have repercussions in their own lives may cost immigrants their sense of well-being. That they felt vulnerable in this regard is a particularly disturbing finding. Many spoke of the psychological exhaustion and wasted time and energy spent worrying about things that other Canadians need not think about because they have the privilege not to. Energy was also expended trying to recover from internalized negative stereotypes and building up damaged self-esteem.

Internalized negative stereotypes and low self-esteem could be insidious sources of internal oppression. Therefore, it is not only societal expectations and pressures that constrain them, but their own consciousness of social norms and their “deviance” from the norms that contributes to their own oppression. This is what Pierre Bourdieu calls “symbolic domination” (Bourdieu 1991, 50), that is, domination operates not through physical coercion but through social and psychological processes. Individuals internalize the values which subordinate some members of society to the advantage of others. “In effect, symbolic domination recruits people to the service of their own domination” (Giltrow 2003, 158). Through social experiences, immigrants may come to see themselves how the dominant group perceives them. As Yuan and Jingping’s comments suggest, symbolic domination has a profound impact on their perception of themselves and their sense of belonging in Canada:

I don’t like being treated as a “foreigner” who has “weird” attitudes and behaviours. When you are recognized and identified negatively, it’s unlikely that you will happily take the spot given to you by others. But what can you do? You chose to come to this country and you have to accept things here. (Yuan)

I really don’t have much to say because I’m here and I know what it takes to make it. Things haven’t changed and it’s not likely that they will be soon. So instead of trying to fight the system, I’ll just go along with it and try the best I can. It will make my life more peaceful and enjoyable. Do you think they really care? They probably feel the fewer Chinese, the better. (Jingping)

As racialized immigrants, the Chinese in Kamloops are constrained to identify themselves in ethnic or racial terms because others continue to define, respond to and treat them as separate from the mainstream. How others view them as foreigners influences their approach towards the Chinese immigrants, with curiosity or hostility. The sense of being a “foreigner” for Chinese immigrants in Kamloops might be magnified in comparison to Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, where 50% of the population are visible minorities (Statistics Canada 2007). As such, identifying themselves as Canadians, they believed, was not an option available to them as yet. How they choose to live their lives might be a private affair, but how they publicly identify clearly is not.

While Chinese immigrants in Kamloops may feel that they lack the social and cultural capital necessary to successfully negotiate their social status, they find comfort in a positive ethnic identity by locating their roots in their home country and claiming a legacy as inheritors of a “richer” Chinese civilization. As previous studies on transnationalism suggest (Satzewich and Wong 2006; Fong et al. 2010), the transnational connections immigrants maintain with their families, relatives and business partners in their home country produce tangible resources, social capital and emotional support that offset the alienating and stressful effects of immigration. Besides providing a sense of social support, transnational ties help immigrants consolidate their ethnic identity at a time when different identities are suddenly thrust upon them. A positive Chinese ethnic identity offers psychological protection in that it maintains the idea that they come from a culture where they are valued and accepted and that they have the option to go back to China if things do not work out well in Canada.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter highlights the relationship of Chinese immigrants to Canadian society and to their home country in the context of a small city in western Canada and presents how members of this community construct multiple and sometimes contradictory identities that link them to both Canada and China in intricate ways. The complex relations among the Chinese immigrants, the host country and the home country not only make immigrants’ adaptation process complicated but also make it possible for them to construct multiple selves drawing from influences from both societies. Whether “self-constructed” or “imposed” by the dominant culture, multiple identities of racialized Chinese immigrants affect their current lives and their future life trajectories in complex ways.

It is important to note that Chinese immigrants in Kamloops are not obsessed with figuring out how their multiple identities play out in their daily lives. For the most part, they do not ponder daily over what it means to be Chinese immigrants in a small city in Canada; most keep busy with the demands of work and family. That I have placed immigrant experiences at the centre of this study does not mean that I want to limit the analysis of the issues to individual experiences. Rather it means

that I intend to illustrate how, through the understanding of individual experiences, we might gain insight into the ways in which social structures and prevailing ideologies shape and mediate identities, experiences and interactions: the imagined communities or social fields within which immigrants identify themselves are not constructed by immigrants alone but by the host and home societies as well.

How immigrants are incorporated into Canadian society also depends on the ideologies and attitudes towards immigrants. The results of the study indicate that recent Chinese immigrants in Kamloops often find themselves treated as foreigners in Canada. Although they acknowledge many positive aspects of settlement in Kamloops, they also note the need for attitudinal shifts in public consciousness and institutional policies that are crucial in creating a welcoming community for immigrants. But Chinese immigrants in Kamloops continue to struggle with achieving a sense of belonging in Canada. The public continues to resist embracing them as one of “us”: while individuals may gain acceptance within their immediate social circles, the larger group boundary based on race remains firm. Chinese immigrants have not been incorporated into the collective consciousness of who qualifies as a “real” Canadian. As Li (2002, 166) argues, “The manner by which the human capital of immigrants is valued or devalued is a feature of Canadian society and not an attribute of the holders of such capital”. In other words, if the Canadian society rewards people differentially on the basis of racial origins, then racial discrimination should be considered a feature of Canadian society and not that of immigrants, who are alienated by societal features of inequality.

My discussion of transnational experiences and identities of Chinese immigrants in Kamloops, British Columbia, has implications for contemporary understandings of transnationalism in general. It helps to draw attention to an important and arguably growing dimension of social life in Canadian cities. However, this is evidently a qualitative and exploratory study. Since it involved a small sample, it clearly limits the extent to which the findings and conclusions may be generalized to the wider Chinese immigrant population in Canada. Nevertheless, it may be hypothesized that the complex and sometimes contradictory meanings the research participants give to their experiences of immigration from China to Canada will find resonances, if not exact parallels, in the broader context of transnational experiences of immigrants in Canada. Much further research would be required in this area, particularly studies that focus on comparative analysis of transnational situations in small cities and large urban centres in Canada to help bring a better understanding of the social factors that drive the various forms of transnationalism. In addition, such studies would answer questions about the role that municipalities play in shaping transnational practices and identities. That is, to what extent is transnationalism a global phenomenon that is independent of local forces and circumstances, and to what extent do municipal cultures, traditions and practices influence the particular forms of transnational identities and practices? In a way, the intersections of the global and the local forces shape the identity and belonging of immigrants nowadays. Given the increasing importance of immigration to cultural diversity and population and economic growth in all municipalities, small and large (Li 2002; Satzewich and Wong 2006), understanding the dynamics of immigration and transnationalism will

help municipalities like Kamloops to design policies to promote the integration of and social receptivity to immigrants in their communities. In this way, immigrants feel a sense of belonging and are more ready to settle, along with their talent, experience and expertise regardless of where they reside.

Notes

1. In their study of emigrants from Hong Kong to Canada in the latter decades of the twentieth century, Kobayashi and Preston (2007) note that families make strategic decisions to separate in order to maintain family welfare and the quality of education for children. Decisions around both migration and the maintenance of transnational ties are “complex and multigenerational, involving different patterns for young adults, those in their middle years and the elderly” (Kobayashi and Preston 2007, 151).
2. Between 1881 and 1885, thousands of Chinese labourers were hired to help build the Canadian Pacific Railway. They earned less than half the wages of white workers and worked on the most dangerous stretches of the railroad. However, as soon as the railway was completed, Chinese labourers were deemed undesirable in the nation. The government of Canada passed racist immigration laws such as the Chinese Head Tax (1885–1903) and the Chinese Exclusion Act (1923–1947) to restrict Chinese immigration to Canada (Li 1998).
3. The interview excerpts in this chapter have been edited for readability. I translated my participants’ words from Mandarin to English as accurately as possible. In editing the interview transcriptions, I also tried, to the best of my ability, to preserve the emotions embedded in my participants’ remarks.
4. Waters (2009, 636) examines the transnational experiences of five immigrant women from Hong Kong in Vancouver over the period of 8 years and finds that some of her research subjects have discovered “hitherto unknown freedoms” and successful integration into “Canadian life”.
5. During WWII, Japanese Canadians were labelled as “enemy aliens”. Shortly after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour, 23,000 people of Japanese descent, the majority of whom were naturalized or native-born Canadian citizens, were forced out of their homes on the west coast in British Columbia to relocate to internment camps in the British Columbia interior, to sugar beet farms in the prairie provinces or to POW camps in Ontario. The Japanese Canadian internment was not an accident or a mere coincidence of wartime decision made under necessity, but was motivated by racism and instigated by discourses of nationalism and colonialism. Most white Canadians at the time either supported the government’s unjust treatment of the Japanese Canadians or reacted with indifference and did little to oppose the government decision (Adachi 1976; Miki 1998).

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Chapter 7

Sense of Place Amongst Immigrant and Refugee Women in Kingston and Peterborough, Ontario

Cheryl Sutherland

Historically, smaller cities in Canada have been positioned by dominant society as racially homogeneous: places in which few non-white immigrants have chosen to settle. Evolving from the dominant ideology that saw Canada created as a country of white settlers (Razack 2002), smaller cities and other non-urban locations have been socially constructed in the image of a white, predominantly British motherland. That these places were never truly homogenous is not part of the dominant paradigm. Yet, the reality remains that places that lie outside the gateway cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, and more recently to second-tier cities such as Ottawa, Calgary and London, become increasingly less ethnoculturally diverse than their larger urban counterparts.

This chapter explores the ways in which immigrant and refugee women, most of whom identify and are racialized as non-white, experience the spaces and places of two smaller Ontario cities—Kingston and Peterborough. This chapter is important for a number of reasons. First, it places immigrant and refugee women's emotional experiences at the forefront of exploration and analysis in migration discourse. Secondly, the original research from which this chapter has emerged was to speak out against oppression and domination in the lives of these women. Raising awareness of the realities facing immigrant and refugee women is a necessity in gaining a deeper understanding of Canadian society and work towards change.

Canadian cities of all sizes have in recent years experienced an increasing diversification of their population, and there are more non-white newcomers than at any other point in history who are attempting to create new lives for themselves in smaller Canadian cities (Statistics Canada 2005). More immigrants and refugees are being encouraged to settle in second- and third-tier cities across the country, that is,

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outside Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Since 65% of new immigrants choose Ontario as their destination, government initiatives have been developed to help smaller cities attract and retain new immigrants (Carter et al. 2008, 163).¹ Under the Local Immigration Partnership (LIP) framework, smaller cities are working together with immigrant service agencies, universities and economic development councils, to “provide a collaborative framework for, and facilitate the development and implementation of, sustainable local and regional solutions for successful integration of immigrants” (ontarioimmigration.ca). The provincial local immigration partnerships are developed as a means of creating strategies that will enable new immigrants to secure suitable employment, housing, education, healthcare and all of the other necessities for living a healthy and fulfilling life.

Immigrant and refugee women are a heterogeneous group, and their experiences are varied, multiple and diverse. Each woman who migrates to Canada does so under her own unique set of circumstances. Some women come as refugees and have chosen Canada as their preferred destination; other women declare refugee status at the border or within one of Canada’s international airports; still other women immigrate as skilled workers, under the family reunification category for immigrants or as international students (who later apply to make Canada their permanent home). The reasons for embarking upon migration differ between women and are complicated by the myriad “push”² factors that are particular to the originating countries. Each individual woman weighs the benefits and rewards involved in uprooting herself from all that she has ever known, when making the decision to put her trust in the possibilities of creating a better life for herself (and her family) in Canada. Women expectedly come with the hope that their lives will be improved and that they can enjoy a life that is safe, happy and prosperous. This chapter examines the experiences of two particular groups of immigrant and refugee women in the smaller cities of Kingston and Peterborough, Ontario. The lives of these women are shaped by multiple intersecting variables: gender, race, education, immigrant status and language ability (amongst others). In cities that are not always welcoming and inclusive, the subtleties and nuances that influence women’s sense of place will be discussed. This chapter illuminates the realities facing immigrant and refugee women in two smaller cities in Ontario by chronicling the experiences of immigrant and refugee women, discussing not only their experiences but also outlining the challenges and barriers that exist for newcomers within the spaces of smaller Canadian cities.

The chapter begins with a brief description of contemporary immigration patterns and refugee statistics in Canada. An overview of current immigration patterns in smaller cities, particularly in Ontario, follows. A brief literature review and discussion of the theoretical concept—*sense of place*—provides an important lens through which to consider and begin to understand the experiences of immigrant and refugee women in a smaller city in Canada. An overview of the methodology situates the context of the research and highlights the benefits of using a feminist methodology. The chapter then moves into an exploration of the experiences of the participants within the smaller cities to which they migrated. Through a discussion of the ways in which a novel approach to research helped to facilitate a better under-

standing of immigrant and refugee women's sense of place in small cities, the emotional themes of comfort and vulnerability are highlighted. Concluding thoughts and directions for future research form part of the last section.

7.1 Immigrants and Refugees in Canada: A Snapshot

Prior to the mid-1960s, immigration in Canada was severely restricted for non-white immigrants. Stemming from the initial intent of creating a country of white settlers (Razack 2002), immigration was relatively straightforward for those who originated from countries with historically white populations (such as Western Europe and the United States). Some exceptions to predominantly white source countries were made whenever Canada deemed it necessary to secure cheap labour, such as with the case of Chinese immigrants who constructed much of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). But even their entry was severely restricted, including the imposition of a "head tax" for every Chinese man who immigrated between 1885 and 1922. This example of the racialization³ of immigration indicated how Canada sought to limit the number of non-white immigrants.⁴ Individuals who are racialized become categorized and stigmatized as being inferior to the dominant majority, which creates the groundwork to then be treated in a variety of discriminatory ways (Henry and Tator 2010). A process of racialization thus makes it possible for the dominant majority to treat racialized individuals quite differently from their white counterparts. However, beginning in 1967, immigration was gradually opened to a more diverse range and increasing number of potential immigrants. By the early 1990s, immigration to Canada had increased to the rate of over 230,000 immigrants per year. The countries from which immigrants were departing also shifted from Western Europe and the United States to the top three source countries which were China, India and the Philippines in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2008), and it continues today. Note that each of the latter three countries is comprised predominantly of individuals who would fall into the category of visible minorities.⁵

Canada is one of the leading nations in the resettlement of refugees.⁶ In 2005, Canada resettled over 10,000 refugees or 13 % of the total number of resettled refugees in the world (CIC 2007). Between 2002 and 2007, Canada granted permanent residence to 147,000 refugees (ibid). In 2012, there were 20,461 refugee claimants in Canada (CIC 2012). The total refugee arrivals in the country reached 23,286 in 2014 (Schwartz 2015). Like other classes of immigrants, refugees are faced with all of the challenges associated with migrating to another country, but refugees also face the added burden of doing so out of necessity. As a result of the trauma (in the form of war, violence, displacement, etc.) that is often involved in forced migration, there are additional factors that can make the settlement process and integration of refugees challenging. It has been identified that the achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practices regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection; and the struc-

tural barriers to creating and “growing” such connections (Ager and Strang 2008) are all barriers and challenges that refugees will face. In this chapter, the processes of social connection and the social and structural barriers to creating and expanding those connections are emphasized.

7.2 Immigration in Smaller Cities

The city to which immigrants make their way within Canada is not only an important consideration but also a primary moderator of the types of experiences, challenges and barriers that immigrants and refugees face. Smaller cities tend to create very different experiences than those which are produced in large urban centres. For instance, meaningful employment in smaller cities is often much more difficult to locate for newcomers than it is in large urban centres. And it can be much more difficult for newcomers to develop social networks with other individuals from their country of origin. The context of *place* is paramount to the type and range of experiences that immigrants and refugees will likely have, and the geographic location to which newcomers settle greatly influences how they experience settlement. Kingston and Peterborough are both smaller cities with long histories of immigration, yet in the past, the vast majority of immigrants would not have been visible minorities, and this can affect the ability of racialized immigrants/refugees to feel a strong sense of belonging (Sutherland 2008).

Kingston is located at the eastern end of Lake Ontario at the point where the St. Lawrence and Cataraqui Rivers meet. Peterborough is a 45-min drive north of the midway point of Lake Ontario along the Trent-Severn Waterway. Kingston, with a population of 123,363 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2012b), is a 3-h drive east from Toronto, whereas Peterborough, with a population of 134,933 (Statistics Canada 2012a), is just over 1 hour northeast of Toronto. Both cities were founded in the 1800s and were constructed as white settler spaces (the latter point relating to both the physical presentation of white bodies and the ideological representation of whiteness) (Razack 2002). Both cities have post-secondary institutions and very low number of visible minority inhabitants compared to Toronto. Another common denominator between Kingston and Peterborough is that these cities presumably share similar processes of racialization, a point that will be elaborated upon later in the chapter.

Research in smaller Canadian cities has only recently begun to become the focus of academic research, and there are many facets of life in smaller cities that remain under-explored. Since 2005, the provincial and federal governments have given support to immigration-related initiatives such as the Ontario Welcoming Communities Initiative (WCI). The WCI consists of a province-wide project between 14 smaller cities and 17 universities, whose purpose is to gather information and engage in research that seeks to expand and enhance understanding of immigrants' experiences in smaller cities as well as “to engage immigrants as partners in the community building process through a more equitable, accessible and

inclusive approach” (Welcoming Communities Initiative 2009). Collaborative research of this magnitude holds much promise for the creation and implementation of policy-related initiatives that will make smaller cities more inclusive and welcoming for newcomers to Ontario (as well as Canada as a whole). One recent research report coming out of the Welcoming Communities Initiative outlines the types of characteristics that need to be in place for a community to be welcoming and inclusive and lists 17 characteristics (Esses et al. 2010). Characteristics range from employment opportunities and affordable housing, access to educational opportunities, adequate healthcare, opportunities for social participation and positive relationships between the community and the police. The development of these characteristics (amongst others) will go a long way towards helping in the creation of communities that are more inclusive of diverse cultures and ways of life.

Other types of research that has taken place outside of the three gateway cities include the work of Bergeron and Ray (2007) in Ottawa, which has looked at the geographies of ethnocultural diversity, focusing on where people live and with whom they interact. Mohamoud (2007) explores the sociocultural and demographic structure of immigrants in the city of Ottawa. In British Columbia, Teixeira (2009) investigates the issues and barriers to accessing housing amongst immigrants in the midsized city of Kelowna. In Alberta, Derwing and Krahn (2008) explore the reasons behind the destination choices of new immigrants. And in Manitoba, Carter et al. (2008) analyse the Provincial Nominee Program and its effectiveness in altering the regional distribution of new immigrants. But the study by the London Diversity and Race Relations Advisory Committee (2007) most closely relates to this chapter as it outlines the strategies in creating a more welcoming and inclusive community, where many smaller cities struggle with a less ethnically diverse population oftentimes considered very resistant to sociocultural change. It provides a glimpse into the particular challenges facing immigrants in smaller cities and assists in beginning to provide a more nuanced understanding of the types of issues, challenges and experiences that comprise part of the “immigrant experience”.

7.3 Sense of Place

Sense of place is an important consideration in the lives of newcomers to Canada. Whether an immigrant or a refugee, all newcomers struggle with the desire to create a place for themselves within the country they have chosen to call home. Age of entry is one factor that strongly influences the types of experiences that immigrants and refugees will have, regardless of where they opt to settle. Newcomers who come as young children have different experiences than those who come as adolescents or as adults (Sutherland 2008). The sense of fragmentation that one feels after leaving an established life behind to build a new life in Canada will be experienced more or less profoundly depending on the point in one’s life at which the moment is experienced. Age is one factor, yet there are many other factors that play into the ways in which newcomers experience the new locations they migrate to (ibid). In this

chapter, sense of place is discussed in relation to the ways in which immigrant/refugee women experience place, although this is purely for pragmatic reasons and is not meant to diminish the ways in which other groups of immigrants/refugees (e.g. male immigrants or refugees and children) negotiate and experience place in the context of migration.

Sense of place has been defined as a multidimensional construct that consists of three predominant variables, including beliefs about the relationship between self and place, feelings towards the place and the behavioural exclusivity of the place in relation to alternatives (Jorgensen and Stedman 2001, 233). According to this definition, sense of place is a complex construct that is dynamic and subjective. Tuan (1975) defines place as a centre of meaning or field of care that emphasizes human emotions and relationships. To follow the idea of emotional attachment further, individuals and groups develop place *attachments*, which refer to the positive bond that develops between groups or individuals and their environment (Altman and Low 1992; Williams et al. 1992). Relph (1976) believes that attachment to place grows through time and is based more on the relationships with people than with the construction of the physical environment. Theorists concerned with the relationship between place and sense of belonging have tended to focus on the positive affective relationship to place (Manzo 2003; Moore 2000). But there are profound experiences that can alter ones' relationship to place. For example, negative experiences such as violence or trauma drastically affect the manner to which one both experiences and relates to particular places (Sutherland 2008).

Immigrant and refugee women leave behind all that is familiar when they migrate to Canada. In this process of movement and transition, they are propelled into a new world with a new culture with which they must become accustomed. Sense of place, especially in terms of attachments to new environments, is challenging for many of them. This is particularly true for women who have negative experiences in their new places of residence. Experiences with "othering", discrimination and racism compound to challenge women's ability to feel safe and comfortable in their new environments (Sutherland 2008). Many of the women who participated in this project that will be described shortly experienced racism and discrimination and thus struggled with feeling "in place" in the smaller cities to which they had relocated. By being constantly reminded that they did not belong, participants often questioned what it was that they needed to do to begin to be accepted.

7.4 Methodology

Mapping Vulnerability, Picturing Place (MVPP) was a project designed to explore the emotional experiences of place amongst immigrant and refugee women in Kingston and Peterborough. Using a combination of qualitative methods, including interviews, focus groups and photovoice, 18 women in Kingston and Peterborough explored their emotional geographies of migration. In this project, participants drew upon memories of their early migration experiences and reflected

upon some of the important moments in their lives since arriving in Canada. Participants shared information about some of the types of social interactions they had experienced that had made them feel alienated and excluded. They shared experiences of discrimination and racism. Participants also shared their perceptions about why they believed some people treated them badly. Finally, participants identified the importance of finding places where they felt safe and comfortable and, within the focus group setting, discussed their desire to feel a sense of belonging in their new environments.

Participants came from 13 different countries, with 2 participants having come to Canada originally as children, whereas the remaining 16 women came as adults. Of the 18 participants, 16 women identified Kingston or Peterborough as their intended destinations before arriving in Canada. Thirteen of the participants lived with partners, one woman was married but separated, and the remaining 4 participants were single. Eleven of the women had one or more children. They were well educated, with 16 of the participants having at least one university degree. The majority of participants (10) had arrived in Canada within the last 5 years, and many were still looking for satisfactory employment. Four of the participants had originally come to Canada as international students, 3 women came as refugees (all of whom came due to political reasons), 2 women were sponsored by their fiancés, and 9 participants came under the family class designation (only one of whom was the principal applicant). Sixteen of 18 participants were racialized as non-white. All women participated in the project using English, but when language issues arose, participants assisted me in helping to ensure that a word or phrase was adequately understood (i.e. all participants understood and spoke more than one language and were able to help translate/interpret).

All participants attended an initial information session that was held at each of the two research sites. Once participants had agreed to take part in the project, face-to-face interviews were conducted with individual participants, and a semi-structured questionnaire was used to gather data that was uniform to all participants. The interviews were also a valuable means of beginning the important process of building rapport between the participant and researcher. Interviews were then transcribed, coded and analysed for common themes, which guided the first focus group/or photovoice session where participants met to share photographs relating to the themes. Participants determined for themselves how they wanted to be identified in any written material, and some participants created pseudonyms, others opted to be identified using their initials, and some made the decision to use their real names.

7.4.1 Using a Visual Methodology

Using photovoice to explore the emotional geographies of immigrant and refugee women's experiences of a smaller city in Ontario was a novel approach to research on women's migration experiences. As a feminist conducting research about the emotional experiences of immigrant and refugee women, I wanted to create a

research design that would put the experiences of the participants at the forefront. As a method, photovoice is designed to empower participants. Originally conceived by Wang et al. (1996) to explore the experiences of a Chinese village woman in China, photovoice facilitates opportunities for participants to share the experiences of their lives that they feel are most important to the issue being researched.

Photovoice is a research methodology whereby participant-generated photographs are used to illustrate and share meaningful experiences and convey particular meanings to the researcher, to other participants and to a wider public audience. Photovoice is a research method that is participatory, collaborative and empowering. Participants take photographs of places, objects and people that are important to them or to convey a particular theme, representation or experience. They then share these images with each other in focus group settings, telling stories about the image. Discussions often arise amongst participants as a result of the sharing of the photograph. An image that is shared by one participant can often initiate new thoughts, memories or emotions for other participants. It is within the space of the discussions that take place within the focus group sessions where participants generate new knowledge and learn from each other. Learning that other individuals have had similar experiences can be a moment of profound insight of not being alone.

Photovoice is grounded in three primary principles (Wang et al. 1996): photovoice is designed to be empowering for participants, photovoice provides a space where collective knowledge is generated, and the sharing of photographs and accompanying quotes allow photovoice to communicate to a broader public audience. To expand on these points further, photovoice is empowering for participants because it facilitates the opportunity to decide what they want to photograph and what story they want to share. The ability to have a determining role in what is shared within the group creates a research relationship that involves power-sharing and collaboration (McIntyre 2003; Side 2005). These are two means of feeling empowered, since participants help to guide which direction the research will take. Addressing the second principle, the sharing of photographs in a group setting is an effective and powerful means of generating collective knowledge (Sutherland 2008). When participants share stories about their experiences, all participants learn from that experience. The discussions that arise create a synergy that generates new ways of thinking about the world. In the context of a research project where participants share certain commonalities, this insight can often have a strong effect on how an individual will view a particular topic or experience. The third foundational principle of photovoice is its ability to share what is learned with a broader public audience. Sharing is often done in the form of a photography exhibition or public presentation of the photographs with accompanying quotes (Photo 7.1).

Photovoice is not only an effective tool for understanding the experiences of participants and being able to “picture” that experience, but it is also a tool to initiate positive social change. For example, social transformation can be initiated through the realization amongst the public, including policymakers, that there are issues



Photo 7.1 Exhibition in Kingston (Credit C. Sutherland)

specific to immigrant and refugee women. In smaller cities in Canada, immigrant and refugee women are often faced with challenges involving discrimination since they are frequently more easily identified and racialized as non-white, thus making them susceptible to discrimination (Sutherland 2008). Gaining a better understanding of the specific types of discrimination that women experience is important, since it is difficult to make positive change without the knowledge of where the problems lie.

As a white, Canadian-born, English-speaking researcher working with racialized immigrant and refugee women whose first language was not English, the power differential between us could have been problematic. However, being conscious of this possibility, the project design ensured a number of collaborative opportunities, including photovoice, which helped to equalize the power differential. My commitment to a feminist methodology, one in which attention was paid to issues of power and positionality (England 1994), assisted in minimizing the unequal power relations between myself and the women who participated. Ultimately, my identity did not seem to hinder the project. Not only did participants have opportunities to contribute their experiences to the project, but they had the final say in what type of information was shared with the public. For example, during the four interviews with the media, all participants were invited to participate in the interview. Although not all were able to attend, there was at least one participant who was present at each media interview.

7.5 Sensing Place: Everyday Lived Realities in Two Smaller Cities

The emotional themes of comfort and vulnerability emerged as important concepts in the MVPP project. Participants also talked about other themes such as safety, welcoming places and paradoxical places. But for the purpose of this chapter, comfort and vulnerability will be used to highlight the varied and powerful emotional experiences that can take place, *in place*. Regardless of the events and experiences that occur in our everyday lives, each moment that passes is experienced on a number of levels: emotionally and within the context of particular places being two of those levels. The participants in the project shared many stories of the types of experiences that they had endured since arriving in Canada. Most, if not all of the experiences they shared, had a deeply emotional component attached to a particular place-based experience embedded within it.

Many places and experiences were discussed during the course of the MVPP project, but the next section will focus on two types of experiences. A discussion of comfortable and vulnerable places, including the reasons behind the creation of these types of places as identified by the participants, highlights some of the ways in which immigrant and refugee women in the smaller cities of Kingston and Peterborough experience place. The next section of this chapter shares findings on the theme of comfortable places and identifies some of the factors that need to be present for places to feel comfortable for immigrant and refugee women.

7.5.1 *Comfortable Places*

At the first focus group meeting, participants brought images that they had already taken prior to the onset of the project (although a few participants had taken new photographs). Participants discussed how certain places made them feel comfortable and described the various reasons why these places created this type of feeling for them. The photographs that women brought with them consisted primarily of images taken within their homes or in a geographic location where a special memory was situated. Esperanza brought a photograph she had taken in the United States, prior to coming to Canada. Esperanza liked this photograph because it reminded her of the last time she had seen her family, as the image was taken just prior to her entering Canada as a refugee:

When I see this picture, I feel relaxed, happy, comfortable...when I see the water. I was with my sister then and this was the last time when I saw my sister and my friends...I was with my husband and my daughter and we were visiting our friends. In this picture...I was saying goodbye [...]. (Esperanza)

Participants felt comfortable in places under very specific circumstances, with three primary rationales. First, women felt comfortable in places where they had developed an emotional connection. Esperanza's account of the memory of the time

spent with her sister and friends transferred to how she continued to feel any time she was around the water. “Yes, yes, I like to see the water...and to listen to her sounds.” Esperanza sought comfort in the sight and sound of the water, and this was shared by other participants, such as Pranvera who also came as a refugee. “So when I see water, it is like Esperanza, I feel relieved.” The waterfront was a place where women felt that they could relax and be themselves. Esperanza and Pranvera were both extremely relieved to be in Canada. Esperanza was born in Colombia and left her homeland for political reasons. Pranvera also left her country of origin (Albania) and came to Canada to join the rest of her family for political reasons. Participants at both research sites commented on the importance of the water in their lives. In Kingston, Maria shared: “There is something about the water that I think is very calming...and when you are talking about the first place that people come, I think that the waterfront is sort of like a landmark for many immigrants.” The water provided both a soothing effect as well as a place of significance for participants. The calming effect was very much appreciated at this point in the participants’ lives, since many other aspects of their lives were often filled with uncertainty and stress.

Geographic locations that reminded participants of places they already knew were also locations that created a sense of comfort. Reminders of *place* were the second most common rationale amongst participants for feeling comfortable. For many participants, physical locations in Kingston and Peterborough were experienced as alienating during the first phase of migration. Without any kind of history to tie them to particular places, women sought out places that reminded them, in some way, of home. Many participants had been forced to temporarily live with friends or family when they first arrived in Canada, and once participants could afford to move into their own place of residence, they began to feel a sense of connection and rootedness in having their very own space. Joy, who immigrated to Canada with her husband and young daughter, shared with the group how important it was for her to move into her own apartment and how this experience was her happiest place-based experience since migrating to Canada:

For me, I think it is just moving to the new apartment, because always before it was my friend’s house. Before I rented an apartment in my friend’s house and always I had to think about their feelings...but now it feels like I have my own house, even though I just rent. I told my husband that now I have my house, right now. Yes, yes. I cannot say that it was bad, because my friends were very helpful ...but the feeling it is just very happy, and the apartment is very nice. And it is almost like home, it is like where I lived in China...the feeling is like that. (Joy)

L.V., who came to Canada originally as an international student, was comforted by a physical landmark that *reminded* her of the home she had left behind (Photo 7.2):

In this one, I think I took it because the first time I came to Peterborough, something that really gave me comfort was the Quaker Oats factory. So this is a particular place that really reminds me of home, and of Peterborough...and so somehow you make the connection. At home we didn’t have the good smell, it was more like a factory, but I guess the first thought was like: “Oh, they have Quaker Oats here too, and not just the factory;” and so I guess for us it was like a big thing because it reminded us of home.



Photo 7.2 Quaker Oats (Credit L.V.)

These two types of reminders of home assisted Joy and L.V. in feeling more connected to their new cities. The ability to create attachments to new places facilitated the type of attachments that allowed participants to become emotionally connected to their new homes, an important aspect of integration and attainment of a sense of belonging (Massey 1994). The development of a sense of place, combined with a positive sense of emotional attachment, plays a strong role in facilitating place making for new immigrants (Manzo 2005).

The third underlying rationale for participants to feel comfortable related to social interactions. In the early stages of their migration experience, many women felt self-conscious about their ability to converse in English and would often go to great lengths to avoid interacting with native English speakers. Participants discussed how they would only leave their residence to attend English classes (or other required appointments) until they became confident with their ability to communicate using English. The restrictions to social interaction often meant that participants did not receive as much practice as would hasten their English-speaking ability. It took a great deal of courage for women to leave the safety of their homes. If participants went in search of particular types of information or services and were spoken to in a friendly, courteous and inclusive manner, the interpersonal interaction fostered a feeling of comfort for participants. Places that were identified by participants as making them feel comfortable because of the type of interactions that occurred there were immigrant service agencies, public libraries and educational settings. As strangers in a strange land, each place where newcomers venture in the early stages of their immigration experience is an unfamiliar landscape. The thought of going to places that are unfamiliar is especially intimidating if you have had a previous negative social interaction in that space.

Z.B. shares how she feels about the immigrant service agency in Peterborough and how her positive feelings are connected to the type of social interactions she has experienced there:

I like this place. Because always I was comfortable with the staff in this place... they were very kind and patient with the clients...because the first time I came here it was exactly 2 or 3 days after we arrived in Canada...someone guided us to the New Canadians Centre (NCC). They told us to come here to ask for information about how to get our Social Insurance Number and our Permanent Residents' card ...they told us everything and gave us lots of information...because of that...I loved this place and the people in this place. Because of that...it became part of my routine...I think these places like the NCC, they need to be in every city. They are very useful for new immigrants, they are useful because in no time we feel we are not alone. [In these places] there are some people who know us and know how we feel, and they understand us. (Z.B.)

Z.B. was very cognizant of the different ways that she was treated depending on the location of her social interaction. Z.B. began to map the places that she could identify as safe and comfortable, as well as the places where she had negative experiences and subsequently mapped as being a place of vulnerability.

7.5.2 *Vulnerable Places*

The social interactions experienced by participants played an enormous role in the manner to which places were experienced. Positive social interactions produced positive experiences, whereas negative social interactions created a continuum of negative experiences for participants. One of the places that Z.B. photographed and identified as being a vulnerable place included a Ministry of Transportation office.

Z.B. had gone to this office to seek information and was treated very rudely by the customer service representative. In discussing her experience, Z.B. shared:

I do not like this place...after one or two months when we came to Canada I had passed G1 (introductory driver's license) and I wanted to book a time to do the driving test. There is a person...she is, how do you say...she was very impatient and she was very mad at me, because I didn't understand her and I wanted her to explain more, but she didn't understand me because she is Canadian and her accent [was challenging]...for several times I asked her to explain more, but she [acted like] she wanted to eat me, with her eyes and with her statement...and this is why I dislike this place.

The cultural power that is held by those in positions of authority situates newcomers at a disadvantage. In a new place, it takes time to understand what is expected and how to present themselves, and, for newcomers, acculturation is a process that lasts for many months or even years. The extreme sense of vulnerability that was felt by immigrant and refugee women in the context of the MVPP project was most commonly attributed to the manner in which others treated them. Public places became very intimidating after negative social interactions occurred there. Participants began to avoid certain places or to at least limit the amount of time they spent in such places. Participants' choices of where to go and where not to go became connected to the feelings associated with particular places (Sutherland 2008). But, some places, regardless of one's feelings about them, were easier to avoid than others. Such is the case with places such as medical facilities. G.A. shared with the group her feelings about how it felt for her to make use of the hospital (Photo 7.3):

This picture is of a place where I have a lot of conflicting emotions. Yes, it could be any hospital. When people ask me why I decided to stay in Canada, I just say that one of the reasons is because there is a good health care system compared to where I am from and I wanted my children, and my husband, and myself to have access to that. But...I have not had good experiences at the hospital...when we first came to Canada and we didn't have a family doctor, I had to use the healthcare system a lot [because I was pregnant]...and it was really challenging...I had to explain a lot of things about myself, things I did not feel very comfortable explaining...and the language barrier made it even more difficult. There are so many feelings [I have] that are connected to the hospital.

G.A. described how she felt making use of the healthcare system. On the one hand, she experienced discomfort around having to share things about herself that she did not feel comfortable. On the other hand, there are additional reasons for the hospital to create feelings of vulnerability for her. One stems from an earlier experience she had while taking her son to the hospital to seek treatment for an ear infection:

Some of these experiences in Canada were really challenging for me...so, with my children I had some bad experiences. A doctor once told me that he couldn't tell if my son had an ear infection or not because of his skin colour, so I said "Well do you have anyone here who can tell me if my son has an ear infection or not?" Luckily there was a nurse there who could tell...But...that scared me.



Photo 7.3 Hospital (Credit G.A.)

The series of negative experiences and interactions that G.A. had at the hospital render this space one that creates a sense of intense vulnerability for her: a sense of vulnerability that remains embedded in her interpretation of the hospital to this very day.

Vulnerability was a prominent theme throughout the course of the MVPP project. Participants could readily identify the types of places and experiences they had that made them feel vulnerable. An especially prominent reason for vulnerability amongst participants was because of the ways in which participants were centred out as being different. *Othering* experiences of difference included the pointing out of non-Canadian accent or skin colour and being stereotyped as not embodying that of an authentic “Canadian identity”, questions about where participants were from or personal questions (such as those directed at G.A. during her healthcare experiences) or overt acts of racism (as either witnessed or experienced by the participant). All of these ways of *othering* women are rooted in the concept that there is an authentic Canadian identity that is white, speaks Canadian English and ascribes to dominant Westernized notions of self-presentation (Mahtani 2002).

An example that highlights the strength of the dominant conception of who belongs in Canada and who does not is illustrated by an experience that Miao shared during one of the focus group meetings. The following incident took place

very near to the international graduate student residence of Queen's University just north of West Campus:

I was walking with a Korean girl...in the summer about 2 years ago...it was 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening and it was still bright outside...and there were some kids, about 6 or 7 kids at the age of about 10 years old, and they just came and they thought we were both Chinese and they started saying things that they thought were Chinese to us, like some disregarding comments...we didn't want to talk to them, we just liked to walk away because we didn't want to quarrel or discuss with kids like that, and so we kind of jumped into the other part that separates the area—like it is a playground and so we went to the other side and the kids they couldn't get in, and then they started to throw stones at us. It was dangerous, because some of the stones were very close to us, and they kept saying some kind of Chinese that I cannot understand and doing some...unflattering things...I think they must have just had some kind of discriminatory attitude toward Chinese people. (Miao)

Miao's experience with being assaulted (verbally and physically) by a group of young children attests to the normalized ideas that children are socialized to believe in. The boys in this instance clearly thought that Miao and her friend did not belong within the space of the playground. The boys believed this so strongly that they felt entitled to throw words *and* rocks at them to make their point, emphasizing race as the point of exclusion. Taking this thought further, the action of the children is evident of the wider belief that the children had about who belongs in Canada and who does not. Somewhere along the line of socialization, Canadian-born white children (all of the boys in this example were white) learn that a *real* Canadian is someone who is white (Mackey 2000; Mahtani 2002; Razack 2002).

Yet young, impressionable boys were not the only initiators of racism in Kingston. Miao, followed by other participants, went on to describe many other places in which negative encounters with racism have taken place. Time, place and visibility converged to create situations where participants were centred out as being different and treated badly because of their enforced positioning and their identification as not belonging. Time of year factored into the prominence of racist behaviour at the hands of the dominant majority, with the summer seeming to make the participants more visible in Kingston and Peterborough:

In the summer I am even more visible because many of the Queen's students have left Kingston for the summer. In the summer I am more easily identified as being Chinese... being Asian. I can be more easily targeted during the summer months. (Miao)

Reasons for this included the decrease in the number of racialized individuals during the summer months since many university students left for the summer, perhaps taking with them much of the city's racial diversity (Sutherland 2008). Also, overt racism seemed to increase during the summer months because women spend more time in public places, enjoying the summer weather. Participants in both cities made reference to how the negative public experiences they had with racism took place more in the summer time and often in very public places. Two examples in identifying specific places where they had experienced racism or discrimination were city buses and Tim Hortons' establishments. Yet it should be noted that the list did not stop there. Participants felt that the level to which they were visible in particular places increased the likelihood that they would have a discriminatory encounter.

City buses are transportation necessities for many new immigrants. In smaller cities where the location of housing for newcomers is more dispersed, city buses may be the only way that newcomers have to travel to their appointments, look for employment or attend school. As such, the experiences that immigrant and refugee women have while using city buses can greatly affect their everyday lives. The irony of racism and transit systems is that in the case of my research, those who were the perpetrators of racism were not other passengers, but rather the transit operators themselves. This reality makes it even more intimidating for passengers since transit operators are in a position of power over them. In the case of some of the participants in the MVPP project, transit operators did not stop to pick them up when they were the only person standing at the bus stop, and operators treated them in discriminatory ways. In one case the transit operator actually got up out of his seat to walk to the back of the bus and yell at the participant.

As for Tim Hortons, the perpetrators of discriminatory behaviour at these locations tended to not so much be the employees of the establishment, but, rather, other patrons. Sometimes it was the patrons inside Tim Hortons that made participants feel othered. Such is the case with S.K., who shared an experience she had while with her father (who is originally from Pakistan):

I was there [at Tim Hortons] with my father one time...and he has problems hearing, and so we were sitting there having a coffee and he was quite loud and there was just this really uncomfortable atmosphere. And there wasn't one particular person who stood out, but people were staring and whispering and talking and it felt particularly bothersome to be because it was my Dad...when it is a family member I feel kind of powerless...and so I don't go there anymore. (S.K.)

Other times it was those who frequented the space outside of Tim Hortons that made participants feel uncomfortable, as in the case of Miao, who shared:

Near Tim Hortons there are often people standing around outside...there is always a group of people outside of Tim Hortons that I would really just like to avoid passing by. I will go to the other side of the road because I feel that it is safer. I think that for me, as a single woman [on my own], at that time that this is the only thing that I can do. (Miao)

After the fieldwork for this project had ended, the two groups of participants decided that they would like to meet and learn more about each other's experiences, so a trip from Kingston to Peterborough was planned. I rented a van and some of the women from Kingston accompanied me for the 200-km drive to Peterborough. While in Peterborough we shared a meal with some of the Peterborough participants and then enjoyed a walk along the waterfront, stopping after a while to have a discussion in the park. On the drive back to Kingston, we stopped in Belleville, another smaller city, to buy coffee at Tim Hortons. It was at this Tim Hortons that the van we were using was vandalized. We had all gone inside to order our beverages, and while absent from the van, someone hit the roof of the van with a hard object, causing a large dent and hundreds of dollars in damages. The incident was unsettling for me and seemed all too coincidental. Was this act of vandalism random, or was it directed at us specifically because all of the women with me were racialized as non-white? As referred to by those such as Henry and Tator (2010) and Essed (1991), not all

racist acts are overt. Some acts are more covert and less easily identifiable, and the insidious nature of everyday racism can often leave one wondering if what they experienced was racism or something else.

7.6 Concluding Thoughts

The idea that Canada is a country of white settlers remains a dominant ideology; there are practices in which newcomers believe that a “Canadian” is reserved for inhabitants with white skin only. It is this definition and its social and cultural meanings about the mainstream majority of Canada that need to be changed. The myth of the Canadian nation, as with many nations, is that the inhabitants are a homogeneous group. The reality is that this was never the case in Canada, as the presence of the indigenous population illustrates prior to Western colonization. Yet early immigration policies and strategies sought to construct a country of white inhabitants. Today, more than ever, Canada is becoming a more diverse country, and the burgeoning realization that racism has been embedded within the fabric of the country is widely accepted. Realization and acceptance that racism is present in Canadian society are the first steps to combating it. Creating strategies for changing what is now a misconception is of the utmost importance in dealing with issues of racism and discrimination for immigrants and refugees. For example, it is important for smaller cities to mount education campaigns that highlight the benefits of immigration while also promoting racism-free workplaces and communities. Drawing from the concepts developed by Esses et al. (2010), there are a number of areas that must be paid attention to for communities to become welcoming places, and small cities would do a service to their community members, newcomers and long-time citizens alike, if they were to make the creation of a welcoming city one of their top priorities.

Sense of place for the participants in the *Mapping Vulnerability, Picturing Place* project was, and no doubt continues to be, a complex and fragile web of meanings. The women who participated had uprooted (or been uprooted) from their country of origin and were attempting to make a new home for themselves in Kingston and Peterborough: smaller cities that are much less ethnically and racially diverse than the large urban gateway cities where over 75% of newcomers opt to settle. Sense of place is developed through experience with the surroundings of particular places. For refugee and immigrant women, a large portion of their sense of place is developed through the types of social interactions that they will have when moving throughout the new and unfamiliar spaces of their new cities of residence. In the context of the MVPP project, participants discussed the types of places in which they felt comfortable as well as the types of places in which they felt vulnerable: both sets of locations were deeply rooted in the types of social interactions that women had while situated in particular places. If sense of place is dynamic and subjective, this means that one’s sense of place can change over time. It can change from positive to negative and back again. That the treatment women received at the

hands of some individuals was racist and discriminatory is disturbing in the twenty-first century and warrants further exploration. Racism is never acceptable, and we must explore ways of dealing with and eradicating it in all of its many levels and guises. That the sense of place of the women who participated in the project has the potential to be dynamic and subjective is encouraging, since this means that participants' attachments to place can be altered and begin to feel more positive, welcoming and inclusive.

All of the women who participated in Kingston and Peterborough sought to create a better life for themselves in Canada. The variations in women's individual contexts of leaving their countries of origin, combined with their personal characteristics and experiences after arrival, created shared moments that women embodied at the individual level. Whether refugee, international student or immigrant, all women contended with the challenges of adapting to a life that possessed many unknown variables away from home. Variables such as discrimination across a range of scales (such as personal comments on language ability or mode of dress or difficulties in locating employment) and the aftermath of enduring overt acts of racism are experiences that were not anticipated by participants. The early stage of transition as experienced by immigrants and refugees is intensified when individuals are forced to endure the experience entirely on their own and without a supportive network to mediate their experiences. As such, creating and improving ways for community building amongst newcomers are an important task and would be one direction that future research could take.

In a country built on the white settler paradigm, a great deal of support is needed to contend with the racism and discrimination that all of the participants in my study experienced at one point since arriving in Canada. The development of antiracism initiatives, beginning within the school system, that are designed to challenge the dominant paradigm of a white settler society is one starting point. The provision of cultural awareness training to individuals who are employed in positions in which social interaction (i.e. transit drivers, customer service, etc.) is a large aspect of their job would also assist in raising awareness. It is important for the mainstream public to realize that "difference" is something to be welcomed and included, not something to be feared and discriminated against. Programmes whose goals are to increase understanding and sensitivity towards newcomers are important tasks that newcomers, researchers, immigrant service agencies, smaller cities and all levels of government should be striving towards. Changing the social fabric of society will take time, thought and effort, but the end result of a safer, more welcoming and inclusive society is a goal that is worth the struggle.

Notes

1. Government initiatives are also underway in other provinces, for example, the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP) in British Columbia (http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca/page.asp?pagenm=2011_0061_Burr).
2. Push factors can include reasons such as economic, political, natural disasters, war and so on.
3. The term racialization refers to the discursive production of racial identities and includes “processes by which ethno-racial groups are categorized, stigmatized, inferiorized, and marginalized as ‘others’” (Henry and Tator 2010).
4. There are many other examples that could be included, such as the exclusion of potential South Asian immigrants through the Continuous Passage Act or the exclusion of would-be black immigrants using discriminatory “undesirable” loopholes embedded within immigration policy.
5. The term “visible minority” is a government terminology that is used to describe individuals who are non-white or non-Aboriginal.
6. There are two types of refugees recognized by the Canadian government: resettled refugees who are sponsored by the government or private groups and enter Canada from abroad, and refugees who enter through the inland determination system (those who come to Canada by land, sea or air and claim refugee status at the border) (Coates and Hayward 2005).

Acknowledgements This chapter would not have been possible without the open and trusting sharing of stories from my participants, and I thank each one of them for their strength and courage. I would like to dedicate this chapter to my partner, Daniela Leca (1960–2011), whose own story of immigration is what inspired me to do immigration research in the first place.

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Chapter 8

Why Networks Matter and How They Work?

The Role of Social Networks in Attracting and Retaining Immigrants in Small Cities

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8.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the roles played by, and the effects of, both formal and informal networks for small city immigrant communities in Atlantic Canada. Drawing from a collaborative case study, we selectively analyse data from a research project that explored various dimensions of networks in four Atlantic immigrant communities in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island (PEI); Moncton, New Brunswick; St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador; and Halifax, Nova Scotia. In Charlottetown, for reasons having to do with the relatively small size of the immigrant population, we focused on immigrants with mixed ethnic origins. Francophone sub-Saharan residents of African origin comprised our study population in Moncton, while in St. John's we selected immigrants with South Asian origins. In Halifax, we selected immigrants from Lebanon. However, given the stated objectives of this 'small cities' volume, the primary focus of the present chapter will be a critical examination of the patterns and roles played by social networks in the first three smaller communities, while comparisons and contrasts will be made with the data pertaining to Halifax's Lebanese community. This is not intended as a network measurement exercise, but rather an effort to identify trends,

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patterns, and nuances in the experience of social networks in three small cities in Atlantic Canada. However, before doing so, it is important to provide some contextual details of 'smallness' of the three cities.

According to the Canadian 2006 census, the populations of Charlottetown, Moncton, and St. John's were 32,174, 124,060, and 100,646, respectively, and 369,455 people were living in Halifax (Statistics Canada 2010). In 2011 the Charlottetown, Moncton, and St. John's populations were 34,562, 138,644, and 106,172, respectively, and Halifax population was 390,328. The perspective of 'smallness' of the first three provincial cities relates not only to population but also to their more modest concentration of immigrants relative to the three main Canadian immigrant destinations, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (Hou and Bourne 2005; Murdie and Ghosh 2010), as well as relative to Halifax, the most popular immigrant destination centre in Atlantic Canada. All three cities discussed here, and the Atlantic region as a whole, must contend with high rates of out-migration (Denton et al. 2009; Murphy and de Finney 2008). They are currently grappling with analogous demographic challenges stemming from an ageing population, a declining birthrate, as well as other depopulation concerns. This in turn means that they also face the threat of becoming even smaller since out-migration plus mobility rates in these small Atlantic Canadian cities exceed levels of in-migration plus birth rate. All three cities have less than 200,000 people of which only less than 3% are immigrants. Hence, not only are these cities relatively small, but also immigrant attraction, retention, and integration issues loom large as significant planning priorities now and in the future.

Illustrating these trends, customised tabulations based on the 2006 Canadian population census revealed that immigrants comprise only 3.75% of the population in Atlantic Canada, much below the national average of 18% (Akbari 2008a). Moreover, while the region is home to 7.2% of all Canadians, it received only about 2.9% of immigrants coming to Canada in 2008. In 2011 there was a decline by 2.0%. Most immigrants to Atlantic Canada have been arriving in Nova Scotia, but recent policy initiatives adopted in all provinces to attract and retain immigrants have resulted in increased arrivals in other provinces as well. In fact, in 2010, PEI replaced Nova Scotia as the largest recipient of immigrants in the Atlantic region. Each Atlantic Province has welcomed more immigrants since 2003 and has increased its retention rates (Akbari 2008b). About 60% of the immigrants arriving in 2010 came as provincial nominees, whereas this had been the case for only one-quarter of those arriving in 2005 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2008). By 2010, New Brunswick and PEI were receiving most of their immigrants as provincial nominees. Changes to the temporary foreign workers programme in 2014 may have significant implications to the number of provincial nominees arriving in the Atlantic Provinces. Part of the increase in the immigrant retention rate can also be related to an increase in the rate of in-migration of new immigrants arriving in the region from other Canadian provinces (Akbari 2008a).

The top five source countries of immigrants who have arrived in Atlantic Canada since 2006 include China, Korea, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Iran. Although the list varies from city to city, in all three cities, Chinese immigrants

dominate the list for the top five source countries of recent immigrants. Since the mid-1990s, more immigrants have been coming from Middle Eastern countries, especially from Kuwait, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, which were among the top five source countries until 2001 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2008). As of 2013, there were 79,900 immigrants of working age, or those 15 years old and older, in Atlantic Canada, representing 4% of the population in the region (Employment and Social Development Canada 2013).

While Halifax remains the main destination for newcomers, immigrants are now settling in other Atlantic Canadian cities, too—in part due to new community initiatives adopted at the municipal level. For example, the Association for New Canadians in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador launched the Acquiring Experience, Integrating Skills (AXIS) programme to help integrate new arrivals through training, mentorship, and internships. In the same vein, the Greater Charlottetown Area Chamber of Commerce called for policies to support increased immigration in smaller urban centres, while the city of Moncton promotes itself as a ‘family-friendly community’ to potential migrants via its city website. As a result of these initiatives, between 2001 and 2006, immigrant population in St. John’s rose by about 7%, while Charlottetown and Moncton experienced increases of 16% and 26%, respectively.

To explore the role of social networks in small cities in Atlantic Canada, this chapter is divided into the following sections. The first section deals with the conceptual background of the study, providing the operational definitions of network structure and a community. The second section outlines the research methodology and demographic profile of respondents. The third section presents the inner meanings associated with a sense of belonging and shared values by small city immigrants. The fourth section examines cultural values shared across and within social and ethnic networks as well as shared practices of groups that do not share cultural values. The network ties which developed on the basis of various structural dynamics, including gender composition, labour market integration, education, and access to health information and care, are presented, followed by a conclusion that summarizes the key points raised in the discussion.

8.2 Conceptual Background

According to Doreian and Stokman (1997, 1), “the simplest, and most fundamental, definition of network structure is a set of social actors with a social relation defined over them, such as a small group of ‘people’ and the relation ‘friendship’”. Thus, we can attempt to characterise different ties (or ‘multiple relations’) between the same set of people, by focusing on different types of social relations (friendship, market transactions, kinship, informal healthcare provisions, etc.). In this chapter, we focus on people who consider themselves to be immigrants—including first- and second-generation immigrants—and international students. Massey et al. (1993) define immigrant networks as sets of interpersonal ties that connect immigrants, former migrants, and nonimmigrants in origin and destination countries through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.

8.2.1 Definition of Community

This chapter seeks to document and understand the social networks—be they ethnic based or not—of sets of people in small city immigrant communities. However, the definitions of community within the literature are manifold. As Lotz (1998) argues, ‘community’ is ‘one of the most elusive terms in sociology, and largely by now without specific meaning’ (Tastsoglou and Miedema 2003, 207). Within this plethora, we have chosen to begin with a somewhat technical, narrowly conceived definition of community and then allow for more expansive associations. This approach permits us to discern whether or not a community, at some of its most basic levels, is meaningful for the individuals involved in it.

We start with the notion of ‘community’ in the sense of a set of people who share two ‘given’ or readily identifiable characteristics: (a) they are located in a specific area, such as Moncton or Charlottetown or St. John’s, and (b) they are immigrants and of a specific area of origin, such as sub-Saharan Africa or South Asia. This rather limited conception of community as a spatial-demographical group is, nonetheless, consistent with key studies (see Bauman 2001; Savage et al. 2005) in which a community is defined as ‘the aggregate of persons with common characteristics such as geographic, professional, cultural, racial, religious, or socio-economic similarities; communities can be defined by location, race, ethnicity, language, age, occupation, interest in particular problems or outcomes, or other common bonds’ (Turnock 2004 cited in McKenzie et al. 2007, 6). In this first step, the aggregate can be delimited by the researcher and does not have to form a self-defined community. Thus, there is no need to rely on self-perception of the members of the community to define its borders. Nonetheless, as a second step, we continue to be interested in feelings that can be encompassed by concepts of attachment and belonging; these are idioms, which immigrants themselves understand and to which they refer. In light of the regional challenges and initiatives mentioned above, then, the goal of this chapter is to present analyses of our research data on social network interactions of immigrants living in the three selected and circumscribed ‘communities’.

8.3 Research Methodology

Our broader, core research methodology was composed of (a) customised tabulations based on the 2006 Canadian population census; (b) one focus group per community, comprised of participants, with considerable variation in terms of sociological composition (age, gender, occupation, migration experience, length of time in Canada, and official language ability); and (c) 46 individual qualitative interviews (roughly 15 per community), aiming to have balanced representation of both gender and age groups. The focus group data in (b) were used for the construction of a semi-structured interview guide in (c). Interview questions were geared towards gathering information on the gender-based structural composition of formal and informal social networks, as well as the latter’s relations to support for civic

participation, education, employment, and health and wellbeing. Interviews were conducted in English in St. John's and Charlottetown (with the aid of an interpreter for some participants) and French in Moncton. The immigrant populations in the three small cities (Charlottetown, St. John's, and Moncton) were studied following the same basic research design, utilising a similar methodology with the same standardised instruments.

The qualitative data analyses presented in this chapter primarily draw on the individual interview data. In Charlottetown, 16 individuals from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (China, the United States, Afghanistan, England, Sri Lanka, and Congo) were interviewed, 8 of each gender. Most were recent immigrants, having arrived in Canada less than 5 years ago. Half of the participants were married, and from the rest, 5 were unmarried and the last 3 were widowed females. With an exception of 4 student participants, the others had children. Among the participants, 4 were undergraduate students who were unemployed at the time of the interviews, 2 were employed in government, 'white collar' jobs, 5 were unemployed, and 5 were retired.

In the St John's South Asian community, 18 individuals were interviewed, 8 males and 10 females. Fifteen participants originated from India; the others from Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Malaysia (of South Asian descent). The majority of the participants were recent immigrants to Canada (6, including 3 who held student visas) or established immigrants (11); two were second- to fourth-generation Canadians. In terms of marital status, half of the participants were unmarried; more than a third were married, 1 was divorced, and 1 was widowed. All married participants had children. The language spoken was mostly English, but many spoke their native language as well (especially the older, 'senior' interviewees). Seven participants were students; 8 were employed (mostly in executive positions); 1 was retired (from a similar executive profession); and 2 were unemployed at the time of the interviews.

In Moncton's sub-Saharan community, 12 individuals were interviewed, 8 men and 4 women; they were from Cameroon, Senegal, Benin, Congo, and Togo. The average age of participants was 26 years and ranged from 21 to 34 years. Therefore, this group of participants belonged to a young adult age group. Five of the participants held student visas and 1 was a refugee. Three male participants were married and had children living with them. Most of the participants were university students and almost all worked at part-time jobs. Two of the non-student participants were employed.

These samples are reflective of a qualitative, rather than a statistical representation (Duchesne 2000). The overall demographic portrait of each population in the three cities is not available from Statistics Canada's sources due to their small numbers when broken down by age and gender groupings. Hence, we provide the regional portrait for each ethnic population in each of the sampled communities. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 contain the total numbers in each small city of focus in this chapter. Figures pertaining to the local nonimmigrant population were included to facilitate comparison.

Table 8.1 Gender and age distribution of population in Atlantic Canada: immigrants by selected source regions and nonimmigrants, 2006

	South Asians	Lebanese	Sub-Saharan Africans	Immigrants	Nonimmigrants
Total population	4030	1375	315	84,755	2,165,195
Population aged 15 and over	3735	1325	250	79,800	1,704,180
Male (%)	52.21	53.21	54.00	47.73	50.85
Female (%)	47.79	46.79	46.00	52.27	49.15
Age distribution (%)					
Below 15	7.20	3.42	24.14	5.33	15.67
15–24	8.42	5.82	15.52	6.19	12.38
25–54	48.23	59.25	51.72	39.39	40.81
55–64	18.32	18.49	8.62	26.99	18.27
65 and up	17.83	13.01	0.00	22.11	12.87

Source: Special Tabulations based on Statistics Canada Target Group Profile obtained from 2006 Census

Table 8.2 Visible minority populations resident in Charlottetown, Moncton, and Saint John's, 2006

Visible minority	Charlottetown	Moncton	Saint John's
Total visible minority population	1290	2420	3460
South Asians	115	350	890
Blacks	420	1030	620
Arabs	115	160	190

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Community Profiles

As Table 8.1 illustrates, the gender imbalance favouring men is similar across the three immigrant communities (as defined by their source regions), while immigrants in general are comprised of more women than men. Overall, immigrants tend to be older than nonimmigrants with the exception of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, who are the youngest, possibly due to the fact that they are also the most recent immigrants who often first come to Canada as foreign students (see Table 8.3). In Table 8.2, we provide the overall data on populations of some broader groups of visible minorities in Charlottetown, Moncton, and Saint John's. We view these groups to be relevant to the groups we have selected for our analysis.¹

8.4 Inner Meanings and Shared Values

Having understood the demographic landscape, we will then move on to a much broader sociopolitical landscape to interrogate inner meanings and values shared by small city immigrants to understand the overall impact on their social relationships.

These include a sense of belonging; community; citizenship; civic participation; multiculturalism; racism, discrimination, and personal security; and shared values. Shared values are further examined in terms of cultural networks, types of social networks, ethnic composition, and implications for attraction and retention of immigrants in small cities.

8.4.1 Sense of Belonging

Sense of belonging is intrinsically linked to social participation vis-à-vis social networking. In this section, small city immigrants' sense of belonging from a networking perspective is critically analysed using parameters such as community, citizenship, civic participation, and multiculturalism. Much of the literature including that on small cities networking concerns itself with immigrant integration. This often carries the implicit assumption that adaptation to citizenship norms requires management, if not close scrutiny. Some would argue that immigrants who are perceived as somehow different (e.g. through cultural, ethnic, and/or religious practices) can also be recast as potentially threatening, even more so if their social networks are locally visible. This, in turn, heightens concerns over their social integration and citizenship loyalties (see Li 2002; Faist and Glick Schiller 2009; Moghissi et al. 2009). In our research on networks, we were also concerned to learn more about how small city Atlantic immigrants conceptualise and experience several core themes associated with predominant discourses of citizenship and security in Canada. Therefore, some of our questions tackled ideas about Canadian citizenship, including how people regarded the idea of multiculturalism, while others focused more precisely on their social networks within and beyond the small cities where they now live. We also paid close attention to the factors that negatively affect migrants' sense of belonging including whether or not they had experienced racism and discrimination and whether they had issues relating to their personal safety and security.

8.4.2 Meanings of Community

In each small city, respondents were asked to define and describe the communities to which they considered themselves to be part of. In St. John's and Charlottetown, community was defined in purely social network terms. For example, in Charlottetown, most respondents defined community as a place where one socially 'belongs' and has positive social interactions and friendships. Notably, in this context, half of the respondents considered other immigrants as their 'community', while the other half described their community as consisting of 'local people'. In St. John's, respondents were more socially established, and this was reflected in how they stressed the positive features of what they felt their community could offer them including a sense

of belonging, shared experience and values, a sense of personal security, and a group they can turn to in times of trouble. However, there were differences with respect to how the respondents described who they would include in their individual 'community' network. Thus, some respondents described their community as primarily comprising of immigrants, while others described their community as made up of 'local people'. A few reported their community was 'mixed'. Respondents in Moncton indicated the same range of definitions for their communities—mostly immigrants, mostly local, or a mix. However, in keeping with the bilingual and multicultural complexity in Moncton, some respondents mentioned shared values, shared culture, and shared language as important features of their particular experiences of community.

8.4.3 *Meanings of Citizenship*

Definitions of citizenship in a small city offered by immigrants in our study epitomised various sociological differences (age, gender, social class, ethnic, and cultural affiliations), as well as immigration status, countries of origin, and Atlantic Canadian city of residence; all these features are in turn associated with social networking described in this chapter. While there were slight variations in how individuals spoke about the meaning of citizenship, in general terms, the most common themes emerging in data from all three small Atlantic cities linked citizenship and social networking to *belonging, allegiance, and national identification*. On this last point of national identification, one respondent in St. John's was clear and succinct about his citizenship, noting: 'it's who you are'. Even more poetically, a female respondent in St. John's spoke of embodied citizenship as follows: 'I breathe the air of this land: I eat the heart of this land. So it becomes a part of my system.' She was not alone in linking citizenship to emotion. Most participants in all three cities linked citizenship with 'affection', not only for Canada, their country of residence, but also to somewhere else such as their country of origin; for example, one participant stated: 'I love my country but I love it here, too.' Such statements demonstrate what some have termed 'bifocality' (Vertovec 2004), and the transnational complexity of contemporary citizenship affiliations and attachments. Links between affiliation, attachment and belonging, and educational and health networks are described later in this chapter.

Meanwhile, in Moncton (where a third or more of the respondents had student visas and/or work permits) and in Charlottetown, citizenship was depicted by some individuals as a matter of administration that allowed for certain rights, including the right to work. In Charlottetown, one respondent associated Canadian citizenship with being 'free' and pointed out that being a Canadian citizen likely meant more to immigrants than it did to people born in Canada. Someone else also spoke of Canadian citizenship as 'an achievement', a matter of pride. Perhaps because of the more fluid nature of the interviewed populations in Moncton and Charlottetown, one respondent in each city also spoke with enthusiasm about the idea of 'global

citizenship'. *Je suis un citoyen du monde* [I am a citizen of the world], reported one man in Moncton who did not wish to be defined by his citizenship. For him, citizenship was dynamic, subject to change in accord with his personal growth and experience. Again, we see here the possibilities for citizenship to be conceptualised in terms of flexibility (see Ong 1999, 2006). However, options to remain flexible in terms of citizenship and residency are also constrained by class and political economy (see Barber 2008; Ley 2010; Dobrowolsky 2011, 2013) if not confounded by opportunities and discrimination (Goldring et al. 2009). Similarly, gender, race, and religion further amplify the inequalities experienced by immigrants (Crocker et al. 2007; Dobrowolsky 2008). One can argue that broad and varied perspectives of citizenship expressed by small city Atlantic immigrants are not unrelated to the variations in networking described in the following sections of this chapter.

8.4.4 Civic Participation

Perhaps predictably in a study such as this, at least half of the respondents in each small city had networked with local ethnocultural associations. However, perhaps more unexpectedly, we also learned that even in our small sample, some individuals found networking with local ethnocultural associations to be socially constraining. For example, in the small city of St. John's, one respondent described her local ethnocultural association as 'narrow minded', echoing views that had also cropped up in Halifax, the largest Atlantic city in our study, especially in responses from younger immigrants. This finding invites an intriguing further line of research to attend to geographic scale relative to gender- and age-related differences in networking within ethnocultural associations.

A few respondents in all three small cities also noted their networks extended into local political organisations. This kind of involvement was definitely a function of family networks as one family member persuaded others to attend political meetings. Interviews with respondents in Moncton underlined that a lack of networking with local political groups should not be interpreted as disinterest in political questions. Indeed, the majority of respondents expressed their interest in Canadian (and global) politics generally and, in particular, an interest in immigration politics. But the onus for the civic participation of immigrants does not lie solely with immigrants themselves. Rather, immigrants need to be welcomed into local, political organisations. What is more, there are several caveats that should be noted here, including the fact that responses regarding political involvement are subject to understandings of what constitutes politics (e.g. from formal, partisan political networking to more informal politics including networking in the voluntary sector). Furthermore, pride in Canadian citizenship on the part of immigrants is not in itself indicative of welcoming communities, nor is it indicative of the robustness of their social and political networks.

8.4.5 Multiculturalism

In our study, small city immigrants' positive views of Canadian citizenship tended to be inextricably linked to their understandings of Canada's multiculturalism. This was most clearly conveyed by respondents in St. John's and Charlottetown. In these small cities, most respondents understood the concept of multiculturalism to be associated with tolerance and respect for cultural diversity and difference. One participant in Charlottetown went so far as to describe Canadian multiculturalism as a 'catalyst' for immigrating to Canada. Also in Charlottetown, a woman interviewee spoke positively of the multicultural aspects of the Muslim community network with which she was involved.

There were thoughtful and sometimes contradictory comments about how multiculturalism (understood as tolerance and respect for cultural differences of various sorts) was not necessarily experienced in social networking experiences. One respondent in St. John's expressed the view that her city needed to be 'more multicultural', while another participant noted that officially sponsored multicultural presentations were 'superficial'. More meaningful (substantive) multiculturalism was associated in the small city immigrant interviews with concrete evidence of multicultural commitments. Thus, according to respondents, for a society or community to be truly multicultural, there must be demonstrable social tolerance and respect for socio cultural diversity and difference, even within social networks. Such evidence, however, is more difficult to gauge in small cities such as St. John's given the relatively small number of immigrants.

In Moncton, multiculturalism was also viewed positively and understood in relation to cultural understanding and accommodation. Some participants were asked about *culturalisme* [culturalism] rather than multiculturalism per se, but, nonetheless, it is possible to discern how respondents interpreted multiculturalism in most of our interviews. For example, from a networking perspective, one male respondent described it as the coming together of multiple cultures, whereby people share ideas and have an effect upon each other. One respondent mentioned that he lives a multicultural lifestyle because he has friends from different cultures and, therefore, his concept of multiculturalism is linked to the cultural composition of networks. Another respondent described multiculturalism in more spiritual terms, as opening one's soul to all societies. By contrast a Congolese female respondent who is also a Canadian citizen described herself as not having a multicultural life because she mainly socialised with people who are also Congolese and/or of other African origins. Thus, her network is limited to those who share same cultural values.

8.4.6 Racism, Discrimination, and Personal Security

Racism and discrimination limit networking across diverse cultures. The issue of the contradictions between perceptions of multiculturalism as an ideal and the lived experience of immigrants in small city Atlantic communities became even clearer

when individuals spoke about having experienced racism (Crocker et al. 2007). In St. John's, some respondents spoke about racism and reported discomfort at being viewed as a member of a visible minority and being continually asked: 'where are you from?' (Raj 2003), while others specified that they had encountered racism in post-9/11 period. In contrast, older participants in this city spoke directly of their personal experiences of racism. One woman spoke of her initial 'culture shock' at being narrowly viewed as a dark-skinned person and being yelled at from a passing car, 'Hey Paki, hey Paki, get out, get out'. As she noted, India is a 'mixed race' country so this shocked her. Similarly, male participants noted racism was evident in Canada during the 1970s and 1980s. For example, one man described how his initial immigration application was rejected despite the fact he was in receipt of a professional job offer in St. John's. This decision was subsequently overturned only on the intervention of his academic employer. Some respondents in Charlottetown also indicated they had experienced discrimination. Cases attributed to discrimination (racism, in fact) on the part of landlords in Prince Edward Island were explained in interviews as having to do with the province's rural character. In Moncton, some respondents discussed issues associated with discrimination and racism, this time in the context of their search for employment—a point further discussed in the next section. Similarly, when asked whether he was happy in Canada, one male respondent expressed his frustration at having a university degree yet not being able to obtain work in his field because of discrimination. Perhaps because of the different characteristics of the interview populations in Moncton and Charlottetown, concerns about economic security were also more prevalent. Nonetheless, despite concerns over racism, the majority of Moncton respondents noted they have a sense of personal security in that city, perhaps as a function of their social networks.

8.5 Shared Values

8.5.1 *Shared Values Within Cultural Networks*

Although culture is a multifaceted concept, most formal definitions of the term include the idea that culture is a 'system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artefacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning' (Bates and Plog 1976, 7). Values are a central component of culture. They are often defined, following Parsons (1951), as normative references individuals use to orient their thoughts and actions towards what they would consider worthwhile or desirable. Consequently, on the one hand, values are considered as foundations, framing the opinions and behaviour of individuals, while on the other hand, values are construed as shaping the structure of social representations in society. Thus, shared values are often perceived as a basis for social cohesion, which is the rationale justifying policy aimed at cultural integration. Indeed, most of the political aims of nation-building projects rest on the belief that a shared cultural base is the foundation for national cohesion (Anderson 1991).

By definition, immigrants typically move from one cultural setting to another and are, therefore, often implicitly targeted by nation-building policies. Moreover, research on culture and values among immigrant populations frequently focus on the cultural differences between immigrants and the host society and more interestingly on cultural transmission between generations (i.e. how culturally specific values are passed on to children surrounded by local culture (Helly et al. 2001; Vatz-Laaroussi 2007) and the intergenerational conflicts this may raise in family relationships.

8.5.2 Types of Shared Values Within Social Networks

We asked immigrant respondents in the three small cities which types of shared values they themselves believe are required for building meaningful social relationships with others. Only a handful mentioned cultural values, while many considered religion as an important aspect of their life and identity. Other participants mentioned quite personal characteristics linked to their personal identity, rather than their cultural heritage. For instance, some respondents noted that it was important to share an interest in keeping healthy and having a positive attitude towards life, while another explained that his friendships were based on shared interest for their common field of study.

Conversely, the overwhelming majority of respondents believe that sharing cultural or religious values is not a prerequisite for building social relationships. Instead, they insisted on the need for values deemed universal, such as honesty and respect. They consider these to be the basis for positive interpersonal relationships within their networks, more so than shared culturally based values. Besides honesty and respect, which were the most commonly identified universal values in the sample, participants also mention integrity, politeness, compassion, fairness, loyalty, trust, friendship, treating people equally, communication, credibility, kindness, sharing, sincerity, truth, and frankness.

Although the issue of shared values is typically not taken into account in the literature on social networks, honesty and respect stand out as fundamental social values in the empirical literature on the topic (Royer 2006). This also concurs with the emergent literature on immigrant youth' values, as young immigrants are generally very open to cultural and lifestyle diversity, but they insist on respect and support as foundations for friendship (Duchesne 2010). Thus, not all concerned respondents consider that shared cultural values are a requirement for meaningful social relationships.

8.5.3 Shared Values and Ethnic Composition of Networks

When we attempt to draw comparisons between participants' positions regarding the need for shared values and the composition of their social networks, we see that

the few participants who place great importance on maintaining cultural values tend to have networks generally limited to people of similar ethnocultural backgrounds. Conversely, most of the participants who state that respect and honesty are the only important values to be shared, participate in more diverse networks and often also profess a sense of belonging to local or mixed communities.

However, a few among these participants do have culturally based networks. Indeed, in practice, these immigrants have built their social networks around organisations that require adherence to certain world views, such as churches or community groups. This has directed them towards building social networks based upon participants' shared cultural or religious values, even when the respondents themselves do not believe that this is a prerequisite to meaningful social ties. In such cases, the practical role of institutions seems to overshadow the individuals' opinions regarding the need for shared cultural values.

At the same time, however, these culturally based institutions are somewhat scarcer in small cities than in larger urban settings. This helps to explain why we encountered many immigrants whose social integration was not mediated through such organisations. This is most likely less frequent in larger urban settings, where, for example, many ethnic 'enclaves' may be found, which, in turn, support the building of various institutions and organisations. Nonetheless, both types of relationships between networks and shared values were also perceptible in St John's, where the ethnocultural group studied does have greater critical mass and well-established culturally based institutions. Moreover, these results are consistent with the Halifax component of the study.

8.5.4 Shared Values: Implications for Attraction and Retention

Our findings challenge the previously dominant assimilationist model of immigrant integration in Canada (Li 2002). Cultural integration is not a prerequisite for social integration, because migrants are confident that they can build meaningful social relationships and networks with people of diverse cultures, as long as there are shared values of honesty and mutual respect. Thus, policy and programmes aimed at building welcoming communities might need to foster not only knowledge of cultural differences but also an understanding of the migration experience and how this affects the lives of immigrants (see Nyemah and Vanderplaet 2009).

Moreover, this research uncovers other important policy implications for attraction and retention in small cities. For example, there is no need for a mass of immigrants from the same cultural background. If it exists, immigrants do naturally tend to form their social networks around them, but this occurrence should not be construed as a deliberate choice and wish. Many immigrants would just as well build their social relationships on noncultural shared values. Regardless, this study attests that immigrants do need a strong social network, whether or not it is culturally based.

8.6 Networks and Structural Dynamics

Immigrant networks are vital to the integration of newcomers in Canada. In this section, network impacts are examined in the context of the labour market, gender, education, and health.

8.6.1 *Labour Market Integration*

Immigrants' networks, regardless of whether they are based on similar cultural values, can facilitate the economic integration of new arrivals by providing access to information regarding local labour, housing, goods and services markets, customs, investment opportunities, etc. This role of networks comes into play because of the common challenges faced by new arrivals in achieving economic integration. However, as we shall see, our small city research showed mixed results regarding the influence of networks on economic integration reflecting differences in terms of the composition of particular groups in question, as well as the size of the city and the proportion of immigrant population within it.

8.6.1.1 **Labour Market: Network Composition and Utilisation**

Akbari and Rankaduwa (2008) present evidence showing that since the early 1980s, the labour force participation rate (LFPR) has been increasing among new arrivals in Atlantic Canada, and among those who arrived during 2001–2006, LFPR emulates total resident population. However, LFPR varies by the city of residence. For example, it is higher than that of the total population in Halifax, but lower in St. John's and Charlottetown. This could be because of the larger component of refugees in recent arrivals in the latter two relatively small cities. Most immigrants intending to join the labour force come as highly skilled workers (professionals and managers), probably a result of deliberate attempts by the provincial and municipal governments to match incoming immigrants' skills with provincial labour shortages. While both nonimmigrants and immigrants are more likely to join sales and service occupations, immigrants are more likely than nonimmigrants to work in sectors related to applied and natural sciences, education, government, and religion. Service industries are major employers of both demographic groups, and within this sector, immigrants are more represented in education, healthcare, and social services. According to Akbari and Rankaduwa (2008), on average, immigrants earn more than nonimmigrants, while recent immigrants earn less probably due to their lack of Canadian experience; however, the earnings gap between recent immigrants and nonimmigrants appears to be narrowing since 1981.

The labour market performance of immigrants also varies according to their country of origin. In Table 8.3 we provide various indicators of labour market

performance, in 2006, of immigrants who came from South Asia, Lebanon, and sub-Saharan Africa.²

As illustrated in Table 8.3, South Asian immigrants are distinguishable in terms of their labour market performance. Their LFPR is matched only by Lebanese, and the former's labour market income exceeds the incomes of all other immigrant groups, as well as those of nonimmigrants. Notably, this particular demographic subgroup also records the lowest unemployment rate, as most of them work as professionals and managers. Meanwhile, immigrants originating in sub-Saharan Africa have the lowest LFPR and the highest unemployment rate. However, once they are able to find employment, they earn higher income than immigrants originating in Lebanon and also nonimmigrants. They are very thinly represented in the management and health occupations, as most work in social science, education, government services, and religion-related fields. In comparison, immigrants of Lebanese descent experience even higher unemployment rate and earn low incomes, despite the presence of a large Lebanese community and its networks in the region.

8.6.1.2 Impacts of Networks in Determining the Labour Market Performance of Immigrants

Overall, each immigrant group showed mixed results regarding the influence of networks on economic integration. For example, interviewees from the South Asian community of St. John's who were mostly professionals and managers employed in highly paid occupations did not report any community influence in finding employment. This may be because they came to St. John's with prearranged employment. There were also some students among the St. John's interviewees who reported no specific ties to the community and planned to move out of the region after completing their studies.

Notably, members of the African community of Moncton were the least satisfied among all groups of interviewees. They reported discrimination in employment and in obtaining bank loans. Community ties were of no importance in finding employment, or in times of financial need. The immigrant community of Charlottetown is very heterogeneous, and, hence, there is an absence of any networking related to labour market performances within this group.

In contrast to the above communities, immigrants in the Lebanese community, who live in the larger city of Halifax, reported their community networks to be instrumental in finding employment. Most interviewees in this group were young and had ties with the community. They noted that they would turn to community in the time of financial need. Of all four cities, the research participants from the Lebanese community in Halifax were also the most satisfied with their labour market status. Notably, the Lebanese community has long historical ties to the city of Halifax (Jabbara and Jabbara 1984). It is also important to note, as data from Statistics Canada shows that the Lebanese immigrants in Atlantic Canada also earned the lowest income, and those who arrived recently had the second highest unemployment rate, among the communities selected for our study (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Labour market performance of selected groups of immigrants in Atlantic Canada, 2006

	South Asian		Lebanese		African		All immigrants		Nomimmigrants
	All	Recent	All	Recent	All	Recent	All	Recent	
	Total population	4030	1050	1375	225	315	210	84,755	
Labour force participation rate (%)	65.90	79.30	66.00	61.10	60.40	40.70	58.60	64.40	62.80
Unemployment rate (%)	6.50	4.10	7.40	9.10	10.30	18.20	7.80	11.50	11.70
Earnings (\$)	51,038	36,570	26,030	NA	30,319	NA	35,852	25,302	28,642
Occupations (% of Labour force)									
Management	9.64	6.19	26.29	13.04	0.00	0.00	12.13	9.48	7.91
Business, finance and administration	18.87	25.66	10.29	26.09	24.14	27.27	15.62	16.51	16.53
Natural and applied science and related fields	14.68	23.01	4.57	17.39	6.90	18.18	8.73	12.61	5.09
Health	21.17	19.47	2.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.43	8.10	6.17
Social sciences, education, government services, religion	16.77	10.62	10.29	0.00	48.28	27.27	12.84	12.61	7.62
Art culture, recreation and sports	8.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.12	3.06	2.14
Sales and services	11.95	8.85	34.86	30.43	10.34	0.00	19.89	21.79	25.48
Trade, transport, equipment operator and related fields	2.52	0.00	9.14	13.04	6.90	18.18	9.04	7.11	15.96
Unique to primary	1.47	1.77	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.49	2.22	6.01
Unique to manufacturing, processing and utilities	2.10	1.77	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.83	2.06	5.32

Source: Special tabulations based on Census 2006 Target Group Profile, Statistics Canada

8.6.1.3 Implications of Labour Market Networks for Attraction and Retention

Based on the information presented in this section, one cannot draw a firm conclusion that immigrant networks have played any significant role in the economic integration of immigrants in Atlantic Canada, or in its three smaller cities of our focus which have experienced increases in their immigrant population in recent years due to specific immigrant attraction and retention initiatives. This result may be because this region is currently 'immigrant scarce'. Like other immigrants, visible minority immigrants have been mostly settling in Halifax, and their choice of smaller cities is only a recent phenomenon. It can be expected that over time, as the region's immigrant population increases, and more immigrants chose destinations in relatively smaller cities outside of Halifax, immigrant networks will strengthen throughout the region and may play a larger role in the economic integration of new arrivals.

As of late, recent immigration in the region has been largely job oriented. Many immigrants are coming to Atlantic Canada as provincial nominees with an a priori job offer at hand. Soon upon arrival, they are in touch with provincial and local government officials, who may also connect them to service organisations that help them in their settlement. Hence, in theory, they do not have to utilise community resources in obtaining information about local labour markets and investment opportunities although this practice has been less than straightforward given the unfortunate consequences of some nominee programmes in Canada (Dobrowolsky 2011, 2012). Nevertheless, our analysis tends to suggest that when an immigrant community has reached a critical mass of population, the role of their networks in economic integration will strengthen. However, gender differences exist in civic participation and socio-economic and health networks as will be discussed in the next section.

8.6.2 Gender

The data from Moncton, Charlottetown, and St. John's reflect gender differences and similarities in the experiences of social networks. Our research suggests that there may be more similarities between the gender experiences of immigrant networks in Charlottetown and St. John's, than is the case for Moncton, which provides a unique experience on several fronts.

8.6.2.1 Gender Composition of Networks

In Moncton, where most of the participants were students, the majority of male respondents suggested that their social networks included both women and men equally, whereas the female respondents felt that their social networks were mostly

comprised of the opposite sex. In Charlottetown, where female respondents also noted that their social networks were heavily comprised of the other sex, most respondents (men and women) said that they felt closer to those of their respective genders, while others simply did not favour one gender over another in making close friendships or relationships. This overall tendency, where the majority stated that they felt closer to their own gender and the rest did not favour one gender over another, was also apparent in St. John's. However, the gender composition of networks in St. John's suggested that the majority included both men and women in their social networks equally, although a few mentioned that their social networks were made up of mostly the same sex and even less suggested that their networks included mostly members of the opposite sex. The outlier appears to be Moncton where women's networks were mostly comprised of members of the opposite sex. Regardless of same gender preferences (or a lack thereof), pragmatic reasons, such as the low numbers of immigrants in the respective ethnic communities, may necessitate mixed gender composition of immigrant networks.

8.6.2.2 Gender-Based Experiences of Networks

In Moncton and St. John's, respondents claimed that they were not treated differently in their networks on the basis of gender. In St. John's, however, respondents remarked on cultural differences which could lead to different expectations, roles, and opportunities for men and women. Differential treatment could arise, and there was a clearer indication by women that they could experience such treatment, whereas male respondents were closely divided on this particular issue. Again, Moncton proved to be more of an exceptional case. Not only did more women partake in networks comprised of members of the opposite sex, but they felt that they were less likely to be treated differently on the basis of their gender. This was not the experience of women in St. John's, nor was it the case in Charlottetown.

Participants in St. John's described building and using networks through a variety of community, professional, and cultural organisations. The South Asian community was also a strong source for support and social networking for the majority of the participants. There were a few gender differences noted in what organisations the female and male interviewees chose to approach in forming their networks. Here, departing somewhat from more stereotypical patterns of a gendered division of associational behaviour—where men would be more active in student and athletic groups and women would be more involved in religious or community organisations—here women were involved with student and athletic groups, while the men had stronger ties to religious associations. But then, more akin to traditional, socially constructed gendered norms, male respondents, who participated in any type of cultural or community group, tended to take on more leadership roles than women.

The Charlottetown participants differed in their approaches to building networks. The female participants tended to join and volunteer with groups and organisations in order to build networks, while the male participants relied on their links to neighbourhood communities and their employment relations. However, here too,

and once again, men who joined or volunteered with organisations tended to occupy more leadership roles than women.

Were family networks among the reasons that attracted participants to settle in the respective communities? In general, few participants discussed the specifics regarding their decisions to stay or to leave. Nonetheless, for those who did, family, finances, and employment opportunities were the prime factors identified. The most clearly articulated case came among St. John's interviewees, where family and employment networks were pivotal: people migrated there for family reasons, or employment. In Charlottetown as well, the issue of family care was identified as a factor in determining whether to stay or leave for one female respondent. While most participants did not explain why they had chosen to immigrate to Moncton, we can deduce that, in this case, family was not as crucial a variable, because these interviewees tended not to have close family members in Moncton, nor did they mention having an extended family in the area. Consequently, Moncton interviewees relied more heavily on social, cultural, and religious organisations to become a second family and a source of emotional and material support.

Were participants well adjusted in their new communities, and how, if at all, did networks factor in settlement decisions? Most respondents in Moncton felt that 'happy' was too strong a word to describe how they felt with their settlement, but rather noted that they were 'satisfied' and planned to stay, depending upon finding employment, a stance consistent with responses that emerged from interviews in the other two cities. As noted above, in Charlottetown, family care was highlighted as a settlement determinant, while in St. John's, the need to leave the province to further educational goals was noted by a female respondent. Moreover, in St. John's, the economic considerations weighing upon the decision to stay also broadened to include issues that ranged from job opportunities and financial security to funding for cultural events.

8.6.2.3 Implications of Gender Experiences for Settlement in Small Cities

In sum, the most distinctive and the most divergent patterns appear to arise in Moncton where there was more openness to diversity on various counts from heterogeneous networks, to the recognition of multiple languages, to outright openness and appreciation of values of other communities, to less gender-based discrimination, according to this study's participants. At the same time, however, differential treatment and perhaps even discriminatory realities were a feature in Moncton as well. This certainly reflects language and cultural differences in this officially bilingual and historically bicultural province, but racism may be a factor as well.

Moncton's exceptionalism in terms of attitudes and practices towards diversity may derive from the fact that although Moncton participants shared French as a common language, their backgrounds were highly diverse and they subscribed to very different cultures and religions. At the same time, immigrants in Moncton were minorities within a minority language community. The significance of the latter is illustrated by the strength and primacy of linguistic networks in Moncton.

The immigrant participants in Charlottetown were equally diverse. However, one could argue that the Moncton group was comparatively more distinctive given the language difference from the English-speaking population and different forms of racialisation, particularly as participants came from various French-speaking African nations. This, in turn, suggests that a more detailed analysis of the intersections of gender, race, class, language, and religion needs to be pursued in this context in the future. Thus, in direct contrast to Moncton, in Charlottetown, the smallest of the three cities, we find, in general, more trends towards homogeneity whether this is reflected in networks that are less differentiated by gender, more value placed on English, or, alternatively, stronger ties to respective communities given language barriers. Education and language components of networks are further explored in the next section.

8.7 Educational Networks

This section explores the role of formal and informal education in the social and community networks of immigrants and examines ways in which such networks influenced aspects related to the attraction, integration, and retention of immigrants in three small cities in the Atlantic region. Here we discuss the participants' social and community networks, link these networks to the educational experiences of the participants, and situate their narratives of these experiences within the context of the three small cities. Opportunities to access and acquire social, cultural, and linguistic capital within educational institutions and ethnocultural communities are linked to the processes of integration and retention. Furthermore, to nurture and maintain a sense of belonging, a sense of place, and a sense of community emerged as important factors associated with the integration and retention of immigrants to small cities in the three Atlantic Provinces.

Integration in the sense of being able to participate in the social and cultural life of Canada in these three cities was more evident in culture- and language-specific communities where informal education was incorporated into regular social and religious activities. This was particularly noticeable in St. John's, which had, for example, a Friends of India Association, a Hindu temple, and a Sikh temple, all venues where a majority of the South Asians were able to connect and network with each other. In Charlottetown and Moncton, participants mentioned the significance of community schools and churches in providing heritage language training, as well as places for Muslims to meet and transmit religious education to children. As a participant in Moncton explained: 'Religion is very important...[it is] first the parents' role and then the Church's.' Benefits that accrued to these participants by virtue of their membership in sociocultural and religious groups included inter- and intragenerational interactions and connections, and the development of a sense of belonging to the place and community.

Participants from Charlottetown and Moncton did not experience the same benefits of social networks, because unlike the cohesive South Asian group dynamic

in St. John's, the communities studied in Charlottetown and Moncton comprised of immigrants from diverse origins, nationalities, religions, cultures, and languages. Participants in Charlottetown represented four continents (Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America). As noted above, although participants in Moncton were from sub-Saharan Africa and had a common French language, they were diverse in their cultures and religions. Opportunities existed for immigrants to connect with local residents in places where shared religious activities occurred.

8.7.1 Utilisation of Education Networks and Integration

In exploring the factors that contributed to immigrants choosing to live in one of the three small cities in the Atlantic Provinces, participants were asked if they or their families received assistance with their transition into the education system. In St. John's, participants had the most number of positive responses, followed by Charlottetown, while only one person in Moncton indicated receiving assistance from a friend. Those who responded identified international recruitment centres and Canadian recruitment officers as their first contacts with the education system, either prior to or immediately following their arrival in Canada.

Immediate and extended family members as well as friends and acquaintances in Atlantic Canadian academic institutions were instrumental in assisting immigrants to make the vital connections to the education system. One participant in St. John's noted that his parents provided pertinent information that assisted him in successfully obtaining admission to the medical school in St. John's. The desire for further education, reunification with family members, and the pursuit of employment played a role in attracting young and older immigrants to one of the three cities.

More information was gleaned in regard to the integration processes of immigrants as participants shared their experiences with all levels of the education system. Most of the discussions were centred on issues concerning settlement and familiarisation with the system. Notably, participants from St. John's and Charlottetown, more so than those from Moncton, reported that they developed social networks through their contacts with Canadians. Integration in this context is understood as an adjustment or adaptation to the way of life in the city or university campus. International student advisors and university professors provided assistance during the transition process for university students in Charlottetown and St. John's. Participants who socially interacted with local residents reported the benefits of such social connections to their education experiences. As one Charlottetown participant noted, 'I have a Canadian friend and in my free time I sometimes go and visit him at his apartment and practice English, and watch a movie, and talk to him about culture in Canada'.

Building such social networks with local residents also assisted with the integration of immigrants into the larger Canadian society. Social interactions at sites of learning were also facilitated by settlement agencies and community organisations, which offered new arrival programmes. For example, Citizenship and

Immigration Canada's Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) and host-family programmes provided opportunities for social interactions and building relationships. The staff and volunteers at these settlement agencies assisted families with communicating with their children's teachers, as well as with navigating the public school system. Families in all three cities with pre-school children availed of day-care services at the YM/YWCA and university-run or local day-care centres. Friends and neighbours from both immigrant and local communities also provided child-care assistance, which suggests that these relationships have the potential to assist with the integration of immigrants.

The extent to which social networks are linked to the integration and retention of immigrants also depends on the opportunities to access group memberships available to these participants through educational institutions and culture- and language-specific associations and organisations. For example, a young participant in St. John's referred to the significance of an already established ethnocultural group, noting: 'it was an opportunity for me as well to meet youth of my age and I still keep in contact with them'. This attests to the importance of accessing and acquiring social networks in immigrants' settlement in a new city.

8.7.2 Social Networks in Health

Aforementioned education, gender, and labour market performances are three of the key social determinants of health. In particular, immigrants' social health networks can be conceptualised as an interconnected group of individuals who provide tangible, material, informational, and emotional support to each other, to access the healthcare system during the settlement period and during times of health crises (Weerasinghe 2009). Recent paradigm shifts in Canadian community healthcare regimes that prioritise investing in the maintenance of good health emphasise the central role played by social networks in creating social stability through cohesive, safe, and stable social relationships. The two types of social networks noted in the health literature are based on geographical proximity and kinship and are comprised of individuals with similar demographic characteristics and mutual interests and/or associations. Dossa (2002, 341) suggests that through these social networks 'well-being is essentially grounded in spaces and places where we live, work, and engage in social interactions'.

From a theoretical standpoint, the social networks in health described herein draw on one particular aspect of the ecosocial theory of health (Krieger 2001) and focus on how both one's living and working social environments interact with access to healthcare and social support. This is conceptualised in different ways, including positive social interactions, emotional support, tangible support, and affection and intimacy (Sherbourne and Stewart 1991; Richmond et al. 2007). In the small city context, however, we need to consider both positive and negative dimensions and, thus, focus our attention on both social isolation and the absence of ties to individuals (Berkman and Glass 2000) that provide support to obtain health information. In

addition, positive social interaction, emotional support, tangible support, and affection and intimacy during the time of health crisis are also important.

8.7.2.1 Composition of Health Networks: Urban/Rural City Comparison

Data collected among three small Atlantic city' immigrant community groups revealed that having healthcare professionals within one's ethno-racial network constitutes one common source of support for newcomer's access to the healthcare system. The following two narratives from respondents illustrate the social health network similarities shared by immigrant communities in the relatively smaller city of St. John's, with the lowest immigrant attraction rate, compared to Halifax, a larger Atlantic city.

As for our East Indian community in St. John's, I think 80 percent are doctors. As they came they found it hard to integrate to the healthcare system but they have stronger people who want to work (in the healthcare system). So people who are new to the system, they have to get into the (healthcare) system through the ethnic community established over here. (St. John's participant)

My dentist is Lebanese, my family doctor is Lebanese. In our generation a lot of Lebanese doctors, nurses and dentists were migrating. So it is not hard to find one within the community. (Halifax participant)

Though St. John's is considered a smaller city with relatively smaller numbers of South Asian immigrants and the size of Lebanese community compared to Halifax, both immigrant communities provide similar health-related social network support. Thus, at both locations, immigrants use the same source of support, from the healthcare professionals within the respective ethnic community. In contrast, Charlottetown's mixed ethnic immigrant community drew support from familial connections in the neighbouring provinces to find a doctor. Based on these preliminary results, we can hypothesise that the size of the ethnic community matters more than the size or smallness of the city when it comes to immigrants' social health network support.

8.7.2.2 Composition of Health Information Networks

The research participants who migrated from Western countries (the USA and England) to Charlottetown are relatively wealthy, and their social health information networks included physicians, nurses, and even family members within their own small ethnic community of people from the same countries of origin. The other Charlottetown immigrant participants, those who originated from Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe, draw social health information from more established institutions such as local pharmacists and individuals including white Canadian neighbours and friends, as well as family members. Western immigrants' use of tele-messaging (i.e. sending text messages in their cell phones) extended their social health information

networks to their countries of origin, while non-Western immigrants indicated that this would be a possible source of information, if they could afford the requisite technology. In this context, it becomes evident that the socio-economic position of immigrants has direct bearing on their access to and utilisation of health information networks.

For immigrants in Moncton and St. John's, the family doctor is a popular source of health information, whereas this option is limited in Charlottetown, where 60% of the participants noted they do not have a family doctor. In all three cities, young girls and boys tend to obtain health information from friends (intimate and other), even outside their ethno-racial community, whereas older adults tend to include family members and spouses as main sources for health-related information. The Internet also seems to be a common option, most frequently used by youth and older women in St. John's and Moncton. As Moncton immigrants comprised French-speaking immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, their health information network also extended to the French-speaking local Acadian community. Meanwhile, Charlottetown immigrants with language difficulties include multicultural association as their language support network. It is evident that small city social health information network profiles are diverse and are governed by a multitude of factors, including socio-economic position, age, gender, English/French language competency, country of origin, and the density of interracial immigrant community.

8.7.2.3 Utilisation of Health Networks

At the individual level, our research revealed interesting findings on how the small city immigrant health networks provide tangible support for newcomers regarding access to the healthcare system. The sources of support vary based on the immigrant community profile as well as the age and gender composition that exists within each small city. Thus, in Moncton and St. John's, immigrant community profiles are ethnically homogeneous by study design, while in Charlottetown, immigrant community health network profiles are polarised, reflecting the composition of the immigrant communities in the area. At this location, a remarkable division is also introduced by the country of origin. The nature of social support received by Charlottetown immigrants depends on the type of network, and material support is drawn from both familial and other social networks. However, the emotional support seems to be exclusively drawn from family members. Moreover, despite age and gender differences mentioned above, St. John's' South Asian immigrants also rely on family members for material support during health crises. However, in the event of a health crisis, those who are in the workforce also identified friends at their workplace as a source of limited material support such as food and transportation. Similarly, international students in Moncton have formed health support groups to provide material support. Additionally, students also receive financial support from parents and psychological support from mothers. Kinship networks were also deemed as fundamental in providing social support for those who live with extended families.

Social and familial health networks have the potential to be instrumental in attracting and retaining immigrants to small Atlantic cities. Immigrants in St. John's indicated that having a network of support made up of healthcare professionals is a factor that can be emphasised to attract more healthcare professionals to the city, since they help each other to obtain employment in the healthcare sector, while helping others to access the healthcare system. However, Charlottetown immigrants indicated the time spent to find a family doctor in the small city is a strong predictor for leaving the island.

8.8 Conclusion

In all three small Atlantic Canadian cities' immigrant communities, networks obviously play an important role in settlement, from attraction through to developing a sense of belonging; however, there are also notable distinctions and divergences given the findings of our study. Accessing and acquiring social networks are clearly crucial to immigrant communities, but the networks we identified and explored in Charlottetown, Moncton, and St. John's were not, as one might assume, strictly culturally based. Moreover, as the labour market integration section reflects, the utility of networks is not a given, as much can depend on the composition of the group in question, as well as the size of both the city and immigrant population within it. Indeed, in terms of the group in question, what became increasingly apparent in all of the sections of our chapter is that, while some combination of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and language will inevitably come into play when studying social networking in immigrant communities, perhaps this becomes even more acutely the case when studying their deployment and effectiveness in small city immigrant communities.

More specifically, our study indicates, for example, that there are differences in the types of networks that immigrant men and women join and how they join. Here too, our data revealed some unanticipated gender differences such as the fact that in St. John's men were more likely to be involved with religious-based or other volunteer organisations, while women joined more general, social, and athletic groups. Divergences occurred in Charlottetown as well, but here, arguably, due to the low numbers of immigrants overall (combined with their widely diverse composition), we saw more familiar patterns of highly gendered associational behaviour, where men mostly joined professional or neighbourhood networks and women tended to access social and other volunteer groups. At the same time, however, across all three cases, some, and all too familiar, roles were perpetuated, i.e. men disproportionately assuming leadership positions across a range of associations.

Site-specific linguistic and racial environments, as well as different sociocultural and political contexts within the Atlantic region, also clearly contributed to variations. This was apparent in the Moncton contrasting case, for instance, where, due to Francophone immigration, linguistic networks were paramount, whereas family or community connections were not as crucial. Still, in Moncton, as in the

other small cities examined, immigrants inevitably joined social, cultural, and religious groups in the community for emotional and material support.

Aside from the Moncton outlier, what became particularly evident in the sections on gender, health, and education is that family and kinship networks played a vital role from migration decision-making to providing critical, supplemental health and educational supports. For instance, social health networks of immigrants in the three small cities in the Atlantic region revealed the family as pivotal to the provision of emotional, as well as tangible, material, and financial support during a health crisis. Those with strong family connections tended to remain where the family was located, and for them integration to the community came from their nuclear family. In addition, in the case of education, immediate and extended family members, as well as friends and acquaintances, in Atlantic Canadian academic institutions were instrumental in making educational connections.

Relatedly, public institutional supports were essential to, and worked alongside, social networks, and the two, in combination, also factored into immigrant retention and integration. For instance, due to provincial health system deficiencies, some immigrants did not have family doctors, and hence their integration to the healthcare system took longer and thus negatively impacted their retention, given that family doctors were found to play a central role in exchanging health information to immigrant communities. Consequently, immigration and settlement programmes and policies need to pay closer attention to not only familial connections but also the role played by key public institutions in fostering networking and facilitating integration and retention in small city immigrant communities.

Finally, as our broader exploration of citizenship and values underlines, cultural integration is not a prerequisite for social integration. There is no need, for example, for mass immigration from those of a particular background or culture. Rather, what becomes more important, perhaps especially in smaller cities, is engendering social values such as honesty and respect in and outside immigrant communities. Here, then, in terms of citizenship, what becomes paramount is building networks based on these shared values that serve to nurture senses of belonging, place, and broader community. This can be facilitated by a more robust multiculturalism that extends beyond mere perceptions and includes lived experiences via practices that include building public education programmes around immigration and anti-racism, as well as supporting inclusive networks around a variety of equally inclusive institutions of public life.

Notes

1. As discussed, data restrictions do not allow us to provide further breakdowns of these groups.
2. Statistics Canada can provide these data only on regional basis and not for individual cities due to issues relating to confidentiality of information.

Acknowledgment We would like to thank the following research assistants, who each contributed in a variety of ways to the research: Duyen Nguyen, Rebecca Rolfe, Isabelle Violette, Marc Anglade, Tanya Barber, Christina Holmes, Natasha Hanson, Alexa Holm, Sinziana Chira, and Vanessa Perry. This research was made possible by funding from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Integration Branch).

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Part III
Health, Politics, and Diversity

Chapter 9

Health and Social Inequities of Visible Minority Immigrant Women in St. John's: A Critical Population Health Perspective

Sylvia Reitmanova and Diana L. Gustafson

This chapter employs a critical population health perspective to better examine the social, economic, and cultural processes that create the health and social inequities experienced by visible minority immigrant women in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. We understand health as a capacity and resource for daily living that enables individuals and groups to be productive and contributing members of society (Raphael and Bryant 2002). For a few decades, Health Canada has drawn upon population health as a framework for understanding the system-level determinants of the health of a population or subpopulation and factors such as gender, culture, income, and social status. More recently, the critical population health perspective has gained ground because the approach realigns attention from social determinants of health to those social, economic, political, and historical influences that produce health inequities and the unequal distribution of resources essential for health (Raphael 2001; Coburn et al. 2003; Graham 2004; Labonté et al. 2005). That is to say, this perspective considers the socioeconomic contexts and environmental structures through which the determinants of health and social inequalities are produced. While a traditional population health perspective is concerned with understanding why poor people are more prone to sickness than others (Evans et al. 1994), the critical population approach explores why some people are poorer than others and, thus, less likely to enjoy good health (Graham 2004; Labonté 2005). In other words, the goal of the critical population health perspective is to deconstruct “how historically specific structures, economic relationships and ideological assumptions serve to create and reinforce conditions that perpetuate and legitimize conditions that undermine the health of specific populations” (Labonté et al. 2005, 10).

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We conducted two separate small-scale qualitative studies in St. John's among the visible minority immigrant communities between February 2005 and January 2006. The first study examined the facilitators and barriers to maintaining mental health and immigrants' experiences with access and availability of services and programmes that support mental health (Reitmanova and Gustafson 2009a, b). The second study explored maternal health needs and barriers to accessing maternal health services from the perspective of St. John's immigrant Muslim women (Reitmanova and Gustafson 2008). Despite the difference in research focus (mental health and maternity health), visible minority immigrant women in both studies reported poor health experiences with lack of social support networks, lack of sustained employment and adequate income, lack of accommodation for cultural differences, and lack of socioculturally responsive services as determining factors.

The traditional population health model would approach these findings by recommending policies to address the determinants of health, in these cases, income, employment and social support networks which would purportedly improve the health of this population. However, as Graham (2004) and Labonté et al. (2005) point out, focusing on these health determinants do not address the underlying social inequities experienced by visible minority immigrant women. This is the value of the critical population health perspective: it facilitates the exploration of the drivers of social inequities and the development of policy recommendations for creating more equitable conditions necessary for improving the health of marginalized populations (Guruge and Khanlou 2004; Reitmanova and Gustafson 2006, 2007; Richmond and Ross 2009). Some of these recommendations targeting immigrants have already been successfully implemented by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (2007) and may be of interest to health decision makers in other third-tier cities.

9.1 St. John's and Immigration

Third-tier cities are classified as primary centres that serve as the regional economic base, have been incorporated prior to 1950, and have not tripled in population since incorporation (Siegel and Waxman 2001). St. John's, the provincial capital of Newfoundland and Labrador, had a population of 181,113 in 2006 and can be classified as a third-tier city.¹ In 2011, St. John's had a population of 196,966 or a change of 8.8% from 2006 (Statistics Canada 2012). The city is located on the eastern tip of the Avalon Peninsula on the geographically isolated island portion of the province facing the Canadian North Atlantic. While most Canadian cities and provincial capitals have experienced considerable growth, due in part to international migration over the last century, St. John's has experienced comparatively low levels of immigration. However, the population of St. John's metropolitan area was projected to grow to 209,700 in 2014 or a 0.6% increase from 2013 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2014).

St. John's was established by John Cabot in 1497 and is the oldest European settlement in North America. The city was colonized by the British in 1583. Later settlers mainly from southwest England and southeast Ireland and also from France, Scotland, and Spain populated the surrounding coastal areas of the Avalon Peninsula and the island (O'Neill 2003). These early immigrants decimated the indigenous Beothuk peoples and their culture (Holly 2008). Today, the indigenous communities of Mi'kmaq, Innu, and Inuit live primarily in remote communities in Labrador and on the south coast of Newfoundland, each with their own traditions and cultural identities. This history of white European settlers combined with low levels of immigration from racially and religiously diverse populations has resulted in a predominantly white Christian population.

Christianity is the dominant religion in the province with considerable variation in religious denominations (Moravian, Salvation Army, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Seventh Day Adventists, Anglican, and Pentecostal). Christians represent about 95 % of St. John's population (Statistics Canada 2001). There are a few hundred Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, Sikhs, and members of other Eastern religions. About 4 % of the population reports no religious affiliation. Between 1999 and 2008, there were on average 350 permanent immigrants, 242 foreign workers, 218 foreign students, and 21 refugee claimants who entered St. John's each year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009). Based on the 2011 National Household Survey, there were 5880 or 3 % of the population in St. John's who were foreign born, and another 1385 or 0.7 % were nonpermanent residents (Statistics Canada 2012).

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) (2005) identified a number of reasons for the low immigration and retention rates in the province: immigrants' lack of awareness about available opportunities and services, lack of incentives to settle permanently in NL, and preference for settling in large urban areas with established ethnic communities and ethno-specific support networks. Very high unemployment rates in the 1990s were another significant factor in low immigration and retention rates. Like many Canadian coastal communities, St. John's experienced a dramatic economic downturn in the 1990s with the cod moratorium and the closure of related fishing industries. Forestry and mining, two other key industries, also experienced major restructuring. This poor economic situation resulted in significant outmigration and translated into very poor prospects for those considering immigration and permanent settlement (Dolan et al. 2005).

Gilroy (2005) cited several barriers to sustained settlement of immigrants in NL: a lack of economic opportunities, insufficient level of services and supports, and lack of ethno-racial and cultural diversity in the province. The same study also found that federal support for developing provincial immigration resources was very low. With the exception of limited support for educational and cultural projects provided by Canadian Heritage, Gilroy (2005) noted that multicultural organizations in St. John's did not receive support for operating costs. The Association for New Canadians, the only federally funded immigration and settlement service provider in St. John's, limits its programming to newly arrived immigrants and refugees only. The result is very limited programming that provides ongoing or longer-

term support to immigrants in general or to specific groups such as visible immigrant women and their families.

The provincial government recognized that economic and cultural development was needed to attract and retain immigrants. In February 2005, at the Atlantic Mayors' Congress, the premiers of NL, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island agreed to develop new strategies to attract and retain more immigrants to Atlantic Canada. This initiative was set out in a document entitled *Building Human Capital in Atlantic Canada: The Immigration Factor*. In March 2007, the NL government implemented a new immigration strategy which highlighted the need to identify and develop services that respond to immigrants' diverse social, economic, and cultural needs since such services may positively impact on immigrants' desire to settle permanently (Government of NL 2007). Although the same department of the provincial government responsible for the immigration initiative is also responsible for the poverty reduction initiative, there was little overlap in the two documents or any explicit acknowledgement that visible minority immigrant women may be differently vulnerable to the impacts of poverty. For instance, the national statistical data show that visible minority immigrant women have incomes lower than white immigrant women and, therefore, are more prone to poverty and ill health (Canadian Association of Social Workers 2004). Other studies indicate that visible minority immigrant women need health, social, and community services that are responsive to their diverse cultural and linguistic needs (Vissandjee et al. 2007; Guruge and Collins 2008).

9.2 Immigrant Women in St. John's

Prior to our studies, there were no published reports about the health of visible minority immigrant women in St. John's. Our qualitative studies of the mental and maternal health of this population contribute to a better understanding of immigrants' needs and address the government call for decision-making evidence to better serve this population. A total of 12 women aged 20–49 years participated in in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted in 2005–2006. Women who participated in the mental health study were from diverse religious backgrounds, while the women in the maternal health study were Muslims. These participants emigrated from Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turkey and had been in Canada between 3 and 10 years. They spoke English with varying levels of fluency. They entered the country as refugees or as the spouses of skilled workers or international students. Some had attained their Canadian citizenship by the time of the interview. Most had a postsecondary education or a professional degree. All were married and most had children. While most women worked at home caring for their children and household, a few were also pursuing graduate studies or had paid employment. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed with pseudonyms assigned to each participant to protect their identity.

In 2005–2006 when these two studies were conducted, only 3% of St. John's population ($n=5255/181,113$) were landed immigrants. Forty-five percent or about 2365 landed immigrants were women (Statistics Canada 2007). Of these, 47% were between 25 and 44 years old and 57% were married. Only 40 (or 1.7%) of landed immigrant women reported no knowledge of English or French. The majority of immigrant women were born in Europe (43%) followed by those born in Asia and Middle East (25%), USA (16%), Africa (7%), and South America (5%). There were 860 visible minority immigrant women living in the city who self-identified as either South Asian, Chinese, Latin American, Black, Filipino, or Arab. Almost 48% of immigrant women older than 15 years had a university degree compared to 23% of Canadian-born women. Only 10% of immigrant women in St. John's had no certificate, diploma, or degree compared to 22% of Canadian-born women. The remaining women were either still attending school or had educational degree lower than the university level. Approximately 40% of immigrant women in St. John's attained their education in Canada.

Socioeconomic security is an important determinant of immigrant women's health. Other health determinants are availability of supportive social networks, access to health and social services, as well as a social environment that nurtures feelings of belonging, emotional connectedness, and integration where their mental and maternal health needs are met by resources that are respectful of religious and cultural differences (Newbold 2003; Vissandjee et al. 2007; Guruge and Collins 2008). However, the research on the socioeconomic situation of immigrants in small communities yields inconsistent findings. Abu-Laban et al. (1999) reported that the lack of employment and educational opportunities contributes to immigrants' decisions to leave small communities for larger centres. However, Dhiman (1997) found that well-educated and skilled immigrants such as physicians and postsecondary educators are attracted to small urban centres for economic reasons. Using the example of Ontario's Thunder Bay, Dunk (2007) noted that the immigrant population in Canadian third-tier centres usually fair better economically than immigrants in large urban areas.

The situation in St. John's appears to support both findings. On the one hand, the province struggles with retention of immigrants due to the lack of economic opportunities (Gilroy 2005). On the other hand, Statistics Canada (2007) reveals that St. John's immigrant women tend to score well in several economic indicators such as employment, wages, and family income. Data from Statistics Canada (2007) collected in 2005 indicate that the average and median wages of immigrant women in St. John's were higher than those of their Canadian-born counterparts. Fifty percent ($n=1190$) of immigrant women in the city were employed compared to 57% ($n=76,545$) of Canadian-born women. Immigrant women tended to be employed in healthcare and education services. Unemployment rates between immigrant and Canadian-born women were not significantly different (7% and 9%, respectively). Immigrant women in St. John's fared better than Canadian-born women in 2005 when comparing average wage (\$38,655/\$27,054, respectively) and median wage (\$28,203/\$21,965, respectively). However, a closer look at the wage distribution for immigrant and Canadian-born women (shown in Fig. 9.1) shows that immigrant

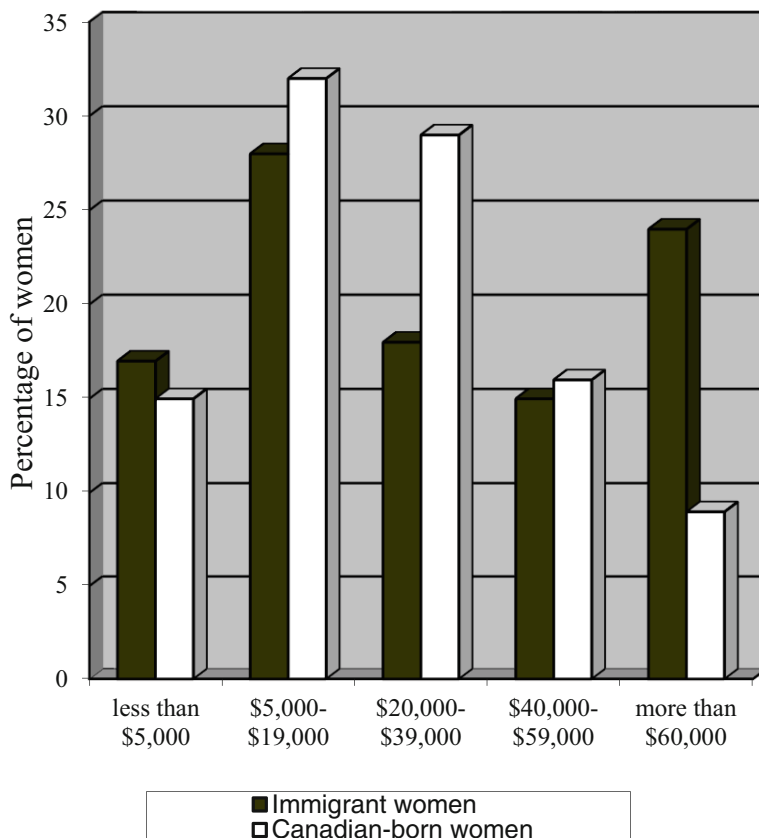


Fig. 9.1 Distribution of average wages among St. John's immigrant and Canadian-born women, 2005 (Source: Statistics Canada 2007)

women were overrepresented in the highest (over \$60,000) and lowest (under \$19,000) income brackets while wages tended to be more evenly distributed across all income brackets among Canadian-born women.

Prevalence of low income among immigrant women was higher than among Canadian-born women (Statistics Canada 2007). In 2005, 12% of St. John's immigrant women living with families had low income compared to 10% of Canadian-born women, 28% of immigrant women living alone had a low income compared to 34% of their Canadian-born counterparts, and 45% of immigrant women had no paid employment compared to 37% of Canadian-born women. These data suggest that the socioeconomic situation of St. John's immigrant women not only differs from that of their Canadian-born counterparts but that there may be significant variation among groups of immigrant women in the city. From 2008 to 2011, the employment rates of immigrant women in Canada remain unchanged at 68%, which was 11.5 points lower than Canadian-born women (Yssaad 2012, 19).

Data on income and employment (both determinants of health) are important, but they do not reveal the social, economic, political, and historical influences which produce health inequities and the unequal distribution of resources essential for the mental and maternal health of visible minority immigrant women (Graham 2004; Labonté et al. 2005). These data do not account for the social positions created by uneven access to health and social services. Hence, critical population health approach facilitates the exploration of these drivers of inequities and the development of recommendations to local policy makers and service providers for creating more equitable conditions necessary for improving the mental and maternal health of visible minority immigrant women.

9.3 Mental Health and Maternal Health of Immigrant Women

Gender roles and immigration status play an important role in shaping women's health (Douglas 2005; Vissandjee et al. 2007). When compared with men, women have a higher prevalence of depression, dysthymia (a chronic mood disorder), deliberate self-harm, seasonal affective disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, panic attacks, social phobias, and eating disorders, including anorexia nervosa, bulimia, and obesity (Kohen 2000). The higher prevalence of mental disorders among women may be attributable to the greater willingness of women to report their problems, to greater burden or vulnerability to life stress in the absence of necessary support, and to the possibility of a statistical bias (Holmshaw and Hillier 2000). While the physiological differences and relational aspects of women's lives may play some role in shaping their vulnerability to developing mental illness, the health-damaging or health-protective effect of the social environment cannot be ignored (Kohen 2000).

Women's mental health is influenced by their abilities "to provide for one's needs and security and the needs and security of loved ones, to stand up for oneself in conflicts with others, and to make life decisions based on one's own desires" (Wenegrat 1995, 1). Like their Canadian-born counterparts, immigrant women tend to prioritize the needs of other family members; however, they do so in a social environment where they have very limited support networks. Heavy engagement in domestic work and low financial resources leave many little time and finances for rest and leisure (Stodolska 1998). Add to that, the stress of resettlement makes immigrant women more vulnerable to developing mental illness (Guruge and Collins 2008).

The health of visible minority immigrant women is also impacted by their daily experiences of various forms of discrimination based on markers of difference such as skin colour and headdress. While immigrants' experiences of racism and discrimination are relatively well documented in Canadian metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Ray and Preston 2009), research examining racist experiences in the context of small cities is very limited. This lack of documentation can lead to the erroneous assumption that racism does not exist or is not a

problem in small communities. However, the studies conducted in Fredericton, New Brunswick (Miedema and Nason-Clark 1989), and in small towns of central and southern Alberta (Lai and Huffey 2009) show that immigrants do experience racism in these small urban centres. Nderitu (2009) recently documented African immigrant women's experiences of racism in St. John's. Further research is needed to identify if and how these experiences differ from those of immigrants living in larger urban centres.

Discrimination against visible minority immigrant women can occur when seeking employment, education, healthcare, housing, transportation, and various social services (Dossa 2004; Guruge and Collins 2008; Lai and Huffey 2009). Unlike their white immigrant counterparts, they can be ghettoized in low-income, high-crime neighbourhoods (Novac 1999); unemployed despite having university degrees (Statistics Canada 2000); or forced to accept low-paying jobs with little security or opportunity for advancement (Man 2004). The resulting economic insecurity can lead to inadequate housing or homelessness, poor nutrition, inadequate services, and hazardous working conditions (Hyman 2009). Racism also influences health directly due to prolonged negative stressors and, possibly, behaviours such as substance abuse, self-harm, and delaying professional help.

Stress-related changes can also impact immigrant women's maternal health. Some immigrant women are more vulnerable to preterm labour, low birth weight, and perinatal morbidity and mortality due to stress-induced hormonal and immune responses (Patrick and Bryan 2005; Van Eijsden et al. 2006). Adapting to a new motherhood role can be challenging for most women. Visible minority immigrant women who are simultaneously adapting to life in an unfamiliar social and physical environment often lack social support networks, affordable childcare, and transportation. Loneliness, trauma experience, and an uncertain legal status are other important factors which make some groups of immigrant women more vulnerable to depression during maternity (Wikberg and Bondas 2010). When seeking maternal healthcare, immigrant women tend to be disadvantaged by lack of services which are culturally and linguistically responsive to women's health beliefs and practices and responsive to their experiences of poverty and racism (Spitzer 2005; Grewal et al. 2008; Carrasco et al. 2009; Hyman 2009). This cumulative burden may be exacerbated in a small city where it can be more challenging to find like-minded peers.

The postpartum period can be also challenging for visible minority immigrant women who are more likely than Canadian-born women to experience depression (Stewart et al. 2008) and poor self-rated health (Sword et al. 2006). There is some evidence that immigrant women receive suboptimal postnatal care both in the hospital and in the community (Katz and Gagnon 2002; Neufeld et al. 2002; Sword et al. 2006). The reasons of suboptimal care vary. Family and job responsibilities of immigrant women make it difficult for this population to access healthcare services after childbirth. Limited family income often translates into poor access to transportation and childcare. This lack of support and assistance for a new mother can be quite different from what they have learned to expect as many non-Western societies provide support for up to 40 days postpartum (Kim-Godwin 2003).

Our study on immigrant women's maternal health needs support the findings of these studies.

9.4 Health Determinants of Visible Minority Immigrant Women in St. John's

We present four determinants of health among the visible minority immigrant women in St. John's: social support networks, sustained employment and adequate income, accommodation and respect for cultural differences, and socioculturally responsive primary healthcare and social services.

9.4.1 Social Support Networks

The health benefits of social support networks are linked to the number of people in a network and the quality of the support they provide. A sound social network offers individuals a sense of belonging and influence, opportunities for social engagement in the form of volunteering and participation, and access to collective problem solving (Galabuzi and Labonté 2002). Clarke (2004) identified four types of social support networks that are essential in maintaining one's health. Emotional support offers the recipient affection and acceptance. Informational support provides an individual with desired or requested information. Instrumental support assists one with practical help. Finally, cognitive support helps a person in reframing and recontextualizing problems.

Our studies revealed that visible minority immigrant women required many forms of social support to sustain their mental and maternal health. Immigrant women spoke about needing affection, friendship, acceptance, advice, practical help, and an adequate network of information. They stressed the importance of having the support of their families and friends to help them psychologically or financially to handle stress. The absence of such support made them feel lonely, empty, isolated, and depressed. Nadya, a mother of two, said that after moving to Canada, many immigrant women did not know "to whom they can go," and they were left to cope on their own. She explained:

Back home the relationship between people is completely different than here. We are close to each other, we are like sisters, brothers, we have uncles, cousins, we have warm relationships back home. Even with friends—every two or three days we visit each other. But when we came here, you can say that everybody lives his own life.

Ameerah, a mother of five school-aged children, echoed this comment by saying:

There is no support. This is our sixth year in Canada. There is the only neighbour that offers to me any support and any help...All of them are with their own life, just 'hi' and that's it... There is a difference between our cultures. I think this is the point.

While these two women thought that the reason for being lonely without support stems from cultural differences, Bushra, a middle-aged mother of two, thought she had high expectations from others:

I have never found anybody here that I could call a real friend or close friend, I have friends, I have acquaintances, but I don't have a very good friend. Maybe I'm expecting too much. Maybe I want to substitute the friends for the family members that I don't have. And of course, when I compare them, they won't be my mom, they can't be my aunt. So I always feel void. Like there is something empty in that and maybe I'm expecting too much.

Some participants said that even their immediate family members were not always able to provide them with the support they needed. For instance, employment or educational duties took their spouses away from home at times. Therefore, in the absence of family and long-time friends, women expected more help and support from their healthcare providers. This need was even more accentuated among immigrant women after giving birth to their children. They lacked the information about any existing community and social support services in St. John's such as healthy baby clinics or parental support groups. As Fareeda, a young mother of four, said:

Nobody in the hospital asked me how many children I have and if I can manage it, if I need some help. They just said 'you have your hands full. You will be so tired'...She [a family physician] said only 'of course you must be very tired' but she didn't offer anything.

Only one participant recalled being offered support at a community centre in her neighborhood. Nour, a middle-aged mother of four, was satisfied with the financial and material assistance she received. She described her experience this way:

The centre and [support] group was very nice and kind. They always called me if I could not come. They tried to see what is going on if I'm sick, if I need help, or I don't feel happy or relaxed, or if I'm tired. They offered me what they can.

Some immigrant women revealed that they had only a few resources available to them in their own cultural community, and thus they are less able to offer support to others in similar situations. This supports the findings of Gilroy's (2005) study about the lack of support and resources available to immigrants in St. John's.

The immigrant community is not a homogenous group (Khanlou 2009). Not unlike most communities, the immigrant community struggles with intragroup tensions and social inequities related to gender, ethnicity, religion, and class. These inequities lead to feelings of mistrust and estrangement between immigrants. Lateefa, a black Caribbean immigrant woman, described this experience:

There is nobody here from [Lateefa's country] that I know him. No one at all! There are a lot of Africans from Africa but...when I see a black person, I try to say 'hi' and associate, but they never accept me.

These barriers increased participants' feelings of loneliness and their sense of isolation. As Bushra pointed out, this sometimes meant that women were unable to offer support and comfort to each other:

[...] when we sit we don't talk about these things, we don't advertise it that we are feeling lonely or not good. But if the topic comes up I would sure say I'm not happy, I feel uncomfortable, I miss my family. But the topic never comes up and there is always something else that we talk about.

In addition, many immigrants come from countries with less dynamic lifestyles, where change and social mobility are not a regular feature of life. For example, there are many non-Western countries where the same government is in power for decades, where people work in the same factory or teach in the same school all their lives, and where several generations of offspring inherit the same apartment in succession. Adjusting to a fast-paced and mobile lifestyle in Canada, where people move from one place to another very often, can be stressful for some immigrant groups. The possibility of being in a different place next month or next year inhibits some newcomers from making friends, developing social ties and connections, and engaging in social, cultural, and political activism. Not being able to anchor in any one place called “home” forces people to become “endless immigrants” as Mona, an interviewed woman, concluded. The uncertainty and instability poses additional stress that can compromise immigrant women’s mental health. The feelings of loneliness and isolation that these women described are not unique to immigrant women in St. John’s (Guruge and Collins 2008; Madhavi 2009).

Recommendations for mediating the effects of loneliness, loss of community, and the potential for negative mental and maternal health outcomes for immigrant women included providing a variety of culturally appropriate social activities, supports, information, and resources for immigrant women. We communicated these recommendations to the government and social and community services in St. John’s during special presentations for local policy makers and service providers, at local conferences, and in invited written reports. The provincial government responded by incorporating the recommendations into the new immigration strategy and establishing the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism (Government of NL 2007). In March 2009, this new office (which employs mainly immigrants) developed *NL Immigration Portal*—a comprehensive website with detailed information about healthcare, education, childcare, housing, transportation, banking, taxes, and entertainment services available to immigrant women in NL. The portal provides the contact information for several community organizations that promote multicultural events and activities for immigrant women (and men). The office engaged twenty municipalities to develop local portals that can serve immigrant women (and men) in smaller communities. While some immigrant women experience difficulty in accessing information on the Internet, these online information portals are important in building social support networks and reducing health inequities in small cities like St. John’s.

9.4.2 Sustained Employment and Adequate Income

The lack of social networks in a small city contributes to immigrant women’s challenges in finding employment since these networks are essential in labour recruitment practices (Galabuzi 2006). Searching for meaningful and sustained employment and an adequate income are two reasons why immigrant women move more frequently than they might want. This is accentuated in the small city context where

the availability of job opportunities is limited compared to urban centres (Abu-Laban et al. 1999). St. John's experienced higher rates of unemployment and underemployment due to the economic downturn in the province in the 1990s (Dolan et al. 2005). Limited job opportunities were compounded as many families moved into town from tiny coastal communities. Many (including immigrants) left the province in search of work. The competition for employment in the tight local economy tended to disadvantage visible minority immigrant women.

Participants identified employment and income as important determinants of their mental health and/or maternal health. Only two of the twelve women were employed at the time of the study. Three women were pursuing graduate studies with the intention of finding a job after graduation. Of the seven women who were stay-at-home moms, four were interested in finding meaningful employment. Data from Statistics Canada (2000) indicate higher unemployment rates among university-educated immigrant women as compared to their Canadian-born counterparts. In 2011, the unemployment rate of immigrant women in Canada was nearly twice as that of Canadian-born women or 9.3% and 5.0%, respectively (Yssaad 2012, 19). Women believed that unpaid community work was valuable but felt it undervalued immigrant women's knowledge and skills and was not a substitute for paid work. Nadya viewed a job as an important source of income, pride, satisfaction, and feelings of usefulness:

Here we don't have friends or families that we can go to visit to chat with them, to sit with them, so I think it's important to go to work to make your life busy. Otherwise your mind will be very tired. When you achieve something, it will make you relaxed that you did something, you achieved something that made you proud or comfortable or happy.

Being unable to work made some participants feel powerless, depressed, and useless.

Besides high unemployment rates in NL, immigrant women identified other challenges in their search for paid work such as unrecognized foreign education and work credentials. Not having their credentials recognized made them feel upset, angry, or depressed; not having paid employment was compounded by the loss of social status, privilege, and respect that they enjoyed before moving to Canada. Ameerah expressed her frustration in this way:

[...] our degree doesn't qualify. So this is the point. It's very difficult. They think that the Canadian degree is the best and every other one is not worthy. I feel upset about it. Because if we come from other country to here we suppose everything is better than in our; and it's not like that. We are here for five years and my husband still studies. It's not easy. A lot of exams and we spend a lot of money on everything ... Why do they accept qualified people? They can accept any person without any qualification. Because when you come qualified you think it's easy to match the system here. But everything is difficult because he [immigrant] is 'international.'

Interestingly, two immigrant women who received their master's degrees in Canada were still not able to find jobs. In Bushra's words: "I have a degree from here—from one of the best universities in Canada. Why can't I get a job? Why can't I contribute?" These two women believed that the reason they were unable to find paid employment was due to racial discrimination. Ng and Shan (2010) and Man (2004) reported similar

findings in their Canadian research with Chinese immigrant women who were channelled into menial, part-time, insecure positions or who remained unemployed. They argued that gendered and racialized beliefs are reinforced in public discourses and institutionalized in policies and practices such as professional accreditation systems and employers' requirement for Canadian experience.

Unemployment and underemployment translated into problems associated with insufficient income. Similar to Beiser's (2005) findings, insufficient income posed a high level of stress on some immigrant families who were unable to cover their basic living expenses and health needs or the additional costs of caring for a newborn. Lateefa, for instance, worried that some immigrants do not have sufficient income to pay for prescription drugs: "There are many people I know they have no income, no benefits, no nothing and they have to be on three, four different meds—that is extra stress to them. Definitely, income is a big thing!" The income of some families was much higher before moving to Canada. Nadya's family who used to be well-off prior to immigration had not for a long period of time been able to afford to own a car. Owning a car did not seem like a luxury during the harsh winter weather, and this added to her stress.

We advanced several recommendations for strengthening the partnerships between the government, professional associations, and educational institutions. These recommendations focused on creating innovative strategies for fair evaluation of immigrants' credentials and developing internship programmes that can lead to full-time sustained employment. Also needed are programmes that introduce immigrant women to the local culture while creating a mechanism for employers to learn about the needs of immigrant communities. In 2007, the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism renewed and enhanced the Provincial Nominee Program through which qualified immigrants can find internships with local employers in St. John's. The vast majority of these immigrants are visible minorities (Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism 2010a). Future research using a critical gender lens is needed to evaluate the success of this new programme and its impact on improving immigrant women's health and social equity.

Immigrant women can explore their career options in the governmental Labour Market and Career Information Centre or participate in the Association for New Canadians's AXIS (Acquiring Experience Integrating Skills) programme to upgrade their skills for finding employment. The provincial government released a brochure entitled *The Employers' Guide to Hiring Immigrants and International Students in NL* to raise awareness of immigrant women's contributions to the workplace and to provide information to facilitate the hiring process (Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism 2008). The Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism website refers immigrant women to the provincial Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development (DITRD) and several other agencies that can provide them with counselling and assistance in business development. A handbook, *The Steps to Starting a Small Business*, provides guidance on the basic steps necessary to start or own a business (DITRD n.d.). These new employment services for immigrant women will need to be evaluated in order to assess their effectiveness and impact on health and well-being.

9.4.3 *Accommodation and Respect for Cultural Differences*

Study participants viewed culture as an important determinant of their health. They understood culture to mean beliefs and values such as cherishing family ties, a nonmaterialistic approach to life, morality, religion, and spirituality. Respect and understanding for their cultural beliefs were important. Some women, however, encountered a lack of appreciation and support for their cultural differences. They described how people's misperceptions and misunderstandings of their customs, values, and humour increased their feelings of suffering, isolation, and loneliness. These experiences widened the gap between them and the rest of society. In Bushra's words, "Sometimes I say: 'I don't care. Let them go to hell!' But sometimes I say: 'Oh, I wish they knew'... and there are times that it hurts, really hurts." Lateefa talked about her feelings of exhaustion when dealing with the constant burden of being stared at (because of her skin colour) and being asked inappropriate questions.

Isolation of myself is one of my biggest factors...and the fact that I'm different and I feel like I'm being investigated by everyone, looked at because I'm different...so not feeling that you fit in to a place...if I go to the mall I can look in any direction and I can see someone staring at me. And I don't think that's really polite. So normally if I have to go out I have to be: 'Okay. I'm gonna go out and decide I am gonna be strong and do what I got to do'...but five years eventually gets to you...and they ask questions that normal people... like in my culture we would think that's a little bit too personal and being asked those same questions for the last five years, it eventually gets to you.

Some Muslim women also felt that their cultural values were devalued in the schools. Mona, a newlywed woman, viewed the school curricula as exclusionary and devaluing of the cultural beliefs and practices of immigrant families. According to Mona, the school curricula sent children the message that "the Canadian way is the best way." These findings were consistent with Gilroy's (2005) study. As a result, some children felt ashamed and uncomfortable in retaining the cultural beliefs and practices of their parents. Intergenerational conflict within some immigrant families caused some mothers to feel frustrated, angry, and depressed which can lead to wider family conflicts and breakdown (Dennis et al. 2010).

Similarly, the healthcare system in St. John's is ill equipped to address immigrant women's cultural beliefs and practices. The available mental and maternal healthcare services lacked culturally and linguistically sensitive information. Existing services did not address culturally underpinned needs such as traditional health beliefs and practices or dietary requirements. Several women reported that healthcare providers lacked basic awareness of cultural differences. For example, some nurses mistakenly assumed that immigrant Muslim women covered their bodies out of shame of their appearance rather than out of modesty. Women's requests for privacy during hospitalization were often ignored. As Sarah reported some encounters with health professionals were overtly discriminatory: "You see their faces. You feel it that they think you are stupid and you don't know anything about this world." Similarly, Chery Sutherland in Chap. 7 notes that the hospital is one of the vulnerable places where racialized immigrant and refugee women in Kingston and Peterborough in Ontario find themselves in uncomfortable situations.

Most women felt that there was little they could do about the ways people perceived their cultural differences. One remarked that immigrant women “can’t change the world” because there are not enough of them to lobby effectively for change. As a result, some women tried to change themselves in order to fit in. Bushra provided a fine example:

For example, in our culture is not good to make eye contact. What they assume is that you are hesitant, you are telling a lie, or you are not confident enough [when avoiding eye contact], which you are giving the whole wrong idea. It is none of them. You are respecting them by not looking and staring at them. We say making a direct eye contact for long time and staring is impolite...It makes me feel uncomfortable. But I’m trying to work with this eye contact. I was working on it for the last ten years, I haven’t been successful.

The story of an immigrant woman who struggled for 10 years to establish eye contact, a practice highly valued in mainstream Canadian culture, suggested that some immigrants are forced to confront their values after moving to Canada. Adopting the mainstream values and practices (i.e., as own values) was perceived as an essential way to survive and to succeed in Canada. The struggle between preserving their own cultural values and practices and adopting new ones appeared to negatively impact immigrant women’s health. The situation may be more accentuated in small cities like St. John’s that have limited cultural diversity and small immigrant populations who do not necessarily share common religious, racial, ethnic, or national roots. Thus, the pressure to conform to the dominant white Christian cultural values and practices in St. John’s may be greater than in larger, culturally diverse urban cities.

Recommendations to address cultural differences focused on creating more inclusive working and living environments where cultural differences of visible minority immigrant women would be respected and appreciated. Given their role in legislating health, social, and community services, the provincial government responded by taking the lead in creating workplace policies and procedures responsive to the needs of diverse groups of immigrants. The Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism adopted a leadership position when they launched the Multiculturalism Policy for Newfoundland and Labrador (Government of NL 2008). This policy asserts that cultural diversity is a strength and identified initiatives for promoting cross-cultural understanding. These initiatives included establishing partnerships between provincial government departments and community organizations to promote multicultural activities at the regional and community level. The office held a series of provincial focus groups and meetings with various stakeholders including immigrant women’s groups to obtain input into the policy implementation process (Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism 2009).

Providing support to employers in hosting workshops and ongoing training of managers and employees about working with culturally diverse clients was recommended. For instance, the settlement workers with the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism received training based on *Attracting and Retaining Immigrants: A Tool Box of Ideas for Smaller Centres* (Belding and McRae 2009), the same training they now provide to other community members. In addition, a variety of workshops on cultural sensitivity for employers are now available through the Association for New Canadians.

To improve the visibility and utilization of available settlement services, a recommendation to the provincial government called for increased funding to service providers for establishing more formal networks and services for immigrant communities. In response, the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism developed the NL Settlement and Integration Program Funding through which it supports numerous projects that aim to develop supportive and inclusive policies and services for immigrants in the province (Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism 2010b). Some of these projects aim to develop culturally appropriate, gender-based programmes that include sports and entertainment. Evaluation of these programmes is a future research consideration.

9.4.4 Socioculturally Responsive Primary Healthcare and Social Services

Primary healthcare services in Canada are considered Eurocentric and exclusive to many visible minority women (and men) since they rarely accommodate immigrants' culturally and linguistically underpinned health and social needs (Anderson and Reimer Kirkham 1998). Immigrant women in St. John's identified several barriers to accessing and utilizing both mental health services and maternal health services. For example, the availability of women-only prenatal classes or baby clinics was a priority for Muslim immigrant women. They did not have enough accurate information about mental and maternal health issues or about available services that would support their health-related needs. As Lateefa stated:

Then there were days I was at home in bed, nothing to do, no one to talk to. I didn't know whom to call and I suffered alone and it should not be that way... It should be—pick up the phone, call the number and I can talk to someone.

Participants reported that healthcare providers offered them very limited information. Women relied on information from their social support networks such as friends, neighbours, or playgroups. This was difficult for many immigrant women given the weak social support networks they, as newcomers, had to draw upon. In addition, our environmental scan indicated that the number of available sources which could offer needed supports were very limited in St. John's as it may be in other small cities.

The cultural and linguistic backgrounds of immigrant women and their healthcare providers sometimes led to difficulties in diagnosis and treatment. Many diagnostic tools and therapeutic approaches are based on research driven by and embedded in Western cultural values and norms (Leong and Lau 2001; Fernando 2003). Research on multicultural and multilingual services stressed the importance of cultural and linguistic congruence between healthcare providers and patients (Kirmayer et al. 2003). Participants in this study welcomed the idea of having a healthcare system with providers with similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds. They believed that this may free them from the need to justify their values and behaviours. Intisar, a young mother of three, put it this way:

When you ask them [Canadian-trained male physicians] to check you over your clothes, all of them they accept it and respect it but you are still aware I have to ask them for this and I don't know what will be their reaction. It is not convenient. I say to myself they can't understand it.

Since the number of healthcare services in a small city like St. John's is limited, some immigrant women reported facing long waiting times for appointments and therapeutic procedures. Still others had financial concerns about how to pay for their medical insurance, medication, or counseling. Long waiting times and the high cost of care are barriers not unique to the immigrant population, but they add to the other burdens immigrant women faced.

Participating in organized sport and social activities is often cited as a good way to reduce daily stress and stay healthy. Some immigrant women were prevented from doing so since the vast majority of available facilities and programmes in the city were mixed male-female groups. This left few options for Muslim women and other immigrants who wanted female-exclusive activities. Guruge et al. (2000) reported similar findings in their work with immigrant women in Toronto. However, this problem may be accentuated in small cities which have fewer facilities and resources to support such programmes.

Recommendations for creating new multicultural and multilingual services were made to community health and social service agencies. These services may include cultural consultations, cultural sensitivity education and training programmes for health and social service providers, and the delivery of culturally and linguistically appropriate health and services information. Health, social, and community service providers were encouraged to consult leaders from immigrant communities about the effective dissemination of informational materials. The uptake of these recommendations has been very limited so far due to limited resources. In 2007, the local branch of the Canadian Mental Health Association released a health promotion brochure entitled *Mental Wellness for Canadian Immigrants* that addressed some of the identified mental health needs of immigrants. The recommendations were also reflected in the strategies to address a variety of mental health gaps in Atlantic Canada released by the Public Health Agency of Canada (Muzychka 2007).

Health, social, and community services were advised to collaborate with university and community-based researchers to engage in participatory action research with local immigrant communities to generate more detailed knowledge about immigrants' health-related needs and mechanisms on how to address them. At the time of this writing in 2011, several research projects were underway between the Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Association for New Canadians.

9.5 Conclusion

The studies which focused on larger urban centres reported that immigrant women were more prone to poorer health than their Canadian-born counterparts. Typically, gender, culture, and poverty are three of the key system-level determinants offered

to account for why this population is more prone to illness. Previously published accounts of our two studies described the experiences of poor mental health and unmet maternal health needs among the visible minority immigrants in St. John's (Reitmanova and Gustafson 2008, 2009a, b). This chapter focused more on the underlying issues that produce inequities in women's access to sustained employment, adequate income, and social and healthcare services. These inequities affected negatively women's mental and maternal health.

The inequities that immigrants face in small cities in NL and Ontario are linked to structural oppression and marginalization and are complicated by the regional economic downturns that limit immigrants' opportunities for personal growth and development. The findings of our two small-scale studies also support the findings of studies conducted with visible minority immigrant women in Toronto (Guruge and Collins 2008) and Vancouver (Dossa 2004). However, the health-related social, economic, and cultural needs of visible minority immigrant women in a small city such as St. John's may be even more urgent and apparent than those of women whose unmet needs are mitigated by the available ethno-specific infrastructure and cultural diversity in big cities. Life in small cities may be more stressful and difficult for immigrant women due to the lack of employment opportunities, limited social support networks and material resources, and lack of culturally specific services, facilities, and programmes. In addition, the pressure to conform to mainstream values and practices may be more intense in small cities with limited cultural diversity. This pressure may have contributed to the decision by 8 of the 12 participants and their families to leave St. John's for larger cities in Canada or abroad within 2 years following their participation in our studies.

Since the implementation of the new immigration strategy in 2007, several positive developments have occurred in NL. Decision makers in government, community health, and social services have implemented several of the recommendations for improving conditions which produce the health and social inequities among visible minority immigrant women in St. John's. Collaboration across government departments and between government and community-based organizations is regarded as a way to ensure that health issues are not discussed in isolation from other social and economic policies. Some of these recommendations have been already successfully taken up locally (Reitmanova 2009) since knowledge translation activities and networking with decision makers may be easier in third-tier cities where "everyone knows everyone." However, a comprehensive gender-based evaluation of new policies will be necessary in order to determine their effectiveness in addressing health and social inequities experienced by visible minority immigrant women living in St. John's and other small cities.

At this juncture, we find that a critical population health perspective is significant in understanding the effectiveness of health programming and delivery of services to particular groups of women in a society such as the visible minority immigrant women in St. John's. In doing so, we uncover systemic inequities that inhibit full participation of these women in their communities.

Note

1. This number includes the population of small towns surrounding St. John's. The actual population of St. John's metropolitan region was 100,646 in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007).

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Chapter 10

Immigration in the Niagara Region: Youth Perspectives of the Small City

Jennifer Ajandi and Melenie Neamtz

While immigration to Canada has received a fair amount of scholarly attention, most research has focused on immigration to large urban areas, while the experiences of those settling in smaller cities, such as the Niagara Region, remain underrepresented (Boyd 1992; Albanese 2009; Hanley and Shragge 2009; Anisef et al. 2010; Li 2010). Understanding the small city context is crucial to creating an accurate, comprehensive picture of the immigration experience. This chapter begins the process of filling this gap by discussing the findings from a study exploring the experiences of immigrant youth in the Niagara Region. The study finds that young immigrants, aged 13–24 in the Niagara Region, face a lack of economic resources and employment opportunities, inadequate transportation, poorly-funded and poorly-coordinated social services, barriers to education, and cultural norms and practices that support racial and cultural exclusion. While strategies are being developed at an organizational and community level to assist in the settlement process of immigrant youth, there is a need to better understand their experiences in a small city. In this chapter we define the term immigrant as a person who has left one country to settle permanently in another.

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G. Tibe Bonifacio, J.L. Drolet (eds.), *Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities*, International Perspectives on Migration 12,

DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-40424-0_10

10.1 Overview of the Niagara Region and Immigration

The Niagara Region includes 12 municipalities in Southern Ontario. The cities of Niagara Falls, Port Colborne, St. Catharines, Thorold, and Welland; the towns of Fort Erie, Grimsby, Lincoln, Niagara-on-the-Lake, and Pelham; and the townships of Wainfleet and West Lincoln comprise the Niagara Region. The Region's overall population is approximately 427,421 in an area of 1851 km² (The Corporation of the City of St. Catharines 2010). Based on the 2011 census, the population in the Niagara Region reached 431,346. The Region is known as a tourist destination with Niagara Falls, the Shaw Festival in Niagara-on-the-Lake, the Niagara Wine Route, and the Welland Canal as the major destinations. The Region demonstrates great pride in these marketable symbols (St. Catharines Department of Economic Development and Tourism Services 2010) yet is surrounded by larger urban cities such as Hamilton and Toronto that boast greater cultural diversity and provide more employment and educational opportunities for young immigrants and young people in general.

Historically, the Niagara Region's labour market has centred on heavy manufacturing, with the presence of General Motors in St. Catharines, but today relies on sales and service sector jobs (Niagara Research and Planning Council 2008). The Niagara Region has been hard hit in the manufacturing sector and has suffered during the recent economic recession in 2007 (Niagara Research and Planning Council 2008). In Canada, the most significant impact on employment in the manufacturing sector occurred in the provinces of Alberta and Ontario over the past 2 years with a 10.8% decline (Statistics Canada 2010b). Statistics Canada (2010a) reports that the unemployment rate increased in Niagara from 10.1% in 2009 to 11.5% in 2010. One of the populations affected by unemployment during the economic downturn was young immigrants, aged 15–24 (Statistics Canada 2010b). In December 2013, Niagara recorded the highest unemployment rate in the country (Forsyth 2014).

The Niagara Region aims to welcome people who are immigrants and, in some areas, advocates for social justice for marginalized groups such as sexual and gender minorities and people with disabilities. Community organizations and progressive movements at the grassroots level within universities are creating an awareness of the need to foster social inclusion. Some of these groups include social and recreational groups in the community, advocacy groups that aim to raise consciousness about critical issues, student union groups, and equity alliances in university campus. However, the social and political environment in the Niagara Region is informed and sustained by a conservative agenda and attitudes that support the status quo, i.e. white, Anglophone, heterosexual, able-bodied, and Christian, with a typical nuclear family, identities, and values held by the dominant white culture (Henry and Tator 2009).

In terms of racial and ethnic composition based on the 2006 census, 91.6% of the population in the Niagara Region identifies as white. Aboriginal peoples account for 1.7% of the population. Visible minority populations accounted for 6.6% of the total population which increased 4.5% in the 2001 census (Statistics Canada 2006). In the 2006 census, 18.3% of people identified as immigrants. Almost 75% of all immigrants arrived in Niagara before 1991. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), there were 5985 immigrants in the Niagara regional municipality from 2006 to 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013).

Canada's immigration policies have evolved over the last 100 years. Historically and up until the present day, Canada's track record in the treatment of non-white immigrants is discriminatory (Arat-Koc 1999). One of the most notorious ways Canada placed unfair restrictions on who could immigrate was through the head tax placed upon Chinese immigrants in the early 1900s (Albanese 2009, 137). The Dominion Elections Act of 1920 excluded people's right to vote based on 'reasons of race' (Harvard-Lavell and Lavell 2006, 186). More recently, Canada's immigration system modified its entry requirements to focus on 'skilled immigrants' in order to support a knowledge-driven economy (Li 2010, 121). Even today, the country reaps the rewards of agricultural work performed by temporary workers who receive fewer rights than Canadian-born workers and experience many abuses through, for example, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (Preibisch and Alemán 2005, 98), a programme utilized by the Niagara Region in its sizable agricultural sector.

After centuries of racism and exclusion in immigration policy, the current points system is supposed to be based on objective criteria that does not include race or ethnicity (Arat-Koc 1999) and focused on the expected contributions immigrants will make to the labour market. However, these criteria do not create a level playing field for everyone, especially for racialized immigrant women.

Those people whose skills are considered useless, less useful, or irrelevant to the labour market are either totally excluded from or get differential treatment in immigration. This process may have a particular gendered dimension, as some of the skills women have, like the specifically "women's work" they do has, either no or very low value in the marketplace. (Arat-Koc 1999, 209)

Immigrants coming from non-Western countries face difficulties in the labour market. According to Hanley and Shragge (2009, 356):

It is clear that despite high levels of education, immigrants tend to stay at the bottom of the job market. This information challenges the myth that new immigrants are economically upwardly mobile. Given the more recent concentration in the rate of immigration to Canada of people from countries of the Southern hemisphere, and given the jobs that most of these new arrivals hold, a new system of racial stratification is emerging in Canada today.

A sizable portion of those immigrating to the Niagara Region are refugee claimants or Convention refugees.¹ The Niagara Folk Arts Multicultural Centre's (from this point on identified as FAC) annual report (2008) states that approximately 60% of their settlement clientele held one of these two statuses. The Niagara Region's close proximity to larger cities such as Hamilton and Toronto and the United States border impacts immigration and refugee numbers. According to Arai and Burke (2007, 16), '[m]ore recent migration patterns show increased number of refugee claimants at the Fort Erie point of entry into Canada. Within the past 3 years, Fort Erie has become the busiest Canadian point of entry for refugees'. Although this may be based on the most recent official numbers or trends, some advocates and frontline workers have seen the numbers of claimants decline recently due to an increase of restrictions placed on immigration, which will affect the overall demographic of the region. The FAC reports that while the agency serves peoples from many countries, Colombia, Sudan, China, Mexico, and Iran are the five most frequent places of origin for immigrants to the region in general.

10.2 Theory and Methods

The research findings are based on approximately 50 surveys and 20 interviews conducted with 70 immigrant youth through the HOST Youth Program in St. Catharines. This programme is one of the few in the Niagara Region that provides supports and services for immigrant youth. The survey was created electronically and was emailed to just over 100 newcomer youths in the community who had provided their contact information while using one or more services at the FAC. There were 50 responses collected over a period of 3 weeks, and of those respondents the average age was 16, with 54% male and 46% female. The survey included short, multiple choice and ranking questions. The survey was used to help the programme identify gaps in services and needs of the immigrant youth in the community to better forecast youth programming at the FAC. The Youth Services Coordinator at the FAC also interviewed 20 youths that attended CIC-funded programming throughout the Niagara Region inclusive of participants from Niagara Falls (4), Welland (5), and St. Catharines (11). The interviews highlighted the questions that were demonstrated in the survey but allowed for a more conversational and in-depth approach that gave room for participants to expand on and highlight their particular experiences. Immigrant youth were asked about their experiences in the Niagara Region, the barriers they have encountered, and what they have liked about the Niagara Region. On average, young immigrants were in Canada for more than 6 months but less than 2 years. In developing emergent themes, a constant comparative method was used. Ristock and Pennell (1996, 87) note, 'The constant comparative method proceeds by placing together various statements having some interesting commonality and gradually developing a category for analysis'. This method was relevant in identifying common themes in the study.

The study is informed by an anti-oppression framework which brings awareness to the structural and systemic barriers persons and groups face within a sociopolitical and historical context and supports individual and organizational change processes (Sakamoto et al. 2008). Anti-oppression theory and practice avoids blaming the individual for the struggles they face and examines how the broader society is implicated in terms of who is allocated resources and who is not. Issues of power and the need to deconstruct the dominant discourse (Fook 2002) are also important to include since oppressions such as racism and colonialism are often downplayed by the argument that individuals in society start and continue on a level playing field (Henry and Tator 2009). Literature is emerging which discusses an anti-oppression framework when working with skilled immigrants (Sakamoto et al. 2008; Sakamoto and young 2010) and with newcomer youth in the education system (Clarke and Wan 2010).

While the current discussion focuses on immigrant youth, an anti-oppression framework encourages us to recognize that groups are not homogenous (Barnoff and Moffatt 2007; Sakamoto 2007). Social and political experiences differ depending on many factors such as race and ethnicity, class, sex, gender identity, sexuality, (dis)ability, family status, citizenship status, religion or spirituality, and country of origin. We also recognize that diversity exists within and between groups.

Unfortunately, social supports and services in the Niagara Region have yet to integrate an analysis important to understanding diversity and meet the needs of intersecting identities and oppressions. For example, there were no specific programmes to support immigrant youth surrounding sexual and gender identities in the Niagara Region as there are in Toronto at the time of this study. Nevertheless, some common themes emerged that shed light on the problems young immigrants face in the Niagara Region today: poverty, isolation, racism, barriers to employment, transportation, and education.

The following sections outline some of the main themes that emerged from the youths' experiences. Most of these experiences were viewed as problematic, stressful, and symptoms of larger socio-economic issues. For example, while many youth experienced racism individually, racism also needs to be situated within a larger historical and structural context and more specifically within a small city context that is dominated by conservative world views. While there have been many larger scale studies that have explored the experiences of settlement in Canada, like the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada 2003), the discussion that follows is about the experiences of settlement for young people within a particular socio-economical and political context of a small city—a city that has been dramatically impacted by recent job losses in the manufacturing sector.

10.3 Poverty and Barriers to Employment

Immigrant families often face great financial difficulty when they arrive in the Niagara Region. Jobs are limited in the area, and immigrants often have trouble finding work in their trained professions. Most accreditations earned overseas are not considered valid in Canada, and it can take years to get reaccredited in a given field; meanwhile, savings become depleted and financial situations become dire (Hanley and Shragge 2009). In addition, those who come to Canada as refugees often flee their homelands with few resources. Arai and Burke (2007, 17) noted that 'poverty among recent immigrant families in Canada has been increasing (24.5% in 1980–35.8% in 2001)'. Living in poverty contributes to feelings of hopelessness and depression amongst young persons, which adds to emotional stress and makes the transition and settlement process more difficult (Arat-Koc 1999). Because of these stresses and the predominance of immigrants in low-income areas, FAC targets these areas and subsidized housing for outreach.

Many immigrant youth in this study report receiving mixed messages about opportunities in their new communities. Although the 'West' is often thought to provide more opportunity and economic security than the countries they have left, immigrants often arrive in North America to find unexpected barriers to prosperity. Discrimination against immigrants in the paid labour market has been well documented (Boyd 1992; Arat-Koc 1999; Galabuzi 2001; Hanley and Shragge 2009; Li 2010). Available jobs for them include washing dishes in restaurants and driving taxis; many times these are the jobs that no one else wants. In the Niagara

Region, there are several greenhouses and farms that offer physically demanding seasonal work to youth, and often immigrant youth take these jobs as being fluent in the English language, and having past work experience is not required. One female participant spoke of her experience working as a fruit sorter at a local farm and described the work to be hard. She did not feel that her employers treated her very well, but she needed the money to help her family. She expressed a desire to work at a clothing store but said that she had handed out over 100 resumes and never heard from anyone. Eighty-three percent of the survey respondents indicated that they had been trying to secure part-time employment but had not yet had any callbacks or interviews. As Galabuzi (2001, 84) notes, '[m]ore recently, the demands for labour-market flexibility in the urban 'globalized' economy have disproportionately exposed racialized groups to precarious employment and higher levels of poverty than other Canadians'.

Women who immigrated to Canada with their families became frustrated with a labour market system that did not recognize their previous credentials. As immigrant parents struggle to find employment, immigrant youth often struggle as well. Many youth participants said that they wanted to contribute to their family's financial situation but could not find work. They often lacked the work experience both in Canada and their countries of origin, so they have nothing to present on their resume. Many young persons reported that volunteering, as defined in a Western context, is an unfamiliar concept to them since they have always been expected to put all of their time into their studies and if not, they would contribute to the household in other ways without pay, particularly amongst young women. Without any paid work or official volunteer experience, obtaining employment becomes difficult for immigrant youth. Seventy-four percent of the surveys identified frustration with finding summer employment especially for those living in St. Catharines and Welland as they had no means of getting to Niagara Falls where summer employment positions are more available due to tourism. However, the lack of a comprehensive transportation infrastructure in the Region makes getting to Niagara Falls from other cities challenging and time consuming at best (Niagara Research and Planning Council 2008).

10.4 Transportation

Most immigrant families rely, to some extent, on public transport (Heisz and Schellenberg 2004), which is not well developed in the Niagara Region. One hundred percent of the youth who responded to the survey indicated dissatisfaction with their ability to travel in the community. Two youths, in particular, reported they had no way to travel throughout the city in the evening. This limited them from socializing with others and also from volunteering in the community; these volunteer hours were a prerequisite in order to graduate from high school. Immigrant youth may depend on a single family vehicle used by their parents for work, which is not available for their personal use. Even in one of the most urban cities like Toronto,

Khosla (2008) found that public transit was not accessible for some of the most marginalized populations. All of the young persons who are immigrants in this study commented on the transportation problems in the Niagara Region. They consistently mentioned the infrequency of buses, the limited number of buses running on evenings and weekends, and the relatively high cost of bus tickets. Many young immigrants discussed how they came from countries where the transit system was strong or even unnecessary as everything was within walking distance of their homes. Transportation difficulties are a barrier, not only to employment for young immigrants but also to accessing recreational activities that might foster a sense of belonging and combat isolation. Since many immigrant families experience high levels of poverty, particularly those who are racialized (Galabuzi 2001), young immigrants' access to the transportation system, education, paid work and volunteer opportunities, and recreational activities are also impacted.

10.5 Isolation

Feelings of isolation within small communities are common (Kunz and Hanvey 1999). Those feelings were amplified for young immigrants in this study since they had a smaller number of friends and fewer nearby family members for support. Prior to arriving in the Niagara Region, immigrants in this study often knew nothing about the place that they planned to call home. Some knew of Niagara Falls as one of the wonders of the world but were often unprepared for the realities of living in the Region. Young immigrants revealed that their first impressions of Niagara were of open spaces and abundant land with many houses and few crowds. For those accustomed to more crowded, bustling urban centres, Niagara can seem very quiet and lonely.

Immigrant youth discussed how devastating Canadian winters are in comparison to what they were familiar with, particularly during the holiday season. One young woman commented, 'In my country Christmas is a time for going out into the streets, everyone is celebrating by walking into the homes of friends and family—not being stuck in my house while it is so cold and awful outside'. She also commented how badly she wished she were back at home with her family and friends. The stress of providing a holiday feast and the loneliness of missing absent family and friends contributed to feelings of depression experienced by many young immigrants and their families in Canada. Khosla (2008) also found that isolation and loneliness were prominent themes reported by women of colour in Toronto, many of whom were immigrants trying to sponsor other family members.

For those affected by depression, getting professional help was reported as being difficult. The Niagara Region, like most of Ontario, suffers from a shortage of family physicians (Niagara Research and Planning Council 2008). Even for those immigrants who are fortunate enough to find a family doctor, a complete medical history is often difficult to obtain, which can contribute to problematic diagnoses. As Kunz and Hanvey (1999, 1) note, 'Although eager to integrate into Canadian

society, children of immigrant parents still face issues of low self-esteem, racism, isolation, no sense of belonging and sometimes language problems'. Parents of immigrant youth may struggle with the concept of mental health issues as they may not be openly discussed in their countries of origin. The stigma surrounding mental health and added language barriers result in depression and other health issues that go unrecognized or addressed in many immigrant youth. Scott (2003), in his study, recommends that mental health services be delivered to immigrant families in their own languages to be effective.

Depression can also develop from intergenerational conflicts with parents or compound existing conflicts under new pressures of immigration and settlement. These challenges can contribute to family conflict as well (Anisef et al. 2010). When immigrant youth are exposed to Western culture, they may push to have similar rules in their own homes while parents resist. Accordingly, "Many of their 'old world' cultures relegate individual needs and self-reliance to the bottom of the priority pile; family need and demands come first, and parental authority is thought to be infallible" (Kunz and Hanvey 1999, 1). Some immigrant youth reported feeling confused that family rules seem to have shifted, and such conflicts were sometimes exacerbated by parents' dependence on their children for English language translation. Often, the youth reported they had little say in the decision to immigrate and resent the displacement of coming to a new country, even when they realize that their parents often immigrated out of concern for the family's best interests. Many times families immigrated in order to provide a more economically and politically safe life for their children. Young immigrants discussed the pressure to live up to high expectations placed upon them by their parents.

10.6 Education and Cultural Norms

Conflicts arising from varying cultural expectations can carry over into the school system, which tends to represent a standardized dominant Eurocentric curriculum and atmosphere (Dei et al. 2000). The education system has also been criticized as not working collaboratively with families regarding settlement issues in schools (Anisef et al. 2003). Janzen and Ochocka (2003, 56) note in their study that immigrant parents were frustrated at their perceived lack of control in the education system; they did not feel supported to advocate for their children. In another study, Peera (2003, 85) indicates that immigrant parents were also 'becoming increasingly aware that the school system does not respond to the needs of their young people'. In the same manner, Benimmas et al. in Chap. 12 of this collection also infer to this disconnect in his study in Moncton, New Brunswick.

Schools in the Niagara Region has become somewhat more diverse over the last 20 years as demonstrated by their equity policy and a Welcome Centre for immigrant families in the Region (District School Board of Niagara 2010). The equity policy focuses on the importance of serving families in diverse communities and often relates to the provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code. The Welcome Centre

aims to assist newcomer families acclimatize to the Region and make the transition to a new school and community easier through information and resources. The Welcome Centre can make the transition easier, but the overall education system and community it is within is still far from being inclusive and welcoming. The majority of the teaching staff does not reflect the diversity as found in the student population. The ‘Settlement Workers in Schools’ (SWIS) programme aims to support immigrant children and their families by advocating for resources and provides information to families about the education system. The programme began in 2008 and is run out of the YMCA Newcomer and Employment Services branch. According to the YMCA, ‘With the cooperation of the school, the YMCA-SWIS staff orients newcomer families to school and community resources and provide referrals to services. Five YMCA Newcomer School Settlement Workers connect with schools that have the greatest newcomers in Niagara, working with parents, guardians and the students’ (YMCA of Niagara 2009). The programme staff represents several different languages and cultures and helps newcomer youth and their families to access settlement assistance and other supportive services.

In addition to providing support services in schools, at least to a limited degree, training for teachers and school staff has increased on world holidays, religious rituals, and traditional clothing. This is essential to foster a more welcoming school culture. Many schools try to celebrate diverse cultures by organizing events such as food fairs where international and ethnic foods are shared. While these activities are helpful, their continuous and full integration is required, not just on special occasions. Hence, organizational change needs to be implemented. Increased awareness amongst existing staff and greater diversity in new hires would continue the trend of improving school’s receptivity for newcomer youth. Access to the education system is seen as integral by immigrant youth and their families in the Niagara Region. As Peera (2003, 81) comments in her study on the employment needs of immigrant youth, ‘education was believed to be the single most important element that would determine a person’s success in Canada’.

10.7 Social Services and Recreational Supports

While the SWIS programme represents a beginning to increase access to services for newcomer youth, many gaps still exist in the Niagara Region, similar to those identified in a 2003 study by Janzen and Ochocka (2003). One invaluable support to immigrants was the establishment of the Niagara Folk Arts Multicultural Centre (FAC) in St. Catharines. FAC provides an array of programmes, supports, and services including the HOST Youth Program for youth ages 13–24, which is one of the few services for immigrant and newcomer youth in the Region. The programme began in October 2008, and the Welland Heritage Council started the same programme in 2009. The programme facilitates integration into the community by matching newcomer youth with Canadian youth volunteers and offers opportunities to attend group activities, events, and workshops throughout the year. It allows

immigrants to get better connected to the community, try new things and meet new people, and access services within the community. Since its inception the programme has been growing and will soon expand to Niagara Falls, Grimsby, and Lincoln.

However, not all of FAC's programmes have been successful. FAC also began a Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Youth programme in 2008 to teach English as a Second Language to newcomer youth aged 18–24. This programme struggled and only lasted for 1 year. One of the biggest factors in its failure was weak promotion and a lack of referrals from other agencies. Although the HOST Youth Program has endured thus far, referral still continues to be a struggle within the Region. Since many programmes started in a similar time period, some immigrants are confused by the various services. Some schools allow agencies to come in and provide services for immigrant youth, while others do not, and the regional government has not stepped in to facilitate and to encourage the schools' cooperation. Community agencies that serve immigrant youth need to be fully aware of the benefits of the programmes and enrolment procedures, as well as be aware of how to connect youth to beneficial programmes not designed specifically for immigrant youth.

Funding is also always a concern, as with any non-profit programme. Changes in funding impact programming, referrals, and community awareness of the programme, particularly in less urban areas. According to the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI 2009, 58), 'One of the most important challenges in small towns is finding funding and other resources to strengthen settlement services so that all newcomer youth in rural areas, small towns, and isolated communities have the help they need'. Currently, the majority of the funding for newcomer youth programmes is provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), which means that services available in the region are vulnerable to change along with federal funding structures. Additionally, due to the geographic size of the Region, reaching out to the smaller communities can be a challenge. Both HOST Youth Programs have only one staff member covering a large geographic area. In comparison to urban centres, the number of participants may not justify more staff, but the population of the combined municipalities across the Region certainly does.

Limited resources make engaging immigrant youth in service and recreational programmes a constant challenge. The Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants' (OCASI 2009, 58–59) *Newcomer Youth Settlement Guide for Service Providers* suggests advertising campaigns and spreading information through printed material at local community organizations, places of worship, libraries, and hospitals, as well as the utilization of websites tailored to the needs of the newcomer youth in the community. A promotion campaign in the Niagara Region has been approved and funded by CIC to address this issue. The campaign is intended to encourage immigrants to visit the local settlement organizations and to help build an awareness of the services available in the Niagara Region. The campaign is also intended to improve the awareness of the local population within the Niagara Region. Although this campaign is not focused specifically on youth, it is envisioned that awareness will encourage participation in settlement services and programming available to immigrants in general.

The Niagara Region has also engaged in the Local Immigration Partnership (LIP) process. The LIP project created a work plan that began in August 2009, while the Niagara Immigrant Employment Council (NIEC) was officially launched on January 8, 2008. The Niagara Immigration Portal, funded by MCI, was launched to support the development of the Canada and Ontario immigration portals linked to the Ontario Immigration website (Ontarioimmigration.ca). These three initiatives work together to support the successful integration of immigrants in the Niagara Region. A positive impact of these initiatives on immigrant youth in the area may bring results similar to the possible increase of the immigrants' ability to settle within the Niagara Region.

While all the existing programmes are crucial, communication between the programmes and services in the Region has been problematic. Unfortunately, territorial issues around 'numbers' and reaching targets have emerged that directly affect the target youth group. Limited funds put pressure on agencies to 'justify' their services through numbers and create competition between the programmes. The funding programmes in the region have identified the significance of collaboration between agencies (OCASI 2009, 61); however, agencies must begin to determine ways to work together to best serve the Niagara Region. OCASI (2009, 60) suggests, 'Awareness sessions should be offered to service providers in small cities and rural communities'. Settlement agencies in the Region have recently agreed and are offering services to local agencies and organizations to improve awareness. Over the past 2 years, a group has emerged called YES Niagara (Youth+Engagement=Success), originally a Leadership Niagara initiative and named Youth+Education=Success. The new focus of this group is to become a communication leader and to provide social and professional development opportunities for youth service providers. The group targeted specific criteria including age (up to 18 years of age) and cost (free to the participant). When youth service providers are more aware of all of the services available, they can create a reliable referral process to the most appropriate and beneficial programming and eliminate duplication of services.

Coordination of services is complicated by the geographical mobility of immigrants throughout the Region. Immigrant youth's parents may decide to leave Welland and move to Niagara Falls for a job or move from Niagara Falls to St. Catharines for housing. Whatever the reason for moving, the youth is required to start over again in terms of starting a new school, finding local recreational programmes, learning the transportation system, and developing new friendships. Services available in one city within the Region may not be available in another, which can create another issue with the referral process. If the programme that the youth is participating in is not offered in another community, service providers need to try to help the youth find something similar in the new community (OCASI 2009, 60). Due to the difficulties in serving such a wide geographical area and with the increase in immigration in the Region, resources need to be further developed. The settlement sector has recognized this and increased staff overall. Unfortunately, much work remains, not only within the sector itself, but in educating the general population on the importance and value of immigration and its impact on the Region.

Immigrant youth reported many barriers in their settlement experience in the Niagara Region. Some of these barriers included poverty, employment, transportation, and an exclusionary education system. While there are important services such as the HOST Youth Program, there needs to be a focus on more structural anti-oppressive approaches to working with immigrant youth. According to Clarke and Wan (2010, 21–22):

The traditional approach to settlement work ignores structural change and does not recognize that individual newcomer needs are rooted in broader systems of oppression... While it is important to provide direct services to newcomers at an individual level, this is not sufficient to bring about transformation in school boards, state agencies, and other oppressive social institutions.

Thus, advocacy and social action are key components of anti-oppressive practice, and these elements need to be implemented in order to work towards eliminating the barriers experienced by immigrant youth and their families.

10.8 Conclusions

The settlement experiences of immigrant youth in Canada are a strong and emerging area of study. However, experiences of immigrant youth in non-urban settings need to be further explored. Many of the systemic issues—Eurocentric curriculum in schools, barriers to paid employment due to lack of recognition of foreign credentials, poverty, lack of affordable and quality housing, transportation, isolation, a shortage of primary health care providers, and racism—are difficult to transform and to eliminate without policy changes and transformation of power structures in society. However, our study amongst the immigrant youth in the Niagara Region demonstrates that social service and educational sector responses can be changed to value and reflect the needs of all its community members, including immigrant youth. Collaboration between agencies and services needs to be fostered in order to strengthen the community's resources and to address the intersectionality of identities such as race and ethnicity, gender, ability, sexuality, and class. For example, while there are important programmes and services that serve youth with diverse genders and sexualities, these programmes do not specifically address racism or barriers due to immigration. The impact of racialization affects youth who are immigrants differently, yet programmes and services rarely acknowledge or address racism against youth who are visible minority immigrants.

Based on our study of the immigrant youth in the Niagara Region, advocates must reinforce the importance of integrating and valuing youth who are immigrants at a systemic and community level. Similarly, OCASI (2009, 61) notes that '[e]fforts should be made to advocate at various government levels and call on school authorities to review and assess youths' needs in small towns'. But research and information showing statistical data on youth is very limited within the Niagara Region, particularly for immigrant youth. The needs of youth have not been in the

forefront of our community, and it is important that we start engaging in inclusive and participatory research in this area in order to assess the needs of the community more fully. As well, employers within the Niagara Region need to recognize and understand the circumstances that affect immigrant youth, and, to that end, develop programmes to help them integrate into the employment sector.

However, training and awareness campaigns are only one component of the effort to make the Niagara Region a truly welcoming community. A change in the culture and structure of organizations is also imperative (Barnoff and Moffatt 2007). For example, understanding why a person prays throughout the day is part of education; but actually providing space and time in the workplace or school for prayer requires a change in the culture of that organization. Immigrant youth struggle with integrating their cultural beliefs into Canadian society and are forced to assimilate if they are not provided with the opportunity to maintain their traditions. The attention that needs to be paid to providing more inclusive spaces benefits not only immigrant youth but all youth and the community. This we know from the perspective of the immigrant youth in the Niagara Region.

Small cities in the Niagara Region, like the rest of the chapters in this collection, have programmes geared, albeit not comparable to the metropolitan centres, towards the settlement and integration of immigrants, including young people, of diverse backgrounds. But the limited infrastructure, both financial and social, has affected the sustainability and effectiveness of these programmes to target groups, especially amongst the immigrant youth in the Niagara Region who may find the lure of the big cities attractive. As our study indicates, a more collaborative and integrated approach to programming and service delivery that cuts across various social indicators such as race, gender, sexuality, religion, and country of origin have the potential of retaining the much need contribution of immigrant youth in small cities.

Note

1. Convention refugees are persons with a well-founded fear of persecution in their countries of origin or former residence who have been granted permanent residency in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010). The persecution might be based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group and is severe enough that they are unable or unwilling to return to their former countries. Refugee claimants are those who have applied for Convention refugee status but have not yet been approved or denied (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010).

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Chapter 11

Dilemmas and Challenges of Democratic Participation of Immigrants in Small Atlantic Canadian Communities

Ottilia Chareka

The civic education of newcomers and its integration has been a topic of recent interest around the world, particularly in Western countries after 9/11. Canada prides itself as a multicultural country, and it is increasingly expected that newcomers fully participate in the democratic processes of their new country. Civic education is, therefore, an important component of this process. The intersection of newcomers' civic integration and participation is one of the main objectives of the *Canadian Multicultural Policy* and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the two most significant policy and legal frameworks for social inclusion.

This chapter presents the dilemmas and challenges of democratic participation faced by visible minority ethno-cultural immigrants in Atlantic Canada's smaller communities, mainly in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. It is argued that newcomers from this group face challenges as they negotiate their civic participation and integration and experience marginalization and exclusion in various ways. In drawing up the dilemmas and challenges of democratic participation of this group of immigrants, this chapter is divided into the following six sections: multiculturalism, civic education, and participation; profile of the case study in Atlantic Canada; findings of the survey; interview results; synthesis of findings; and conclusion.

Author was deceased at the time of publication.

Due to the untimely passing of Dr. Otilla Chareka on March 16, 2011, this chapter appears in its original version with minor revisions and data updates by the editors.

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11.1 Multiculturalism, Civic Education, and Participation

Canada has long been recognized as a cultural mosaic, a country where multiculturalism is officially acknowledged. According to Kalbach (2000), Canada's multicultural image began in 1970 as the immigration patterns shifted from being dominated by immigrants of British and French heritage or Caucasians to that of diverse cultural backgrounds. Hence, as a traditional immigrant-receiving country, the future of a well-inclusive Canada rests on the success of its multicultural policy, integration, and civic engagement of these newcomers. But this is not a new phenomenon as Peck et al. (2010) point out,

For much of Canada's history, diversity has been a defining characteristic of the country and an issue that has preoccupied and bedevilled policy makers. Canadian policy and practice, with regard to diversity, has moved from attempts to assimilate minority groups to fostering respect and appreciation for diversity. (61)

Kymlicka (2007) also notes that issues of accommodating diversity have been central to Canada's history. He states,

[...] wherever cultural policy is discussed, the concern is about how to ensure that the recognition of diversity does not undermine efforts to construct or sustain common political values, mutual trust and understanding, and solidarity across group lines. (Kymlicka 2004, xiii)

On this premise, this chapter follows the concept of "welcoming communities" in Atlantic Canada in relation to civic participation and integration of visible minority ethno-cultural newcomers. In this section, I offer various scholarly viewpoints about the challenges and dilemmas faced by ethno-cultural newcomers in the civic participation processes, particularly in small communities. Some recommendations are included for agencies that provide services to immigrants and welcome newcomers.

Comparatively, newcomers in small cities face greater challenges than their counterparts in large metropolitan cities; and they have fewer opportunities to exercise social, economic, and political power than Canadian citizens, primarily from the dominant Caucasian group. In particular, newcomers settling in small urban centers with limited ethno-cultural diversity and infrastructure face various social inequities, marginalization, and exclusion at both the societal and institutional levels (Beaujot and Kerr 2007; Carey and Atkinson 2009). Discrimination and racism tend to result in differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities based on race, ethnicity, or country of origin and even in civic participation.

Recently, the participation of newcomers in Canadian society has included terms such as integration, civic participation, as well as national security and disenfranchisement (Galabuzi 2006; Westhues 2006). Indeed, it appears that some types of participation such as acts of violence and terrorism are the antithesis of civic integration and citizenship. When focusing on the integration and civic engagement of newcomers, it is important to understand the process of integration. Frith (2003) argues that,

Integration is a two way process of accommodation between newcomers and Canadians: encouraging immigrants to adapt to Canadian society without requiring them to abandon their cultures...The creation of inclusive institutions and political processes, and participation of newcomers in those processes is essential to their integration in Canada). (35)

Civic participation is one of the critical attributes of democratic citizenship and a central component of democratic societies. Civic participation is a factor crucial to integration of new immigrants because it instills a sense of belonging. For example, Fennema and Tillei (1999) point out that participation allows new citizens to be involved in political decision-making which creates an attachment between them and their adopted society. This concurs well with the findings of Pateman (1970) who concludes that participation creates a sense of belonging and nurtures responsible participation and decision making among citizens. Research in general has also shown that participation helps build self-esteem and individual political efficacy (Monroe 2002; Mondak 2010). In other words, participation facilitates interaction of individuals, the community, and the state at large and is generally linked with notions of ideal citizenship.

One's form of civic participation is often based on one's concept of citizenship. Elitist conception assumes good or ideal citizens should participate in a common mainstream culture and set of traditions. For example, one core characteristic of "elitist" conception is that some people are more qualified than others and, hence, they should be the most influential citizens of the state (Spinner 1994; Dahrendorf 1998). On the other hand, the activist conception of citizenship is mainly focused on equal and equitable contribution of everyone in the political process and tends to be more inclusive (Torney-Purta et al. 1999; Erel 2009). This conception gives room to challenge and change domineering or oppressive social structures. Therefore, civic participation is directly related to either one extreme of these citizenship conceptions or in between.

Traditionally, the concept of civic participation is closely related to electoral politics in the form of voting and being a member of a legal political party. Chui et al. (1991) describe political participation as electoral activities that include campaigning, getting in contact with politicians, having a political group membership, and voting. Van Heelsum (2002) also defines civic participation as taking part or becoming involved in activities related to politics, which can be either passive or active, for example, voting and standing as a candidate, respectively. These activities have been viewed as conventional participation (formal politics) (Bealey et al. 1999). However, in this study on civic participation in Atlantic Canada, civic community participation are those activities viewed as unconventional participation; fund raising for charitable organizations and helping in food banks and volunteering in other social and environmental services are known samples of these informal politics (Hobson et al. 2002; Kostakopoulou 2008).

As part of their integration into Canadian society, Canadians assist in educating and encouraging newcomers to get involved in the civic realm. As this population of newcomers increases, arguably, Canada becomes more dependent on the civic participation of these individuals to sustain its democratic process. However, in recent

years, it has been noted that “being a recent immigrant is associated with a lower probability of voting” (Blais Andre et al. 2002, 3) although over time their participation increases by 10–15 years of living in the country. As indicated by the Labour Force Survey, recent immigrants who have arrived in the last 10 years often do not have the time to cast their votes during the 2011 federal elections (Statistics Canada 2011). While newcomers tend to have lower political participation, they are more informed than their Canadian counterpart (Henderson 2005).¹

If what Anderson and Frideres (2000, 6) say is true that “almost every ethnic group within Canada is a minority, where ‘minority’ denotes a lack of power and ‘majority’ indicates power,” then any elected government is not the choice of the majority if, for the most part, the immigrant vote is missing. How then do we encourage and increase immigrants’ civic participation? What are the factors that explain their civic participation? And, what are the implications of this participation for small cities? These are some questions that inspire this work in Atlantic Canada.

The Canadian Council on Learning (2006) states that citizenship education is tightly linked to civic participation. Civic education programs for newcomers should be developed with some attention to the conceptions they already possess about civic participation in order to be effective, including the barriers they perceive to their participation (Chareka and Sears 2005, 2006). However, Peck et al. (2010) argue that in the field of education in particular, attention to diversity remains superficial and more limited to written policies than actual practice. The feelings and ways of thinking that shape the civic conceptions of newcomers in relation to both formal and informal civic participation are important attributes in understanding integration.

Beim and Fine (2007) stress the importance of cultural frameworks for groups to interpret their social environment and become part of it. A cultural framework is a lens in which an individual or a group of people interprets new situations which is embedded in cultural norms, prior knowledge, and environmental factors. However, for newcomers struggling to meet everyday realities of survival, participation in certain spheres of society may be limited and impede the development of such a cultural framework. This is crucial as Troper (2002, 150) argues, “democratic immigrant receiving states like Canada, which afford non-citizens the possibility of naturalization, cannot help but have shared interest in the immigrant integrative process and citizenship education.” All citizens, including newcomers, need to participate in both formal and informal democratic structures to maintain a healthy democratic society.

The disengagement of newcomers from civic processes, their high levels of political cynicism, and alienation is of concern and has led to much debate in Canada and around the world (Hughes and Sears 2004, 2008; Chareka and Sears 2006; Hayduk 2006; Munro 2008; Couton and Gaudet (2008); Hebert 2008). There is ample evidence that immigrants have lower levels of engagement which pose a challenge to broader social inclusion in Canada (Ginieniewicz 2007; Bevelander and Pendakur 2009; Ozcurumez 2009).² To encourage social cohesion, some

jurisdictions have developed integrative multicultural approaches and new civic educational initiatives for recent immigrants. Munro (2008, 65) calls for more empirical data and case studies of civic democratic participation in terms of voting arrangements because, in his view, such data is in “terribly in short supply.” Long (2002) also recognizes the lack of awareness about newcomers and states:

Canadian research on political integration is scant and little is known about how newcomers make the transition toward participation in Canadian political life. Theoretically, we know that newcomers inevitably interpret the landscape of their new country through the lenses of their previous experience. In learning theory, this is widely referred to as their ‘prior knowledge’...While this condition can be appreciated theoretically, no systematic effort has been made to map the prior knowledge or cognitive schemata that immigrants bring with them to Canada). (273)

An investigation of the dilemmas and challenges faced by newcomers as they negotiate their way into democratic participation is crucial in Atlantic Canada and elsewhere. It can provide policy makers and academics insight into the processes of inclusion and integration and the forms of exclusion or barriers from the vantage point of immigrants in the context of welcoming communities.

11.2 Profile of the Study in Atlantic Canada

A study was carried out in Atlantic Canada in the small cities located in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Over a 100 respondents were surveyed on civic *politics* in Canada, and 20 interviews were conducted. The survey was completed by a sample of (N=103) newcomers that were randomly selected. The population sample included 61% of participants of African descent, 4% of Asian descent, 2% of European descent, 14% who indicated “other,” and 19% who did not specify their ethnicity. All of the participants were from visible minority ethno-cultural groups. The distribution of the sample in terms of gender and age is provided in Figs. 11.1 and 11.2.

The survey aimed to learn how newcomers in Atlantic Canada conceptualize civic participation from their own perspectives and how it intersects with immigrant integration at the community level. The study asked the following questions: Do newcomers see participation as voting in elections or is it an ongoing process that includes running for various boards, joining political groups, and protesting or advocating political causes? Does participation increase civic integration and retention? Are Atlantic Canadian communities welcoming and inclusive to newcomers? These questions are relevant because many newcomers in Atlantic Canada are from diverse ethno-cultural communities, quite different from previous immigrant groups who were of predominantly white and of British descent.

Fig. 11.1 Distribution of participants by gender

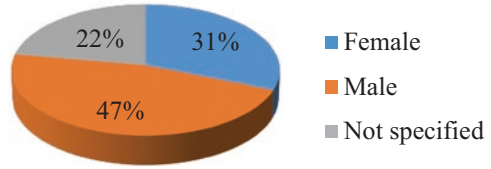
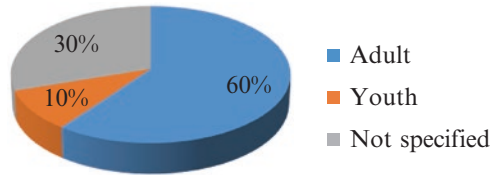


Fig. 11.2 Distribution of participants by age



11.2.1 Research Methodology

This research employed mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) for data collection and analysis. Burke Johnson and Onwuebuzie (2004) support the usefulness of using mixed methods in the type of enquiries raised in the study in Atlantic Canada. Vromen (2003) posits that methodological pluralism can broaden researchers’ understanding of research findings because of multiple perspectives from both qualitative and quantitative data. The sample for the interviews was purposefully chosen from those who showed interest in participating in the second phase of the phenomenographic study. Interviews were conducted after respondents completed the survey. For the qualitative data collection, a phenomenographic approach (Marton 1981) was used. Phenomenography is, in Marton’s words, “an empirically based approach that aims to identify the qualitatively different ways in which different people experience, conceptualize, perceive and understand various kinds of phenomena” (cited in Richardson 2000, 53). In this regard, the study focused on the civic participation of ethno-cultural newcomers in small cities in the Atlantic provinces.

11.3 Findings of the Survey

Each survey question had a Likert rating scale from 1 to 5, with 5 strongly agree, 4 agree, 3 neutral, 2 disagree, and 1 strongly disagree. Upon completion of the questionnaires, responses were coded and analyzed using both percentages and linear regression including the following variables: gender, age (youth or adult), ethnicity, date of arrival in Canada, highest level of education, citizenship status in Canada, and occupation. Of the total 103 survey respondents, the average interest in civic participation

was rated at 3.39 on the scale of 1–5. The average rate of volunteering and protesting were lower with ratings of 2.45 and 2.34, respectively. However, participants rated their Canadian patriotism at 3.56. An average rating of 3.24 was given to the category of education in Canadian politics, and an average rating of 3.23 was given to the category of issues with citizenship status in relation to civic participation.

Regression analysis was used to determine any significant differences in terms of the variables of gender, age, level of education, year of arrival, ethnicity, occupation, and citizenship status for each of the seven categories. In the category of interest in democratic civic participation, there was significant difference between different ethnic groups with respect to their answers ($p=0.011$). There were no significant differences in any of the other variables. In the category of participation in democratic civic participation, there was a significant difference based on citizenship status ($p=0.02$). But there were no significant differences in any of the other variables.

The average interest in politics was rated at 3.39 in a scale of 1–5 on the survey questionnaire. This may be encouraging for those studying civic education. There seems to be no real distain for the political system in Canada. Pammatt and LeDuc (2003, 7) highlight cynicism, particularly about “a widespread perception that politicians are untrustworthy, selfish, unaccountable, lack credibility, are not true to their word, etc.” But this was not strongly conveyed by immigrants in small cities in Atlantic Canada. In fact, when asked if they were interested in learning about the Canadian government and its democratic political system and trusting Canadian politicians specifically, 67 % responded affirmatively.

In the category of education in democratic civic processes, there was a significant difference in responses between males and females ($p=0.049$), with no significant difference in any of the other variables. In the category of volunteering, there was a significant difference based on gender ($p=0.038$) and occupation ($p=0.043$). Similarly, there were no significant differences in any of the other variables. In the category of protesting, there was a significant difference based on occupation ($p=0.004$), with no significant difference in any of the other variables. In the categories of citizenship issues and sense of Canadian patriotism, there were no significant differences for any of the variables. It was found that interest in democratic civic participation and education were positively correlated ($r=0.747$) and actual participation in the democratic processes and education in politics were also found to be positively correlated ($r=0.987$).

Although the analysis was performed based on categories of questions, there are several individual questions of specific interest in the analysis. In terms of interest in Canadian politics, 67 % of participants agreed with the statement “I am interested in learning about the Canadian government and its democratic political system.” Seventy-seven percent of participants felt that when they voted they felt as though they had made a difference, and 84 % felt that they made a difference when they volunteered. About 74 % of participants agreed with the statement “It is important to vote in every election.” This favourable trend toward the Canadian political process seems consistent with the findings of Henderson (2005).³

Only 47 % of the participants surveyed agreed that they had been formally taught, educated, or given information about Canadian democratic processes, the political

system, and how to get involved while only 20% felt that they were welcomed in their communities and felt integrated. It was important to follow up with interviews to understand *why 80% of respondents did not feel welcomed or integrated in their communities*. The agreement in the knowledge of the role of volunteering was 64%, protesting was 53%, and voting and running for political office were both at 75% as forms of civic participation.

Some newcomers in the study felt that they deserved more rights as Canadians. For example, 47% of participants felt that newcomers should be able to vote in all elections, even if they are not yet Canadian citizens, and 66% felt that landed immigrants should be encouraged to run in the elections for political office even if they are not yet Canadian citizens. It was quite interesting, yet in keeping with other findings (Bonifacio 2013; Roberts and Ferguson 2013),⁴ that there was a great sense of patriotism with 74% of participants agreeing with the statement “I am proud to be known as a Canadian citizen or resident,” while 63% saw themselves identifying closely with Canada and had a great sense of belonging. These were also some of the aspects pursued in the follow-up interviews. While 80% of these newcomers said that they did not feel welcomed in their communities, only 74% were proud to be Canadian citizens or residents. About 81% of respondents felt that multicultural associations and other government agencies that work closely with recent immigrants need to do more in educating them about democratic participation and integrating them into society.

11.4 Results of the Interviews

All of the 20 participants interviewed in this study in small cities in Atlantic Canada said that they know that their participation in Canadian civic processes was important though they might not do it all the time. Most of them wish to participate, but, in most cases, they felt unwelcomed even though they wish to be fully integrated. They strongly believe they are excluded and face barriers when they try to participate in civic activities. They vehemently point out that the dilemmas and challenges they face as minority ethno-cultural newcomers were enormous from a community level and at times to government policies, too.

The participants interviewed in this study discussed various barriers they perceived were preventing them from engaging in the civic processes of Canada. These included race discrimination, lack of financial resources and economic stability, unwelcoming communities, lack of role models of minority ethno-cultural people in politics, and being discriminated by Canadian government policies. This was apparent in the area of citizenship status that is required to participate in certain civic processes. Government requirements prevented some of the respondents from participating even if they wished to do so. These were the major challenges faced by the interviewees in small cities in Atlantic Canada. In other parts of Canada, particularly in Ottawa, the issue of social, economic, and human capital and its relation to political participation is explored in the work of Biles and Tolley (2008).⁵

11.4.1 *Barriers to Civic Participation*

The participants found that civic participation in small cities as *a process was hindered by barriers*. This was exemplified by the following comments:

I am not really involved because I feel that these Canadians do not like me because of my race. I mean-yeah, how many people of ethno-cultural background you have seen in politics here in Atlantic Canada? Even the Black Nova Scotians and Aboriginal people-do you see them in any position of power or in serious politics. Then, what more of me-just a immigrant or a CFA [Come From Afar] as they arrogantly call us here that we come from away or afar despite that I have lived here for 15 years. Even my neighbours do not really talk to me and my family. When I walk around downtown in the streets-most people still ask me: Where are you from, when I even know them by name? Since there are no people of my culture or people of color in the city council or any other political office, then to me it is a big message-there is no place for you or they do not like my services. I think it is just hard for them to welcome someone who is different for them, I do not know.

Another participant believed that discrimination is evident in politics in small communities. She felt that if one is of minority ethno-cultural background, white Canadians tend to undermine or create a negative case to disqualify such person. She said:

I am an academic and I can do it, I know. However, I don't think here in this city or community, they will accept a foreigner like me. The moment they see your skin color and pick your accent (laughs) you are out of the game. Despite the policies in place, I think here in Atlantic Canada the issue of race is a still a big thing. Just as an example, recently this Black woman was nominated to run for the Conservatives and what happened? They started to say she has this crime and this crime and in the end she did not run. I think that was a set up and the political party she represented wanted to pretend that they have put ethno-cultural candidate. I cannot remember well but she was even asked to leave her job I think. It was all over in the media. What can I say, she was a Black woman. No offense to White Canadians, but I think they care for their own. I think the USA has set an example and may be Canada will follow too. The election of their bi-racial president was quite historic. Look at the number of ethno-cultural background in politics not simple positions but even governors. After what is happening in the USA, I am a bit optimistic that maybe my children will run for political office and will be accepted here in our community. I think this place is just too small because I know my friends in Toronto tell me that many Italians and Jewish people are into politics. So maybe I will move to a bigger city where there is more diversity. Maybe Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and these other little provinces here are just 'drive through stations' like Tim Hortons [laughs] because a lot of my relatives and friends are moving away to big cities.

The issue of lack of resources as a barrier preventing civic participation among the minority ethno-cultural immigrants in small cities in the Atlantic provinces was very evident in the following response from one participant:

Hmmm! And then (laughs) there are many factors at play. I need lots of money; I need to do more in the public sphere so that people know me in the first place. I mean you can't just come from nowhere like what I did when I tried with NDP. I think I learned a lesson. Let's take for example Obama, he is bi-racial maybe if he was a real Black person or Latino they might not have voted for him. However, he did a lot and when he spoke at the Democratic Party Convention some time ago, I cannot remember the year but I think it was 2003 or 2004. I think that is when he created a good public profile but it took him a lot of time and

lots of money before he finally decided to stand for office. He was now known and he won. He is a public figure. Despite my race I think it is just common sense that being known and having financial resources will make you win. However, the puzzling question is: how many immigrants will have that money when they even struggle to survive. I think it is tricky, if not catch 22.

While participants might want to participate in politics, they do not have enough money to be involved. Some participants said it was difficult for them to become well known enough so that they might become popular enough to be elected in small cities.

Other barriers perceived by participants as they get involved, or seek to become involved, in the process of civic participation included: discrimination due to one's age, need of money, need to be known and/or become a public figure or be of a certain race, difference in culture, gender difference, and one's citizenship status. Both males and females expressed one or more barriers. All participants perceived similar barriers in terms of being discriminated against mainly because of their race.

11.4.2 Achieving Personal Gain or Fulfillment

Another theme which emerged in the interview is that participants understood civic participation as *a way of achieving personal gain or fulfillment*, especially in small cities where employment opportunities might be challenging. During the interviews, participants said they were engaged in volunteering, and their volunteer work was for their personal gain. For example, a participant said:

I do [volunteering] but not as I did when I arrived here. When I arrived here, I was told the only way to get a job was to volunteer. So I did volunteering work a lot. However, when I used to volunteer, I could sense that some of the people did not really welcome me. Sometimes, I wondered because they looked at me as if I am strange. Now I volunteer with organization which serve my interests and where there are people like me who understand me well and welcome me like ADAM [African Diaspora Association of the Maritimes] and UACW [United African Canadian Women Association].

In another interview, one participant felt that his public profile was low; he was not well known, and, hence, he would like to do more grassroots civic participation like volunteering and attending public events to build his profile. He was further asked whether he felt welcomed and integrated in his community and whether he would get involved in Canadian civic processes like running for elections. He responded by saying:

To some extent yes, I think you will never be liked by everybody especially someone like me, being an ethno-cultural visible minority with an accent. However, things are not that bad. My ambition is that one day I would like to run for office and win. I was about to make that decision, in fact I tried with NDP here in my constituency but it did not work at all. I think my public profile was low and this was the contributing factor to my failure than anything else. I am not sure but I think so. So now I volunteer and try to attend as many public events so that I can be known and build my profile.

His response demonstrates a common thread and may not be surprising given that newcomers face so many settlement and adaptation challenges on arrival in their host country, especially when they choose to settle in small cities, which tend to be very conservative and, in most cases, largely dominated by white residents (Kreil 2002; Hill 2003).

11.4.3 *Being Outsiders*

Another theme that emerged in the interviews with participants in Atlantic Canada was how minority ethno-cultural newcomers try to participate—they are *always outsiders and not part of the circle*. Some participants said that they felt Canadians were friendly but that they were not fully included in the inner circle of their friends or fully accepted by them: “One is always an outsider no matter how hard they try to be part of the circle.” This means that they are never part of the society or that they are not integrated at all as demonstrated by another response from a participant:

Oh, they just say Hi...some sort of show like a smiley thing...but that's just it, you never know, that's outward but you don't know inside. It's like if you really love somebody from inside you would really even open yourself to them and not just say Hi, saying Hi just like Hi-Hi you cannot say you are appreciated by saying Hi. There's a better way of bringing or showing somebody you care. Like you open yourself, you talk to them, invite them somewhere, ask them to have coffee together or something and then through that get to know this person and I can get involved in certain ways. They're Canadians...of cause; I've been here for 3 years. I mean, I want to be appreciated or integrated into the society. But sort of here like...hmmm...they keep to themselves...most of the time they don't talk to you, so you just keep quiet. You're just an immigrant.

The feeling of not being welcomed was pervasive among all the participants which they believe was due to their minority ethno-cultural background.

Lack of education about civic participation before and after arrival in Canada was an issue. Some participants said that they were not given enough information and education about the civic processes of Canada when they applied for immigration. Even when they arrived in their community, they did not get any information or any form of formal or informal education at all. This issue was expressed in this response:

When I came to Canada was not told much about this like volunteering and stuff. Ummm, I didn't have like a Canadian approaching me telling me this and that. No, I've never had that. I've never found somebody coming to approach me personally and tell me specifically what happens in the community and what I can do to help like to be part of the community affairs, yeah. I think what they should do is to tell what the culture is and tell them[newcomers] what happens in the community and what volunteer activities they have and sort of befriend them and sort of tell them what's happening, and from there also they can encourage them what to do and all these things. I think with that, we will see many [newcomers] doing such things. So maybe there's some lack of information or some education. I came here as an economic landed immigrant. I did not come here as a refugee or illegally. So I went to the multicultural association here. I did not find much information about civic participation at

all. They [workers at the Multicultural Association] thought we were refugees and it seems they cater for refugees and not all immigrants. So I did not go back.

Most participants conveyed that community-based multicultural associations should teach newcomers about civic processes in Canada and help them to participate in these activities. Teaching newcomers about civic processes in Canada is one of the many ways multicultural associations facilitate their integration in the community. The interviewees felt that multicultural associations should also teach the local residents ways to welcome newcomers.

11.4.4 Citizenship and Civic Participation

Civic participation is viewed by the participants in small cities in the Atlantic provinces as a form of *exclusionary tool where the playground was not at the same level* to all. This is equated with a game based on one's citizenship status: *it's like playing soccer and only one side chooses the referee*. Citizenship status is another major barrier to civic participation. For example, some of the newcomers interviewed were not eligible to participate in the formal electoral politics because they were permanent residents and not yet Canadian citizens. The participants felt this was a form of exclusion from participation. They even wondered why they were not allowed to participate in formal electoral politics if they were permanent residents when they pay taxes and do everything else like any Canadian citizen. Most of them felt the Canadian government prevented them from exercising their democratic right as demonstrated in this narrative:

I am not allowed to vote by the government, it is their law because I am not a citizen. In some Western developed countries, I know permanent residents can vote. Actually in most cases immigrants should participate so that we can learn but when you are not going to vote it's like discrimination and I am sort of denied my democratic right. 'All of us pay taxes' and we should be part of making the laws, too, and have a voice. Just because we don't represent the majority we are not allowed to vote. They think we don't count. That is just plain old oppression you know. Some of the laws still in the books in this country, and from this country being um...post-slavery, and I just don't buy into that at all. And I don't see that as being fair to all residents of Canada. Like, we're not evenly represented in the workforce. Or in the educational system, we're represented barely. Um, we don't have role models in a lot of things because of oppression, like, there are barriers. We need to break down some of those barriers.

Another participant of African descent said that waiting for 4 years to be able to exercise their right and carry out their duty to vote was just too long. Most of the participants felt they were just like anyone else in Canada because they also pay taxes. They did not understand why they were excluded in the first place, as one man said:

I don't understand what's behind the whole process of not allowing us to vote. Waiting to become a citizen is too long. The whole point of waiting is too much. To me personally, we are part of the process if we are part of tax paying. I don't see any harm in letting immi-

grants vote. As long as you are paying taxes, it's probably good to let them vote. I am not sure. It's like playing soccer and only one side chooses the referee, then it's not a level playground.

Some of the participants especially those of African descent who came from undemocratic countries said it was very unfair because they did not vote in their birth countries due to political repression. Now they were in a democratic country but still they could not vote. Those who were not citizens expressed the need for them to be allowed to participate instead of being denied their democratic right to be heard. Some of the participants felt that this indirectly socialized them into the road of alienation and cynicism, and they may even lose interest and will not see the value of participating by the time they become citizens at all.

Civic participation such as protesting was deemed "a risky process." This was found to be true especially in small cities where you can be easily identified. This perception was influenced by previous experience in their countries of origin and in Canada as reflected by a comment below:

At home (Tanzania, Africa) I was involved in demonstrations and the police came, some people were killed, some had broken legs. Let us say if someone is a refugee and has been in very bad political situations and that is the reason why one left his country, it's like once bitten by a snake, next time when you see the grass moving you say hey, that is a snake. So you have to stop, think and run away. I don't see myself being part of those people because of my past experiences. If that is civic participation then, I just want to stay away from politics.

Most of the minority ethno-cultural participants interviewed explained that they just wanted to be good citizens and not stand against the law. Although engaging in protests was effective, they said they did not want to be arrested or deported. They would eventually suffer from racism in protests, and they would be the first to be arrested by the police especially in small cities. These reasons were given several times by the interviewee as evidenced below:

Oh! I don't think I could do something like this (public protest). This is too risky for my family. For one, I am a landed immigrant and subjected to different laws. If caught on the wrong side of the law, you can be deported. I would not participate in a demonstration. There is a lot of racism and those sorts of things, and I know what happens when the police come in. Even though this is supposed to be a peaceful demonstration if there should be any problem and the police come around, you the Black person you'd be the first person to be picked up. From among all the people that are there, you would always be the first casualty (laughs). So while I support such a thing... and understands its importance to be heard, I would not want to go there physically. I would use other channels, one time I even phone our MP. I won't participate in demonstrations because I know well that in every country uh...and of course I've lived in several countries in this world before, foreigners are always seen as scapegoats any time when something goes wrong. Even though there are Canadians involved in some of these things, the first lesson is to put the blame on foreigners, especially Blacks.

Risky events that respondents have seen or experienced in their lives were emphasized. For example, all participants said that it was risky for them to participate in public demonstrations and protests as a form of civic participation. They would never take part in public demonstrations, whether peaceful or violent, even though

they all agreed that it is one crucial form of civic participation. A synthesis of the results of the study is discussed in the next section.

11.5 Synthesis of Findings

In the preceding discussion, various themes were identified from this study in relation to civic participation and integration in small cities. Although survey participants seemed interested in politics, it did not translate into participation, with an average survey response of 2.00 (or disagree). This is in direct opposition to the statement by Blais et al. (2002, 5) that “[t]he more interest people express in politics and the better informed they are, the more likely they are to vote.” While there seems to be more interest in politics than participation, this can be understood by the fact that newcomers are not permitted to vote unless they are Canadian citizens. Couton and Gaudet (2008) note that lower immigrant political participation is not due so much to lack of interest but to lack of access to political processes at electoral levels, even at the grassroots level, as most of the participants felt unwelcomed and not fully integrated in these small cities.

This study seems to strengthen the idea of higher interest in politics than participation. Participants recognized citizenship issues in responses to questions such as “Landed immigrants should be encouraged to run in elections for political office even if they are not Canadian citizens yet” to which 66% of respondents agreed. Their perceptions somehow relate to those immigrants in most European countries where landed immigrants are allowed to vote (Simiatycki 2007).⁶ For example, the findings of this study and the work of scholars referenced here lead me to propose that Canada follow the lead of countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and Italy where noncitizens are allowed to participate in their political processes (OECD 2011). In the USA, some jurisdictions are allowing noncitizens to participate in the political process at the school board level and in municipal elections. After New York City granted noncitizens the right to participate in the political processes,⁷ there was an increase in the speed at which immigrants integrated. In Sweden, it was observed that voter turnout increased from 48 to 60% when noncitizens were allowed to participate, while voter turnout increased from 12 to 20% in Dutch municipal elections when noncitizens became involved in the political process (Munro 2008).

Most immigrants participating in this study also felt that they were not fully socialized or included in Canadian civic processes. One of the recommendations from the study is that recent immigrants be introduced to the nation’s political processes as soon as they arrive in order to learn about citizenship practices and help them integrate into their new society. Participation in electoral activities teaches citizens about political processes, institutions, and the norms of a political system. It is an important form of civic-political socialization and provides citizens with opportunities to learn. Based on the results from this study, electoral participation is one component of integration for new Canadians. Interestingly, 20% of participants

responded that they voted in every Canadian election. Given that only 39 % of total respondents were citizens and eligible to vote, 51 % of the eligible immigrants who are now citizens are casting their vote in each election. This percentage is close to the national voter turnout rates for the 2008 federal election where only 59.1 % of Canadians voted (CBC 2008). In the 2011 federal elections, the voter turnout was at 61.1 % (Elections Canada 2013).⁸

Participation of the surveyed newcomers in small cities in Atlantic Canada is, therefore, not much different than the participation of the Canadian population as a whole. The disengagement of citizens generally, and recent immigrants in particular, from civic processes and their high levels of political cynicism and alienation have raised concern and lead to much debate in Canada and around the world (Chareka and Sears 2006; Hughes and Sears 2008). Couton and Gaudet (2008, 22) argue that “Most evidence seems to indicate a significantly lower level of engagement on the part of immigrants...As a result, immigration poses a challenge to broader societal cohesion.” But lower political participation changes over time with longer years of residency in a country.⁹

In the survey analysis, it was found that citizenship was a significant predictor of political participation ($p=0.02$). While this seems obvious, it indicates that those who are not citizens are not participating in other forms of civic participation such as volunteering and demonstrations as explained before. The average rate of volunteering and demonstrating were 2.45 and 2.34, respectively, both between disagreeing and neutral responses. This was also supported by the findings from the interviews as most of the participants felt they were not welcomed, some did not have enough information, and some were just reluctant to get involved. For some participants, once they were settled, they minimized their participation in activities such as volunteering because it no longer helped them in terms of personal gains or achievements such as employment or a scholarship. Newcomers recognized, however, the role of these two processes as forms of civic participation, with 64 % agreed that volunteering was a form of civic participation and 52 % believed that protest was a form of democratic participation. While they were knowledgeable about the forms of civic participation in the community, they did not participate in these activities on a regular basis.

It is interesting to note that occupation was a significant predictor of both volunteering ($p=0.043$) and demonstrating (0.004), while gender was a significant predictor of volunteering ($p=0.038$). Perhaps, in combination, some occupations which are more common for one gender are also those that are more likely to promote volunteering in their employees. The qualitative data illuminated this finding by revealing that newcomers volunteer in their early years of arrival as this is an avenue or way, they were told, that would help them find employment. In terms of demonstrations, it would be interesting to determine if the occupations that correlate with protesting are also those that attract younger workers, as previous studies have indicated more willingness to engage in protest from among the youth rather than among adults (Basiga 2004; Chareka and Sears 2005, 2006; Richardson 2000; Sears and Perry 2000).

Participants were neutral when asked if they had been educated about Canadian politics and democratic participation with an average response of 3.24. The positive correlations found between interest in politics and education ($r=0.747$) and participation in politics and education ($r=0.987$) are staggering. Education is the key to increasing political participation, not only among newcomers, but also in the Canadian population in general. With only 47% of these newcomers agreeing that they were educated formally in civic participation, it is a great disservice to this country to not educate and not integrate them by increasing their engagement in civic participation, given the strong positive correlation discovered in this study.

In terms of integration into Canadian society, it was found that participants rated their Canadian patriotism at 3.56 or slightly above neutral. It can be reassuring to Canadians that these newcomers and citizens are patriotic, and this was evident during the interviews as some felt that when they travel with a Canadian passport they are well respected and, hence, they are proud to be Canadians and this gives them a sense of belonging. However, based on the survey results, only 20% felt that they were welcomed and integrated into their communities. As mentioned earlier and illustrated from the interviews, newcomers face numerous challenges and dilemmas which are sometimes awkward for many of them. Multicultural associations and other government agencies that work closely with newcomers can do more to educate them about democratic participation in the community. All of the small cities included in this study have established multicultural associations, but it seems they tend to focus on the immediate needs of refugees and not all newcomers, especially economic landed immigrants, who may also have aspirations to engage in the civic process.

11.6 Conclusion

The dilemmas and challenges faced by newcomers in small communities in Atlantic Canada pose an important lens to understand a cultural mosaic that strives to integrate and encourage newcomers to participate in the democratic civic processes in Canada. Racism embedded in social institutions at times appears to be part of the established norms, customs, and rules like in seeking political offices. Visible minority immigrants and even white Canadians seem to internalize these racialized identities on a daily basis and take for granted the positive ways that newcomers could contribute to civic life. However, exclusionary practices and notions of ethno-cultural minorities are challenged by the results of this study. Their perspectives share the common goals of challenging and deconstructing dominant discourses in society which are anchored in certain notions of privilege and power. The marginalization of immigrants is both overt and subtle, with forms of exclusion in the processes of civic participation demonstrated in small cities in Atlantic Canada.

While newcomers are relatively positive about the importance of civic participation and their willingness to participate, there is much room for improvement in the

successful integration of newcomers. However, much remains to be desired. Marginalization and exclusion are still evident in Canadian society despite the official policies espousing multiculturalism and inclusion. The focus for policy makers and civic educators needs to be on providing newcomers with the information necessary to prepare them to become active participants in civic life. Although civic education appears to be the key for participation, it has yet to be determined what content and delivery style is the most effective for newcomers or other immigrant groups. While the current study provides some insight, it represents only a small portion of ethno-cultural newcomers and only a small area of the country. Further research with other newcomers throughout Canada is much desired, particularly in research that could extend the correlation between civic education and participation of other populations, especially among young voters considered to have low voter turnout (Torney-Purta et al 2001; Hebert 2008). In sum, the findings in this study contribute to a growing body of research in citizenship education and have potential for use by social workers, educators, federal government agencies, and community organizations involved in the integration process of newcomers in Canadian society, particularly in small cities where grassroots participation is more visible.

Notes

1. Editors notation.
2. Editors notation.
3. Editors notation.
4. Editors notation.
5. Editors notation.
6. Editors notation.
7. New York City allowed non-citizens to participate in the election of local school boards until 2003, thereafter the elected school boards were abolished (Renshon 2008) [editors notation].
8. Editors notation.
9. Editors notation.

Annex A

Sex:	Male	Female	Ethnicity:
Date of birth:			Country of birth:
Highest level of education:			Occupation:
Mother tongue language:			Other spoken languages:
Date of arrival in Canada:			Citizenship status in Canada:

Directions: Please complete the following statements by placing a check mark in the space provided to the right of each statement.

5	4	3	2	1	
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Rating scale	5	4	3	2	1
1. I am interested in learning about the Canadian government and its political system					
2. Considering the time I arrived in Canada, I have been formally taught about the Canadian government and its political system					
3. Considering the time I arrived in Canada, I have never been formally taught about the Canadian government and its political system					
4. I am a member of a Canadian political party					
5. I have attended political party forums/rallies					
6. I have donated money to a political party					
7. I have campaigned for a political party					
8. My Canadian neighbors in my community welcomed me and have talked with me about politics in Canada and I feel fully integrated in the community					
9. My Canadian neighbors in my community have invited me to attend a political forum/rally					
10. I have talked about Canadian politics in our immigrant circle/gatherings					
11. I read and follow in newspapers and magazines about Canadian politics					
12. I voted in every election in Canada					
13. Immigrants should be able to vote in all elections even if they are not Canadian citizens yet					
15. Members of all ethnic, cultural, or racial groups should be encouraged to run in elections for political office					
16. I am interested in politics but don't take any active part					
17. I take an active interest in politics					
18. I'm not interested in politics at all					
19. I feel patriotic about Canada					
20. I am proud to be known as a Canadian citizen or resident					
21. I see myself identifying closely with Canada					
22. I trust the Canadian federal government to do what is right all of the time					
23. I have been elected as a representative of an immigrant community organization					

(continued)

5	4	3	2	1	
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Rating scale	5	4	3	2	1
24. I have been elected as a representative of a local, provincial, or federal position					
25. I have volunteered in an environmental community project					
26. I volunteered for charity to help Canadians					
27. I have volunteered for charity to help people in my former country of origin					
28. I have membership in a social action group, e.g., Greenpeace or Mothers Against Drunk Driving					
29. Volunteering is a form of democratic participation					
30. I have been involved in violent public demonstration					
31. I have been involved in peaceful public demonstration					
32. I have signed a petition before					
33. I plan to protest in the future					
35. Any form of protest is democratic participation					
36. Voting and running for a political office are forms of democratic participation					
37. Immigrants like me don't have a say about what the government does					
38. I don't think that people in the government care much about what immigrant people like me think					
39. Canadian political parties are only interested in immigrants' votes and not in their opinions					
40. Most Canadian people in the government are honest					
41. Immigrants who are Canadian citizens have much say about how the government runs things					
42. It is important to vote					
43. I personally feel prepared to vote in a federal election and I know the political parties well					
44. I talk and discuss about political events, ideas, and attitudes in my family					
45. I know and I have been taught about my rights and responsibilities in Canada					
46. When I vote I feel I make a difference					
47. When I volunteer I feel I make a difference					
48. When I protest I feel I make a difference					

(continued)

5	4	3	2	1	
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Rating scale	5	4	3	2	1
49. Canada is a multicultural country which has tried to integrate immigrants in the Canadian society					
50. Multicultural associations and other government agencies that work closely with recent immigrants are doing more work in educating them about democratic participation and integrating them in the society					

Comments: Write any other comments you want in relation to democratic participation and integration of immigrants in Canada

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Part IV
Francophone Communities

Chapter 12

Relationship Between School and Immigrant Families in French-Language Minority Communities in Moncton, New Brunswick: Parents' Perceptions of Their Children's Integration

Aïcha Benimmas, Fadila Boutouchent, and Lamine Kamano

12.1 Introduction

New Brunswick is the largest province in the Maritimes¹ and the only bilingual province in Canada. It contains eight major cities: Moncton, Fredericton, Edmundston, Bathurst, Campbellton, Saint John, Dieppe, and Miramichi (Nouveau-Brunswick, Canada 2010). Although the population presently consists of Anglophone, Francophone, and Aboriginal people, the social landscape in New Brunswick's urban centres and small cities is starting to change with the arrival of immigrants from around the world. This influx of people is expected to inject some dynamism into the provincial economy and help offset the loss of population caused by young people moving to other Canadian provinces and aging (Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada [CIC] 2008a). With regard to Francophone minority communities, immigration can help reinforce the demographic weight of Francophones in New Brunswick and thus resist assimilation into the culture of its Anglophone majority. This last element is reflected in the Acadian school mission, which aims to preserve the French language and culture and, accordingly, the Acadian identity. New Brunswick Acadians were the first French Catholic colonists to settle in the Atlantic Region² since 1604. They were deported by Anglophone colonists in 1755, but returned to Canada between 1763 and 1850 (Landry and Lang 2001). This being said, we posit that it is not enough to accept immigrants but that they should be

This chapter is based on results published in a working paper series submitted to Metropolis Atlantic (Benimmas 2010).

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welcomed, that is, convinced to stay and integrate into society, in order to avoid losing them to other provinces and larger urban centres.

Schools contribute to the retention of immigrants because it is a place where the dominant culture's values, behaviours, knowledge, and know-how are transmitted and internalized (Singleton 1999). However, the process of integrating into a new school and society, as experienced by the immigrant student, presents a major challenge for both the students and their families (Kanouté et al. 2008). Within this context, the immigrant family and the school are faced with the task of reconciling different values systems, expectations, and perceptions. The ensuing relationship does not exist between two equal cultures (Benimmas 2010) because the immigrant (now a minority) must adjust to the Acadian system (now a majority), as it is between the Francophone Acadian minority and the New Brunswick Anglophone majority. In fact, according to the 2011 Census, there were 2225 immigrants out of a total population of 69,074 in the City of Moncton (Statistics Canada 2012). In School District 1, there are between 800 and 850 immigrant students (most of whom are Africans) attending Francophone schools within the city limits of Moncton.

The New Brunswick education system is two-tiered: there is an Anglophone system (for the majority) and a Francophone system (for the minority). Thus, among 14 school districts and 20 schools in Moncton, only 5 of each are intended for French speakers.³ This may mean that schools in minority communities are disadvantaged in terms of material and human resources. Bilingual education system is not, however, unique to New Brunswick.

In this chapter, we analyze the immigrant family–school relationship based on the perception of immigrant parents living in Moncton. More specifically, we look at (1) the perceptions of immigrant parents of the school attended by their children before and after their arrival in Moncton, (2) the perceptions of immigrant parents of their own involvement in their children's instruction, and (3) the perceptions of immigrant parents regarding their children's social and school integration.

12.2 Related Studies and Approach

As a minority, Francophone schools must constantly struggle for the survival of their fundamental identity markers. For the Acadian society, these are the French language and culture as well as the Catholic religion. Francophone schools act as a vector of ethnolinguistic vitality for Canadian Francophone minorities (Landry and Allard 1999). While school stakeholders concentrate on the affirmation of Acadian identity and increasing Acadian students' awareness regarding the importance of their cultural heritage, the arrival of immigrant students from different countries presents another challenge in terms of integrating these new students and communicating with their families. When compared to major cities like Montreal or Toronto, Moncton currently lacks the infrastructure for welcoming and dealing with immigrants in Francophone schools. Given the importance of immigrant and refugee

contribution to socioeconomic and demographic development, the Acadian society will need to develop strategies for welcoming them (CIC 2008b).

The integration of immigrant and refugee students in Francophone schools raises issues of isolation, discrimination, and linguistic difficulties (Benoît et al. 2008). Immigrant and visible minority youths appear to be disadvantaged within the Canadian school system (Krahn and Taylor 2005). Different cultural expectations from both sides cause tensions to grow between the immigrant family and the school. On the one hand, although immigrant parents may experience socioeconomic insecurity, intercultural dynamics, linguistic competency issues, and maybe even illiteracy (Rummens et al. 2008), they nevertheless have high expectations for their children's education (Benoît et al. 2008; Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2008). In fact, "School success and linguistic integration are seen as the keys to achieving a better future for the children" (Rummens 2008, 44). On the other hand, schools struggle with the emerging diversity (cultural differences) in their classrooms as well as different parenting styles.

12.2.1 *The Immigrant Parent–School Relationship*

Communication between the school and immigrant parents is essential in facilitating their relationship. This allows teachers to adjust their teaching according to the experience and conditions of immigrant students, as well as help these students develop new social codes useful in adapting to a host society (Benoît et al. 2008). Although parents bear the overall burden of educating and socializing their children in a new society, the responsibility for their academic instruction belongs to schools. However, education, socialization, and schooling must go hand-in-hand, which suggests that there must be a close collaboration between schools and families (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2005).

Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2008) examined the problems of the school–immigrant family relationship in both Montreal and Sherbrooke (Quebec), taking into consideration which tasks schools and families can perform in relation to education, socialization, and schooling. They argue that children's success is most often linked to the informal distribution of these tasks between schools and families. These authors identify six immigrant family–school collaborative models within the Quebec context. The *assigned involvement model* refers to how schools determine the manner in which families should be involved in school activities (meetings, extracurricular activities). The *partnership collaboration model* is based on recognition and equality in the education, socialization, and schooling of children. The *mediated collaboration model* is used with families from low socioeconomic backgrounds and when parents have an insufficient level of schooling. The *assumed distance model* is used when the cultural and linguistic distance is great: schools provide the academic education, while the family, assisted by its ethnic community, is responsible for their children's socialization and general education. In the *blended collaboration model*, schools enter the domestic sphere and get involved in the

children's education and socialization. The *collaboration with visibility seeking model* is based on both mediated collaboration and assumed distance. It is used when families are still trying to establish themselves in the host society and when schools do not consider the immigrant families' other cultural, ethnic, or religious spaces as real support systems.

Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2005) contend that, when families are economically disadvantaged, they can turn to community organizations to find out more about their school's culture and negotiate services for their children. However, these authors clarify that the partnership model prevails when the family possesses high sociocultural capital. Parents from such families tend to criticize the host society's school system by referring to the one in their country of origin.

In a study carried out in Quebec, Proulx (1996) shows that in most cases parents remain divided about how their school wishes them to get involved. Some parents would simply like to be informed without having to make decisions for the school, while others would like to participate in the school's decision-making process by mutual agreement with the school. School expectations regarding parental involvement focus more on parental support of school activities than on parental participation in creating projects, seeking to improve school practices or asking for help to fulfill their role (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2005). While supporting the parent who is most often called upon by the school plays a fundamental role in the student's success at school, inviting parents to get involved and take part in the decision-making process should neither be expressed nor seen as a simple courtesy, but rather as a necessity or requirement (Migeot-Alvarado 2000). Thus, parent participation cannot exist unless schools invite them to participate and show there is an understanding of the parental role (Deslandes and Bertrand 2004). However, despite what we know, immigrant family-school collaboration remains a significant challenge (Gougeon 1993). Previous studies have highlighted the following key obstacles: communication difficulties linked to the absence of interpreters and parent illiteracy (Warner 1999; Pena 2000), expectations regarding the role of teachers and parent involvement in school (Lynch and Stein 1987), conflicting values, and promotion of autonomy by the school, while the family prefers conformity to norms and cultural values (Okagaki and Sternberg 1993). To these are added the perception of normal development (Valsiner 1997) and the stigmatization of children (Pavlovskaja 2001).

All of these studies carried out in the field of children's success in school through the social and school integration of students in general, and immigrant students in particular, underscore the necessity for family-school involvement. However, the family-school relationship is tinged, in most cases, with the parent's perceptions of the school and of their own level of schooling. In a small city like Moncton, especially when facilities for immigrant students is limited and the family-school relationship is closer, the schooling level of immigrant parents can be noticed by the school when parents supervise and monitor children.

12.2.2 Immigrant Parents' Perceptions of Social and School Integration

The perceptions of immigrant parents regarding their children's social and school integration determine the relationship they are likely to have with the school. For Ramirez and Cox (1980), to understand the perceptions of immigrant parents, one must study the different issues related to their children's socialization and schooling in the host society. Immigrant parents are hesitant about which school they should enroll their child in, which language to speak with their children at home, and which cultural heritage to value to ensure social and economic stability and racial acceptance (Ramirez and Cox 1980).

On this subject, research carried out by Sabatier (1991) reveals that immigrant parents view the education and socialization of their children differently than the host society. In this study, immigrant parents have different concepts of child development than other parents in the host society: according to immigrant parents, children's cognitive development happens at a later age than it is believed to in the host society (Sabatier 1991). Parents in the host society have individualistic values that strongly influence the way they educate their children. While the educational style preferred in the host society involves encouraging young children to be more autonomous and develop a sense of responsibility, immigrant parents tend to value an educational style based on the collective values and norms of their society of origin. Their social relationships focus on the group they belong to and in which the child will grow. According to Sabatier (1991), immigrant parents consider that school is primarily a place for academic learning, not for socializing. This conception of children's education and socialization creates two contradictory visions among immigrant parents which are reflected in the empirical research in Quebec by Benoit et al. (2008). These researchers reveal that immigrant parents do initially view their children's education within the host society in a positive light. When asked, they attribute their satisfaction to the following elements: education accessibility, teacher availability, the teacher-child relationship, the learning modalities (games, songs and creativity), the resources available, and the overall sense of security at school.

However, there are also "tension zones" that reflect the dissatisfaction of the immigrant parents regarding their children's social and school integration. Several elements explain the presence of these tension zones. Communication between the parents and the school raises concerns for some parents who feel their low proficiency in the host language limits their ability to become involved in their children's education (Benoit et al. 2008). Also, the parents see institutional monitoring as an intrusion, an expression of prejudice, and a lack of confidence in them. According to these authors, immigrant parents are shocked by the value differences and feel that they are not heard or that their values are not respected. More often than not, immigrant parents feel that their concerns are not being heard. Some expect their children to be given homework sooner. Some feel that their children are not learning to write as quickly as they do in other countries, that they spend too much time playing, and that they are not performing well. One particularly sensitive matter is sexual

education, which immigrant parents generally feel is taught too soon at elementary schools. Furthermore, immigrant parents are not satisfied with school discipline, which they see as being too lax. From the viewpoint of perpetuating and transmitting their cultural identity, immigrant parents find it important to respect values and differences.

As far as how they view their children's future, Benoit et al. (2008) indicate that immigrant parents feel divided between hope and concern. On the one hand, they are hopeful because it is easier to find success and achieve a good quality of life in their host country, while maintaining their cultural values. On the other hand, they have concerns because they fear that their children will not receive a good education or that they will fail to transmit their cultural values. Immigrant parents also feel powerless when confronted with their children's increasing demands as they grow up in a materialistic society like Canada.

Legault and Fortin (1996) contend that educational and recreational modalities are part of the problems identified by immigrant parents. They argue that, in seeking a better future for their children, immigrant parents fear the host society's influence on their children's education. They believe that the host society context is not conducive to raising their children as they would have wished to do so. As such, the perceptions of immigrant parents regarding their children's social and school integration influence, to a certain degree, their relationship with the school. While most of the research on the immigrant family-school relationship is concerned with Francophone or Anglophone majority social environments, it seems that this topic has not been studied in a Francophone minority context (Farmer 2008, cited in Benimmas 2010, 13). There are two opposing forces at place when an ethnic minority lives in a small town within a French minority environment: on one hand, Acadians struggle against assimilation of the Anglo-dominant group, and, on the other hand, they want to assimilate immigrants.

12.3 Research Methods

As an exploratory study, the research methods used were qualitative. We collected data using a semi-structured interview grid, which created a verbal interaction between the researcher and the participant on themes the researcher wanted to explore in order to gain a rich understanding of the phenomenon under study (Boutin 1997; Savoie-Zajc 2009). This tool allowed us to identify the perceptions of immigrant parents of their children's school before and after their arrival in Moncton, their involvement in their children's education and instruction, and their perceptions regarding their children's social and school integration. The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and coded, and data analysis combined thematic and interpretive approaches (Paillé and Mucchielli 2008).

The parents who participated in our research were immigrants with children enrolled in Francophone schools in the city of Moncton. Fourteen respondents accepted to grant us an interview on a voluntary basis during the spring and summer

Table 12.1 Sociodemographic profile of the immigrant parent respondents^a

Country of origin	Sex	Length of residency	Languages spoken at home	Educational level ^b of the children	Educational level of the participant
DRC ^c	F	9 months	Swahili, Lingala, French	Elementary	4th Sec.
DRC	M	8 months	Lingala, French	Elementary	Bac
Burundi	M	3 years	Kirundi, Swahili, French, English	Elementary	M.Sc.
DRC	F	11 months	Swahili, Lingala, French	Elementary	4th Sec.
Ivory Coast	M	10 years	French	Elementary	Cegep
Guinea	M	6 years	Pular, French	Elementary	Bac
DRC	M	4 years	Swahili, French, English	Secondary	Bac
Haiti	F	1 year	English, French	Elementary	Bac
DRC	F	5 months	Lingala, English, French	Elementary	–
Tunisia	F	16 years	Arab, French, English	Elementary and Secondary	Bac
Togo	F	5 years	Ewe, Mina, English, French	Elementary	Sec
DRC	M	10 years	French, English	Elementary	Bac
Morocco	M	10 years	French, Arab	Elementary	Ph.D.
Guinea	M	7 years	Pular, French	Elementary	M.Sc.

^aFor confidentiality, we have omitted the names of the countries of origin near the pseudonyms used in the result section. The assigned pseudonyms fulfill the confidentiality agreement with the participants

^bIn New Brunswick, *elementary school* goes from kindergarten to grade 5 and *secondary school* goes from middle school (Grades 6–8) to high school (Grades 9–12)

^cDemocratic Republic of Congo

of 2008. Two main multicultural associations in Moncton—the Reception Centre and Integration of Metropolitan Moncton (RCIMM) and the Multicultural Association of the Greater Moncton Area (MAGMA)—helped us recruit the parents, by submitting information on our project to immigrants who used their services. The associations provided us with a list of people who agreed to participate, and we contacted them by phone or email.

As shown in Table 12.1, one parent was from Haiti and the other 13 were from Africa: 11 participants were from Sub-Saharan Africa and 2 were from North Africa (Maghreb). Six participants were women and 8 men. Five participants had been residing in Moncton for less than 1 year, 8 between 3 and 10 years, and 1 parent for 16 years. Given the disparity in the length of residence in Moncton, actual experiences and integration processes varied. In addition, only 2 parents had children at the secondary level, while 12 parents had children at the elementary level. The participants' level of schooling varied from preuniversity to university levels, the highest level being a doctorate (PhD). Given the disparity in the schooling factor

among the parents, migration goals and paths also varied, which may affect the immigrant family's experiences in the host society and the parents' collaboration with their children's school. Eleven participants spoke their local dialects at home in addition to French or English, or both.

12.4 Results

Our study analyzes the perceptions of immigrant parents regarding their children's school and social integration and explores the immigrant parent–school relationship within a Francophone minority setting in a small city, Moncton. We documented the perceptions that Francophone immigrant parents have of their children's school, the parents' involvement in their children's schooling, and the children's school and social integration.

The infrastructure, resources, and culture for welcoming immigrants in small cities are different from those found in large cities. In small cities, people are closer and the contact between them is more personal. When the need for economic development is present, retaining immigrants is very important, but the means to do so is not always available. Having said this, Francophone minority schools in small cities like Moncton face two main challenges: meeting immigrant families' needs to avoid losing them to bigger cities and safeguarding their own Francophone minority culture.

Immigrant parents' expectations of their children's school are influenced by several factors that are tied to immigration and initial settlement experiences in the host country. Based on the interviews we conducted, five themes emerged: (1) the school attended by the children, (2) parents' involvement in their children's schooling, (3) parents' expectations and concerns, (4) the school integration challenges, and (5) the social integration challenges.

12.4.1 *Immigrant Parents and Their Children's School*

Examining parents' perception of Canadian schools before their arrival in Moncton and their perception of Francophone minority schools after their arrival allowed us to better understand the relationship between immigrant parents and their children's school. Several participants stated that they had not received any information on the New Brunswick school system before their arrival:

Well, no idea, I knew that when I arrived I'd find out how education works, I had no idea. I knew from the beginning that the child would be at school, that's all.⁴ (Yoli)

Most immigrant parents emphasized that schooling in Canada is mandatory. The fact that Canada is a country of law seemed to give some people a sense of confidence and a positive attitude towards their own migration project. They

explained that they trusted the quality of the school system because Canada is a developed country, which should offer their children many opportunities. With respect to rights and possibilities of immigrants' integration, one parent mentioned children's rights:

I wasn't really worried, because I was coming to a developed country where children's rights are truly considered. (Sanza)

Although most parents did not have any detailed information on Francophone schools in New Brunswick before their arrival, they were not apprehensive because the idea they had of Canada was of a developed county equipped with the means to reach its goals. Some parents knew that the school system was different and centered on Canadian-related topics. Some parents' choices to move to Moncton was influenced by the bilingual status of the province:

I went to the Canadian Embassy...I got information and they told me that if you go to Quebec, it's French, if you go to other provinces, it's English, and then they talked about Moncton as bilingual city, so I opted for here. (Pascal)

After their arrival, several parents realized that the school attended by their children was more organized than what they expected and well equipped with many resources and learning materials. In addition, some parents acknowledged the flexibility of schools and classroom learning conditions:

This flexibility is remarkable compared to what we have in our country. You have the right to do what you want in class, it is essential that you listen, you are seeing. Whereas, where we come from, it's important that you attend and in addition you must respect all the rules: dress code, rules of conduct [...]. (Sali)

Several parents agreed that children were well supported and really enjoyed their school, which is the main place where children socialize and establish friendships with their peers. Others felt that the school, as a central place of education, gave children too much freedom and went against the values of their country of origin:

I come from a religious culture and I don't want school to teach my children about sex at such a young age. The idea of having a girlfriend and boyfriend...I was rather discouraged...Another drawback is what's called 'children's freedom' here in Canada...They think they're helping us, but they're destroying us. (Germaine)

Gougeon (1993) argues that immigrant parents need to be connected to the school system and understand the difference between their own culture and mainstream culture. Showing respect to friends and elders was viewed by some parents as crucial:

A good education, in general terms, also includes discipline, respecting your parents and friends and everyone ... not just for immigrants, but in general ... how to respect a teacher or the principal. (Yoli)

Other parents feared losing control of their children and their school's different educational approach. In particular, they were preoccupied by the amount of freedom given to children and the lack of respect towards elders in comparison with what was accepted in their country of origin. Because of this, some parents

suggested having a mediating party between them and the school to help with collaboration:

I think that New Brunswick needs to improve how it welcomes immigrants, like having a person explain what life is like in the host society for immigrants who come from a different culture, so that they do not feel intimidated and abused... This person could be an immigrant, who experienced the integration process and could also help the school understand the immigrant parents' culture. (Kouma)

These results support the findings of other studies, such as those of Okagaki and Sternberg (1993). These researchers have already identified the tension that characterizes the immigrant family–school relationship relative to value systems: schools promote autonomy, whereas newcomers want their children to conform to the cultural norms of their country of origin.

12.4.2 Immigrant Parents Involvement in Their Children's Schooling and the School

Immigrant parents revealed that communication with their school was quite easy. Several stated that the Multicultural Association of Greater Moncton Area (MAGMA) or friends had helped them choose a school for their children. This choice was influenced by proximity to their residence and concern regarding children's supervision based on their reference educational model or their concern about the cultural difference in terms of individual freedom when compared with their country of origin. Some immigrant parents felt concerned by the matter of bilingualism and how likely it was to provide their children better long-term social and professional integration:

I had some dilemmas in that [bilingualism] before immigrating to Canada, they had attended an Anglophone school...I had already been advised that in order to better fit in, in Canada, it was absolutely necessary to possess a certain level of bilingualism, so I had to send my children to Francophone school. (Paul)

Others were influenced by their social network and their desire to have their children go to a Francophone school.

Once the initial choices and contacts had been established, the immigrant parents asserted their rights and duty to be involved in their children's schooling and keep an eye on their progress. They worked closely with the school and their children on a daily basis:

Teachers deal with it at school and, in the evening, we (as parents) must plan at least 1 h with our children and their homework...books, conjugation, grammar [...].(Aka)

Right from the start, most immigrant parents stated there was close collaboration between them and the school to support their children's learning. Contact between parents and teachers took place over the phone, through the school agenda (a school document children showed their parents), and in meetings. Several parents would

meet with the teachers, but some parents could not take part in all school activities because of their work schedule or the constraints of their own adaptation process:

I just monitor the homework they're given to make sure that it's done (Bene).

In the same vein, some parents experienced stress because they did not feel comfortable during school meetings: "Sometimes, I feel a little embarrassed" (Ali). This feeling of discomfort may be due to their level of schooling, socioeconomic background, or simply the cultural differences.

12.4.3 Expectations and Concerns of Immigrant Parents

In this section, we establish two categories of parental expectations and concerns: expectations related to school performance and the acceptance of cultural differences, and the preservation of native culture. For the first category, parents expressed their desire for their children to attain a high level of schooling. They wanted their children to receive a good education with in-depth learning so that they can make a place for themselves in the host country:

A good education for her to be a respected lady in the future. A smart girl who can go anywhere, that's what I expect. (Yoli)

One participant emphasized the importance of being a role model for his children, which is consistent with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1970) theory of reproduction:⁵

I have good hopes that they will go far. I want them to learn to say 'my dad did this', 'my mom did that'...but if their dad didn't go to school, they will tell themselves 'he's not educated, so why should I go to school?' (Amadi)

This type of expectation reflects parents' quest for a better life, which is often their reason for immigrating. In this sense, Benoît et al. (2008) and Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2008) note that an immigrating family's migration project is often based on their wish for a better future for their children and very high expectations for their children's education.

Consequently, some immigrant parents in Moncton whose children fall behind at school would like their children to be placed in a grade according to their learning level and not their age:

I can only suggest that my children should stay at the same level, because at home we don't look at age, we look at ability...My concern is that they are older, but it [the children's grade] doesn't correspond with their knowledge. (Germaine)

Some parents are concerned about the acceptance of cultural differences:

My expectations include understanding, tolerating differences, and also availability. I would also ask staff to make themselves available to provide assistance to students with special needs. (Paul)

Different issues related to the various concerns parents have about their children's academic progress reveal some integration difficulties linked to the host country's teaching approaches. For instance, one parent emphasized the importance that his child have a "world culture":

Personally, my biggest preoccupation is that my daughter be cultivated. It's true that we're in Canada, but I would like her to know that it's not just about Canada and that there are lots of countries and different cultures. (Kenjo)

Another parent's concern was that cultural diversity was not valued enough at school and attempted to explain it by the limited number of immigrant students:

I don't think they do much to acknowledge, to promote cultural diversity within the school. But I also think it's due to the very small number of immigrants. (Kouma)

This shows the parent awareness of the reality of integration in a small city characterized by the lack of resources, especially given the small number of immigrant students. However, another parent contended that multiculturalism was considered at school:

Cultural celebrations and events are organized for that, in the schools, and sometimes parents are invited to go; it shows that they take culture into consideration. (Pascal)

By and large, participants with a university education freely expressed their dissatisfaction with the school system:

For the moment, I'm a little bit disappointed with the school system...If I had the time, I would keep my daughter at home and we could have done more at home than at school. (Kouma)

While participants with a preuniversity degree mentioned that they would like to deepen their knowledge of the host country and appreciated that their children were exposed to Canadian-related contexts, those with a higher education were concerned about the relevance of what their children were learning and desired their learning to be expanded beyond the Canadian context. This is in line with the findings of Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2008): parents with higher sociocultural backgrounds do not hesitate to criticize the school system of the host society, while those who are economically disadvantaged seem to be satisfied.

12.4.4 Challenges of School Integration

According to some participants, their children found it difficult, particularly in terms of the two key subject matters, French and Mathematics. Krahn and Taylor (2005) suggest that young immigrants are at a disadvantage in the Canadian school system because of their socioeconomic status and their language proficiency (Rummens et al. 2008), which are essential to school and social integration. The participants often highlighted that their children found these two subjects difficult:

No, no, Mathematics, I see a bit, it's the Mathematics part only, but in French it's ok. (Yoli)

Yes, there are some, the difficulties are with the French language because they can't read. (Sanza)

Some expressed partial satisfaction when the child was progressing in one subject but not in the other:

Myself, I would say that when you look at their level when they started, they are doing very well [...]. (Paul)

A parent noted the progress of his child in learning French and mentioned difficulties in Geography:

They're coming along nicely because they can read now and tell you about at least 60 percent of the book's contents. You see, there are many courses here compared to where we come from, they're having problems in Geography. It's quite a problem. (Germaine)

Difficulties in Geography could be tied to the study of new countries or to teaching methods that the children are not used to.

Immigrant students in a Francophone minority setting are faced with two challenges: learning standard French and learning "Chiac" (a mix of French and English). Chiac is necessary to socialize with peers in Moncton:

In class we speak French, but in the halls it's English, and the French they say they speak, it's not even French, it's Chiac. It's distorted English. (Kouma)

Table 12.1 shows that several participants spoke at least one local dialect at home along with French or English which can be beneficial to their emotional well-being and identity. Some participants noted the impact of language on the social integration of their children in the sense that low proficiency could lead to isolation:

Because he couldn't speak, he couldn't talk with them. He began to stay in the class during recess. (Aka)

A student whose parents' possess university level schooling has a better chance of learning more than a student whose parents also need to learn French. Parents' level of schooling can positively or negatively influence the student's integration at school. Parents who speak French can help in their children's homework and follow up with teachers, whereas parents with little schooling, who can neither write nor speak French, will have more difficulty helping in assignments and communicating with the school.

Some parents wanted to see more homework to keep the children busy and help them learn, particularly in Mathematics:

Give them more homework because at home they have free time...that is really the major handicap, for Mathematics for instance, we are the ones who'll go find the exercises. (Fouzia)

or when the children had learning difficulties:

[In our country,] if they didn't understand something, they would get lots of homework ... but they aren't given a lot of homework. (Sali)

Some participants expressed their disappointment regarding the absence of systematic knowledge assessment carried out in their country of origin, which in their

opinion led to a lack of knowledge concerning the immigrant children's real needs, which in turn could result in wasted time:

My daughter was in first grade, she was so bored there that they put her in third grade. That her level enabled her to get into third grade, I think sums it all up. I think they should go into a bit more detail with the students. (Kouma)

Obviously, parents wanted their children to be correctly evaluated and placed in the appropriate learning level.

This result can be clearly linked to participants' own schooling level since 9 out of 14 had a university degree. According to one parent, this absence of evaluation may be explained by school stakeholders' ignorance of immigrants' countries of origin:

I would say that the local community isn't well-informed about the capacities and skills of other communities. (Paul)

This suggests that for an effective school integration of immigrant students, the school must be familiar with their countries of origin and the school systems therein.

Furthermore, families whose immigration path involved a traumatizing war experience—fear, violence, and consequent psychological problems—find the process of adapting to school much more difficult. Participants whose children were deprived of regular schooling were aware that their children had fallen behind in their learning development:

Our kids had a lot of things they didn't know. Because of the war, there were periods of one or two months at a time during which children didn't study...and that's why at 12 even 15 years old some are in third and fifth year of primary school. (Aka)

These parents had to work longer with their children and offered profuse apologies to the teaching staff and recognition for their work and awareness of their children's emotional vulnerability and the academic delay to be made up:

Really, you must excuse us and be patient because our children went through a lot ... because there are a lot of things that our children saw at a young age, because of the war at home. It interfered with the children's memory. (Aka)

Such experiences affect immigrant family's lives (Campey 2002) and have a visible impact on children's capacity to learn (Kanu 2009). Children who did not receive regular schooling prior to their arrival had to study an hour and a half more every day during their first year. This illustrates the burden placed on students who had traumatic experiences related to war in their country of origin. In addition to their psychological and emotional issues, these students were under daily pressure to study more than their peers, which can be tiring and create in them a refractory attitude towards learning.

12.4.5 *Challenges of Social Integration*

Participants viewed their children's bonds of friendship with local children as a positive sign of integration, acceptance, and social adaptation:

Yes, easily, he has friends. From his friends there, it also gives him courage to go to school. They study together. (Yoli)

The role of team sports was acknowledged by participants as a means of integration and openness:

They play soccer, basketball, American football because they are athletes. That's where they made friends, in soccer, that's how they fit in. (Sali)

This finding seems inconsistent with Sabatier's (1991) study in which immigrant parents viewed school as a place of instruction and not socialization.

Despite this positive note, most participants believed that their children faced challenges related to ethnic differences. Skin colour appeared to be a determining factor in relationships between non-white immigrant students and local white students. Immigrant students found themselves in a school where the majority did not have the same skin colour as them, which made them constantly aware of this difference. One participant mentioned this on the issue:

She was the only black in her class and there was another little black girl in school ... she mentioned often 'ah, I'm the only black.' (Bene)

Another participant seemed intrigued by her daughter's rejection of her own culture when at school or in public places:

When I speak another language than French at school, she stops me. Another thing, even this morning when accompanying her to school, she asked me to turn on Arabic music, but paradoxically as we arrived at school, she told me to turn off She doesn't like to speak Arabic if someone who doesn't understand Arabic is near us. (Ali)

This is a clear example of the cultural duality experienced on a daily basis by immigrant children.

Some participants stated that their children were victims of bullying incidents and explained why they found it difficult to make friends and, consequently, gain the acceptance of their peers in the host society:

Ah, sometimes, those guys, they treat me like someone who doesn't know much about Canada. Ah, that guy, he said that I was a Negro, so I gave up with him and I'm with another. Now *he's* saying the same thing. (Pascal)

Other participants noticed that their children formed groups of friends based on ethnic origin:

I noticed that my son only plays with three little black boys at school, they have their little group of four and they play together. (Bene)

These parents worried about situations that could lead to isolation, loss of motivation, victimization by bullying because of skin colour, or a lack of understanding of the host country. These parental concerns are consistent with other studies on the

subject. Benoit et al. (2008) have shown that the integration of immigrant and refugee students at school is characterized by problems of isolation and discrimination. In a Canadian cross-country study, Arthur et al. (2008) find that skin colour is one of the reasons for discrimination against immigrant students.

Other challenges linked to cultural differences that were mentioned by our participants involved interpersonal conflict management. Some immigrant students often used behaviours that were normal in their country of origin, but that are not accepted by social codes of conduct in Canadian schools. The lack of knowledge and the differences in interpersonal conflict management between local students and immigrant students led some participants to endure their children's violent behaviour when used to defend themselves. Although at first participants showed a concern for justice and fairness, and supported their children, they soon realized that they had to educate their children to resolve their interpersonal conflicts in a non-aggressive way:

It's been a problem, especially with my boy. He had problems at first. He hit someone twice. The direction of the school, they were a little hard, telling me that if my boy doesn't change, he will be expelled from school. This really shocked me. I try to talk to my boy, make him understand that we are on another continent, that now everything is different from Africa. (Sanza)

In other words, according to our participants, the social experience of immigrant students in schools was also an opportunity for learning and acculturation for parents. Through this, they discovered the values and the expectations of their host society.

12.5 Conclusion

Participating immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's integration process into the Francophone minority setting in Moncton reflect their children's school experiences and social development. Immigrant students are largely affected by ethnic differences. Tensions between immigrant parents and school are woven around the system of values, behaviour patterns, conflict management, as well as the acknowledgement and appreciation of cultural diversity and learning difficulties due to delays and differences in school systems.

However, Francophone schooling in Moncton also presents other aspects specific to minority settings, one of which is bilingualism. Bilingualism poses a dilemma for some parents regarding the selection of a school for their child. Another distinguishing element of Francophone minority schools is the small number of immigrant students, which precludes school stakeholders from mobilizing the resources needed to build an infrastructure that would enable them to suitably take into consideration and include cultural diversity in schools. Furthermore, Francophone schools have a mission to preserve Acadian culture and resist assimilation into the Anglophone majority culture. Participating immigrant parents viewed

Francophone schools as either a place of growth for their children or as a place of discrimination. Many parents expected schools to be more academically rigorous and to place their children in grades more appropriate to their cognitive development.

Despite their unmet expectations, participants' overall perceptions of school remained positive. They all claimed that their children liked school in spite of the difficulties encountered. Participants suggested revising the curriculum to include other cultures in order to create an inclusive, multiethnic class that can fight against segregation and discrimination and encourage better understanding and respect for cultural differences.

Participating parents aspired to a better education of their children. This explains their concerns, which were primarily related to their children's schooling (e.g., French and Mathematics) and the lack of inclusive structures for cultural diversity in the curriculum. If integration takes place bilaterally and bidirectionally, as it relates to immigrants and members of a host society, then it would be important for schools in host societies to educate their children about cultural diversity. In this sense, integration of immigrant students should be understood in two ways: immigrant students learn the culture and civil norms of a host society to integrate, and the members of the host society learn about immigrant students' cultures to understand and accept them. In this way, schools could become a space for intercultural communication and breed a culture of understanding, which is part of citizenship education. We postulate that this will eventually facilitate openness to and acceptance of cultural differences as well as fight against discrimination and bullying. Moreover, it is important for schools to create opportunities for cultural gatherings and dialogue, where parents can participate as partners sharing ideas and projects.

Notes

1. The Maritimes (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) do not include the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.
2. The Atlantic Region consists of the Maritime Provinces as well as Newfoundland and Labrador.
3. This information was obtained from the Department of Education and Early Childhood Development website <http://www.nbed.nb.ca/repertoire/>.
4. Interviews were carried out in French. Quotes were loosely translated for the purpose of this text.
5. The theory of reproduction underlies the inequality between the social classes within the school system, as students who come from privileged backgrounds are more likely to succeed and overcome the selection process than those who belong to more disadvantaged areas (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970).

Acknowledgements The author gratefully acknowledges the financial support provided by SSHRC-Assistance for small universities for the study of Francophone immigrants' adaptation in New Brunswick. We would also like to thank the three reviewers for their rigorous and judicious comments.

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Chapter 13

Challenges of Francophone Immigration in Northern Ontario Communities: The Cases of Hearst, Timmins, and Kapuskasing

Aurélie Lacassagne

The importance of Francophone immigration in minority settings has been recognized by scholars, community organizations, and government agencies (Belkhdja 2008). In 2002, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages in Ottawa (2002) emphasized that minority Francophone communities were not benefiting from immigration to the same extent as the rest of Canada. That same year, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) established the Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee whose role is to develop strategies and policies to address this issue. Yet, it seems that a lot of attention has been devoted to Francophone immigration in New Brunswick—under the aegis of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre—in the Prairies, and in Southern Ontario. Northeastern Ontario is, however, largely absent from the literature, a paradox considering its truly bilingual character. This is the first gap this chapter tries to bridge.

Similarly, immigration in rural Canada is a developing field of enquiry and policy. In any discussion on regionalization of immigration, as well as territorial reorganization of Canada, taking into consideration climate change and other major looming economic and social structural changes in smaller cities, but especially smaller, rural cities, appears a paramount topic. As Reimer (2007, 3) notes:

Rural areas provide the commodities that give us a positive balance of trade, they hold the sources of our water, the location of recreational and natural amenities to which we turn to be refreshed, they contain much of our biodiversity, they process most of the urban pollution, and they contain a large part of our social and cultural heritage. Without the people to extract, process, and transport those commodities, safeguard those amenities, and sustain our heritage, we would all be worse off—rural and urban alike.

In order to tackle these two themes (Francophone and small city/rural immigration), three communities in Northern Ontario were selected: Hearst, Kapuskasing, and

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Timmins. All three share similarities but are also different in some aspects, which allows for meaningful discussion and comparisons.

Pitbaldo and Clemenson (2007, 25) make the distinction between rural and small towns (RST) and census agglomeration (CA). Hearst and Kapuskasing are RST, while Timmins falls in the category of CA. Incorporating a more refined distinction in the category “small city” may be of interest for our subject matter. Yet, these three communities share one geographic similarity: they are not close to any large urban centre. In fact, the only census metropolitan area (CMA) in the region is Sudbury (located 300 km from Timmins, 458 km from Kapuskasing, and 555 km from Hearst). This “remoteness” also constitutes an interesting factor in the discussion of immigration. The *problématique* of attracting, integrating, and retaining immigrants is different in a small city situated in the suburbs of a major metropolitan centre, than a small city situated hundreds of kilometres from a big city (Table 13.1).

I have also chosen these three communities because they exemplify the three possible cases in terms of francophonie: Hearst is made up almost entirely of Francophones; Kapuskasing hosts a comfortable majority of French speakers; while Timmins lives with a strong Francophone minority (see Table 13.2). In this sense, they are representative of most of the communities of Northeastern Ontario, but distinct from the vast majority of the rest of Canada.

From their unique geographic and linguistic configuration, this chapter contributes to fruitful dialogue on immigration in the small city. In particular, I want to shed light on the importance of Francophone and small city and rural immigration for the future of Canada and to look at successes and gaps in attracting, integrating, and retaining Francophone immigrants in Northern Ontario. The first part of the chapter briefly discusses why Francophone immigration in that region matters for Canada’s national identity and unity. The second part presents the perspectives and strategies Hearst, Kapuskasing, and Timmins have developed to enhance Francophone immigration. The final section of the chapter looks at the

Table 13.1 Population, immigration, and citizenship data, 2011

	Hearst	Kapuskasing	Timmins	Ontario
Population in 2011	5010	8065	42,440	12,651,795
Immigrants				
1981–1990	0	0	190	538,285
1991–2000	0	0	265	866,220
2001–2011	0	35	210	1,019,460
Nonpermanent residents	0	0	125	134,425
Not Canadian citizens	25	30	500	867,715
Total visible minority population				
Absolute number	15	115	910	3,279,565
%	0.29 %	1.42 %	2.14 %	25.92 %
Aboriginal population identity				
%	3.99 %	6.26 %	7.95 %	2.38 %

Source: Statistics Canada 2011a. (NHS Profiles 2011)

Table 13.2 Linguistic data, 2011

	Hearst	Kapuskasing	Timmins	Toronto	Ontario
Mother tongue					
English only	395	2015	15,935	1317,025	8,677,040
French only (%)	3355 (89%)	5105 (67%)	11,965 (38.6%)	32,665 (1.2%)	493,300 (4%)
English and French	55	175	695	6345	46,605
Other language(s)	125	165	1415	9860	26,410
Language spoken most often at home					
English	475	2755	21,780	1,657,835	10,044,810
French (%)	3285 (88%)	5,064,4405 (60.6%)	6935 (23.8%)	15,575 (0.5%)	284,115 (2.4%)
Nonofficial language	30	35	435	733,125	1,827,870
English and nonofficial language	15	15	215	173,025	509,105
French and nonofficial language	0	0	5	1575	6370
Language used most often at work					
English	500	2035	21,460	1,381,865	6,946,430
French (%)	2210 (77.4%)	1640 (38%)	2240 (9.0%)	5605 (0.4%)	94,475 (1.3%)
Nonofficial language	0	20	35	48,760	105,920

Source: Statistics Canada 2011b, c, d, e, 2012; (NHS Profiles 2011)

implementation of a local network to support Francophone immigration in Northern Ontario and its challenges.

13.1 The Importance of Francophones Outside of Quebec for Canada's Identity

Canadian national identity relies on both the idea of multiculturalism and the idea of bilingualism. These two ideas were put forward by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, especially in his famous speech before the House of Commons in 1971 on “Multiculturalism within bilingual framework”. Trudeau’s goal was to incorporate Francophones—and especially Quebecers—into the Canadian mould. Since then,

two governmental ministries—the Canadian Heritage (PCH) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)—have been in charge of promoting multiculturalism and linguistic duality in Canada. It can be said that without Francophone communities outside Quebec, the territorial integrity and, thus, sovereignty of Canada faces the challenge of Quebec independence for several reasons. That is, the assimilation argument which Quebec “separatists” propose would be ostensibly supported should the Francophone minorities outside of Quebec disappear. Otherwise, Francophone minorities are essential elements to the survival of Canadian unity. McRoberts (1997, 85) points out:

In part, this conception of linguistic equality extending throughout the country stemmed logically from Trudeau’s commitment to individual rights. The notion of pan-Canadian linguistic equality, however, was rooted in Trudeau’s primary political goal: to defeat Quebec nationalism. If all of Canada, rather than just Quebec, was to become home to the French language, he kept insisting, then the very basis of Quebec nationalism would be undermined. [...] Once language rights were entrenched, Trudeau declared in 1968, then French Canada would stretch from Maillardville in British Columbia to the Acadian community on the Atlantic Coast and: ‘Once you have done that, Quebec cannot say it alone speaks for French Canadians.’

Furthermore, this “battle” is specifically at play in Ontario, a province that gathers more than half-a-million Francophones (twice more than New Brunswick). Therefore, the presence and development of Francophone communities in Ontario is not a local, regional, or provincial matter—i.e. maintaining the demographic balance to justify French-language services—but a national issue. It appears paramount to attract and retain Francophone immigrants in Northern Ontario to maintain this demographic balance. According to Gallant (2008, 39), Francophone organizations desire immigrants, first and foremost, for their demographic contribution. That is, the sole “reproduction” of Franco-Ontarians cannot suffice because its population is ageing (Ferron 2008, 15). Furthermore, there is a tremendous disproportion between the number of English-speaking immigrants and the number of French-speaking immigrants, such that mathematically the share of Francophones in the province of Ontario (as well as the rest of Canada) decreases. For instance, out of the 251,649 immigrants received in Canada in 2006: 52.9% said they spoke English, 33% said they spoke neither French nor English, 9% said they spoke both, and only 5% said they spoke French (CIC and FCFA 2008, 18). These figures clearly show that only immigration can hinder the decline of Franco-Ontarian population. For the first time in decades, the number of Francophones in Ontario did not decline but increased thanks to immigration between 2001 and 2006 (OFA and Trillium 2009, 5). According to CIC (2012, 34), the number of permanent residents in Ontario declaring French as their language was distributed as follows: 1313 in 2009, 1771 in 2010, 1733 in 2011, and 1510 in 2012. However, it must be noticed that even if the number of Francophones in the province can increase due to immigration, when considering the rate of Anglophone immigration, the share of the Francophones will continue to decrease.

Another important challenge is to attract Francophone immigrants specifically in Northern Ontario. One self-interested reason is that it will allow for the justification,

maintenance, and development of French-speaking services in the small cities and communities of Northern Ontario where the Franco-Ontarian population is concentrated (not in terms of number but in terms of concentration/density). Another reason is to relieve the big cities which attract the vast majority of the immigrants. Between 2001 and 2006, Toronto received 3185 immigrants whose mother tongue was French, while Ottawa received 1740—making them the two largest receivers outside of the province of Quebec (Jedwab 2008, 27). Based on the 2011 Census, the total population whose mother tongue is French in Ottawa-Gatineau was 345,630, while Toronto recorded 28,265 (Statistics Canada 2011a). While French-speaking services are offered to immigrants in these regions, the Francophone communities are not so well established to guarantee the integration of French into the Canadian society. As Johnson (2008, 22) puts it, “[T]he use of French is directly proportional to the degree of Francophones in their municipality”.

In the small cities of Northern Ontario—because of the strong presence of Francophones—it is easier to find French-speaking services, it is easier to integrate and identify with Francophone communities, and it is easier to integrate into a French culture. At the same time, immigrants can participate in the flourishing of Franco-Ontarian culture (Lacassagne 2010). Of course, in absolute numbers, the number of people speaking French at home and at work, and whose mother tongue is French, is more pronounced in Toronto than in the three Northern communities but absolutely not in terms of percentage, which says a lot in itself in terms of inclusion and retention. For this reason, one may say there is no “Francophone community” in Toronto but there are Francophones scattered here and there throughout the metropolis (see Table 13.2).

Another reason is the economy and the level of education among the immigrant population. Statistically, immigrant populations are better educated and better trained than the average Canadian—this gap is even wider among Francophones. It is difficult to obtain data crossing immigration status, level of education, and mother tongues; however, figures concerning Francophone members of racial minorities (they are not all from a recent immigration wave, but they give a good indication) indicate: 31.7% of Francophone members of racial minorities are university graduates compared to 14.7% in the general Francophone population in 2005 (Madibbo 2008, 45). From the viewpoint of regional economic development, newcomers represent a tremendous advantage for the North to realize its necessary economic restructuring and diversification. As a report entitled *Creating our Future: A New Vision for Northern Ontario* highlights, “[i]mmigration drives economic prosperity by attracting people with valuable skills, increasing population diversity and fostering innovation, thereby generating greater productivity” (Northern Ontario Large Urban Mayors et al. 2005, 8).

It seems important to keep in mind that the strategies developed at the local level by municipalities and local stakeholders interrelate with strategies and policies put forward at the federal level (bilingualism and multiculturalism) and at the provincial level (the French Language Services Act of 1986).

13.2 Immigration in Three Northern Communities: Successes and Challenges

The three Northern Ontario small cities of Timmins, Hearst, and Kapuskasing highlight the differences represented in Northern Ontario in terms of economic development and cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as strategies to attract and retain immigrants. In terms of economic configurations, both Hearst and Timmins are almost single-industry towns. Hearst depends on forestry, while Timmins is a mining town (though does not rely on a single company). Kapuskasing enjoys a more diverse economic makeup. Linguistically, Hearst has the highest percentage of Francophones of any city in Ontario; Kapuskasing's population is approximately one-third Anglophone and two-thirds Francophone; roughly one-third of Timmins' population is comprised of Francophones. Before opening the discussion about the challenges and successes these three cities face concerning immigration, the following table presents a summary of demographic data.

Based on Table 13.3, one can say that these three cities have been economically successful considering their limited circumstances. Despite natural resources (mining and forestry) remaining a driving force of their local economy, they have somehow managed to diversify their economic structure, Timmins and Hearst to a lesser extent than Kapuskasing. In particular, the manufacturing sector plays an important role. Pitbaldo and Clemenson (2007, 26) note that "rural Canada is competitive in manufacturing and since 1976, has been increasing its share of Canada's manufacturing workforce". Comparatively speaking, not only does this sector require more workers, it requires more specifically-trained workers. Immigration, then, could be an answer to this need.

These three small cities host French postsecondary education institutions: the Université de Hearst and Collège Boréal. Their campuses provide access to educational opportunities to the local population and function as a good way to attract international students who may eventually stay. These students may manage to find a job by joining relevant social networks. Another attracting element pertains to incomes. Their incomes, as shown in Table 13.2, are not too far from the average in Ontario, and if one considers the price of housing in particular—much lower in these areas than in the rest of the province—residents enjoy more disposable income.¹

But the rate of immigration is very low. Tables 13.1 and 13.2 demonstrate that these three cities are, nevertheless, diverse cities, especially in the cases of Timmins and Kapuskasing. Indeed, these cities have a much higher proportion of Francophones and Aboriginal peoples than in the rest of the province, which make them *de facto* diverse cities. It would be ethically highly problematical to conceptualize diversity just in terms of skin colour; diversity is better understood as cultural diversity. One has to accept that diversity in rural Canada has different faces than urban diversity. In particular, Nurse (2007, 63) notes that,

Table 13.3 Economic and social data, 2010

	Hearst	Kapuskasing	Timmins	Ontario
Individual median income (15+) in 2010	29,480	31,778	31,778	30,526
Median family income in 2010	77,396	75,022	80,652	80,987
No postsecondary certificate, diploma, or degree (15 +)				
Absolute number %	2295 45.8 %	3665 45.44 %	17,675 41.64 %	4,756,330 37.59 %
Unemployment rate	9.2 %	5.4 %	7.3 %	8.3 %
% of total experienced labour force (15+) in:				
Business, finance, and administration occupations	4.69	6.07	7.59	8.99
Occupations in education, law and social, community, and government services	5.28	6.19	6.39	6.33
Sales and service occupations	12.57	11.53	12.75	12.25
Trades, transport, and equipment operators and related occupations	9.78	11.40	9.11	6.86
Natural resources, agriculture, and related production occupations	2.39	2.16	3.61	0.84
Occupations in manufacturing and utilities	5.68	1.92	1.42	2.77

Source: Statistics Canada 2011a, b, c, d. (NHS Profiles 2011)

[i]n at least one instance, rural cultural differences pose more fundamental challenges than urban ethnic diversity. Aboriginal peoples are politically, historically, economically, and culturally significant elements of Canadian diversity. [...]. First peoples are, however, one demographic group that is predominantly rural.

The same could be said about Francophones living in Northeastern Ontario. Their diversity is expressed culturally. For example, concerts and theatre events are offered on a regular basis in these communities, and while they have not completely fulfilled the model of Florida (2005), they are not the cultural desert that the bigger metropolitan cities in Canada may think they are.

Cultural diversity may not be that obvious by looking at gross figures. In particular, Hearst appears quite homogenous, apparently cultivating its reputation of the *petit village gaulois* (“the small Gallic village”). But what matters are the perceptions the people share about their diversity. On the web portal of the City of Hearst, one can find the following statement on the first page: “Hearst’s population of 6000 is largely Francophone, with a notable presence of residents having English, Finnish, Czechoslovakian, Chinese, Greek, Portuguese, and Russian heritages. The First Nations and descendants of aboriginal groups are also an important part of the multicultural make-up of Hearst” (City of Hearst 2009). Evidently, Hearst does think of itself as a multicultural city, proud of its diversity. In other words, despite its appar-

ent homogeneity, Hearst can be a welcoming community because it has recognized people from other cultures as part of the community.

Hearst appears to identify immigration as an avenue for prosperity and growth. Indeed, when doing a keyword search in 2009 with “immigration” on the three respective websites, there are two entries for Hearst and none for Timmins and Kapuskasing. In 2003, the City of Hearst released its economic development strategic plan entitled “Perspective 2020 Insight”. This report suggests that “Efforts to maintain lands and preserve the industry as a means of encouraging foreign immigration remain a plausible developmental tool” (City of Hearst 2003, 16). In this report, a plan is proposed:

Complete an inventory of municipally-owned agricultural lands and evaluate options of combining parcels as a means for development, assembling commercially viable parcels of 500 acres or more, and offering such lands for sale by public tender, with marketing to European and Asiatic countries through the investor immigrant program. (City of Hearst 2003, 47)

The City of Hearst positions immigration as a tool to develop its agricultural industry and other sectors. It reveals how welcoming Hearst can be because lands and agriculture are two highly symbolic features, not to say the cornerstones, of French-Canadian identity. The fact that the city proposes to sell lands to “foreigners” represents a very important strategy to attract Francophones. Another report portrays Hearst as a welcoming community. The “Sustainable Development Project” was designed by a group of local residents after organizing several forums. The “Sustainable Development Project” identified four pillars of a welcoming community: economy, commitment, quality of life, and resources. For each pillar, major challenges were also identified. Along with the pillar “quality of life”, one of the challenges was “the inclusion of visible and linguistic minorities”. Likewise, the pillar “commitment” presented the challenge of “relief and immigration” (City of Hearst 2008). Demonstrably, then, open-mindedness regarding immigration is not advocated only by the city government but is a view shared by local citizens as well.

While Kapuskasing’s website has no keyword entry for immigration, it is also a diverse and welcoming city. In its web section on demography, the introduction reads as follow: “As a small town, Kapuskasing is a culturally diverse and open-minded community” (City of Kapuskasing 2009). The website also lists the percentage of the population speaking languages other than French and English. Not surprisingly, Polish and German rank first and second, followed by Ukrainian and Dutch. This serves as a reminder of the historical settlement of the community, which was indeed diverse. Several times, the website shows how much the people of Kapuskasing take pride in both being bilingual and the presence of First Nations’ populations.

Timmins is a particular case. In fact, the city has a web portal dedicated just to immigration; however, if one goes on the main website of the city, at the time of this study, there is no link. On this immigration portal, one can get some facts about Timmins, what to do when arriving in Timmins, and a list of the “top ten reasons to

relocate to Timmins”. The wording “relocate” is important here. Indeed, the city understands that attracting immigrants to Northern Ontario directly from their country of origin is a quasi-impossible task because the North is “not on the map” nor does it have the means to be. This fundamental issue was recognized by all Northern Ontario mayors in their report (Northern Ontario Large Urban Mayors et al. 2005, 12) in which they state: “Northern Ontario municipalities and public institutions need to coordinate their marketing efforts to develop a high-impact brand for the region.” Therefore, strategies have to be developed to attract immigrants already landed in Canada, importantly, those established in big metropolitan centres. The “success stories” proposed on this web portal support this idea: out of the four stories, three people moved to Timmins from somewhere else in Canada (Timmins Immigration 2009). In the literature, this is referred to as “secondary migration of new immigration” (Houle 2007, 16–24).

Moreover, Timmins has signed a Local Immigration Partnership (LIP) with CIC. But again there is no mention of the LIP on the city’s website at the time of the study. One has to go on the website of the Timmins Economic Development Corporation to see the LIP being mentioned as part of its projects. It is described as a “project [that] will provide a collaborative framework for and to facilitate the development and implementation of, sustainable local solutions for the successful immigration to Timmins and area” (Timmins Economic Development Corporation 2009). Likewise, a third project to attract immigrants called “Lay Roots” is funded by the Province of Ontario, the Timmins Economic Development Corporation, and the Progress Career Planning Institute. This project was launched in January 2008 to respond to the shortage of skilled workers. While the press release stated that the project was to answer “shortfalls of many different types of professionals in Northern Ontario, not only those found in the mining and forestry sectors” (PCPI 2008), the photo chosen to illustrate the section “programme” of the website represented a mining site of Xstrata, a Swiss multinational corporation. At the beginning of December 2009—less than 2 years after the launch of the Lay Roots programme—Xstrata announced the closure of its Kidd copper and zinc plants, which translated into a loss of 670 jobs (Grech 2009).

This dramatic event is very symptomatic of the biggest challenge faced by the three cities. While it was shown that the three cities are culturally diverse and welcoming, immigration can only be sustained if there are jobs. Yet, jobs remain volatile in Northern Ontario because of its structural dependence on natural resources and increasingly on foreign companies and their propensity to make quick decisions to close or invest their assets globally. The job market is very unstable in Timmins. The Lay Roots program was successful and managed to attract 200 immigrants in 2008. The next year possibly starts well, with immigrant families’ integration; they learn skiing, fishing, and hunting. They visit the Shania Twain Centre and participate in their first Timmins Multicultural Festival. In September 2009, the immigrant children attend their first days at schools where teachers encourage them to talk about their country of origin as part of the curriculum on diversity. But in November 2009, Xstrata announced the closure of the smelter and zinc plant and the layoffs. In this regard, what would be the reaction of the “established” community towards the

newcomers and what processes would have been put in place—or not—to prevent backlash? This constraint has to be constantly kept in mind when discussing different strategies of attraction, retention, and integration of immigrants in Northern Ontario. In particular, it may show that attracting immigrants to work in the manufacturing sector and resource-dependent sectors may not be the superlative solution as thought. Conversely, an increased need for health-care professionals shows no signs of imminent or foreseeable level of abatement, especially with an ageing population; the need for education-trained professionals will not cease as people increasingly attain higher education. The need for immigrant entrepreneurs is paramount as it helps to develop and diversify the regional economy so it is not limited to “Canadian jobs”. Again, the report of the Northern Ontario mayors (Northern Ontario Large Urban Mayors et al. 2005, 8) recommended to “significantly reduce the investment requirement for the investment-class immigrant willing to settle in the North”. Finally, health-care professionals, people working in the education sector, people in the arts, and entrepreneurs usually enjoy a high status of prestige and level of respect; as a means to diversifying Northern communities with “new faces”, fostering attraction of these specific skilled people seems a smart move to make. To partially conclude this discussion, it is important to note that these three cities have largely focused their efforts on attracting rather than retaining and integrating the few immigrants they may have welcomed. Their efforts are far too new to be assessed; yet, one can affirm that a conscious awareness in Kapuskasing and Hearst exists, but no concrete actions have been undertaken so far. Timmins is in a different position because of the LIP. A strategic plan was developed that needs to be implemented before evaluating its success. The Timmins LIP has been placed under the umbrella of the North Bay LIP, which has more experience and has been able so far to attract leveraged funding to develop particular attraction strategies. This move was felt necessary because of the inability for small towns to deliver settlement services because of lack of funding and expertise. The only way to tackle this use appears to create networks or partnerships with other bigger centres such as Sudbury or North Bay.

13.3 Gathering Strengths Through Networking

Francophone political organizations have recognized since the 1990s that the increasing number of immigrants—mainly Anglophone—will be detrimental to the Francophone population. They develop strategies to foster Francophone immigration outside of Quebec. The FCFA (*Fédération des Communautés Francophones et Acadienne du Canada*) organized the Dialogue Tour from 1999 to 2001 to gather data and ideas about attracting French-speaking immigrants and mobilize the Francophone populations. It gave rise to the establishment of the Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee (a committee that is actually co-managed with FCFA) by CIC in 2002. After the announcement of a Strategic Framework in 2003 and a report with pilot projects in 2005, the Steering Committee

launched the *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* in 2006 (CIC 2006). This plan outlined priorities to be implemented over the next 5 years. One of these priorities was the implementation and support for local networks whose two tasks would be “ensuring the coordination of Francophone immigration to its city, region, province or territory; [and] ensuring the implementation and maintenance of a reception and settlement service for French-speaking immigrants in the community” (CIC 2006, 14). Following this recommendation, three networks were established in the CIC Ontario region: the East network coordinated by the Economic and Social Council of Ottawa-Carleton, the Southwest network led by the Francophone Community Health Centre Hamilton/Niagara, and the North network coordinated by the *Contact Interculturel Francophone de Sudbury* (CIFS) (CIC 2009).

The Northern network was the last one to be established. It covers an immense territory. Thus, to facilitate efficient action, the region is divided into five subregions: Sudbury–Muskoka–Parry Sound; Thunder Bay region; North Bay region; Sault Ste. Marie region; and the region of Timmins, Hearst, Cochrane, and Kapuskasing. The CIFS was designated by consensus in all communities as the “manager” or the “umbrella organization” for the local immigration network (LIN), as it is the settlement agency that has the most experience, expertise, and resources in the region. Indeed, the four subregions, apart from Sudbury, have no specific organization delivering services to immigrants at this time. The contact partners are therefore Francophone cultural centres. For the region of Timmins, the partner is *l’Alliance de la Francophonie*. Two employees based in Sudbury are in charge of developing the LIN. From March 2008, the date of the first forum, to March 2009, the date of the second forum of consultation on Francophone immigration in Northern Ontario, the CIFS organized 11 regional meetings. At the March 2009 forum, four priorities were established.

The first priority is the establishment of a Francophone structure to welcome and integrate immigrants. The preferred model will be in the subregions to develop some welcoming structures attached to already-existing local organizations. The CIFS will help these welcoming structures by providing toolkits, workshops, and expertise and will coordinate their work in an integrative fashion in order to be more efficient for the North. In the region of Timmins, this welcoming structure will partner with *l’Alliance de la Francophonie*.

The second priority deals with building awareness and educating mutually the host communities and the newcomers to each one’s realities. Projects to heighten the local stakeholders’ (community organizations, municipalities, school boards, and employers) understanding of the importance of immigration must be developed as well as providing workshop sessions for newcomers on the history and realities of the communities.

The third priority proposes the implementation of a global strategy to promote the North. The partners within the Northern network are aware that branding and marketing strategies are key actions to be taken to attract immigrants. Yet, they face some difficulties. It was said many times during the forums that “the North is not on the map”, and this fact is unlikely to change. From the experiences of local leaders

(from municipalities and community organizations), it seems that it is quite difficult to engage with Canadian consulates and embassies abroad to help them in the promotion of a bilingual North. Therefore, strategically, the CIFS and its partners are focusing on the development of strategies of attraction towards immigrants already established in Canada (mainly the Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal regions). Indeed, the experience of immigrants in big metropolitan centres is often disappointing. In particular, it is difficult for immigrants to find jobs that reflect their professional qualifications. Immigrants' qualifications and know-how are largely underused and underestimated (Wulff et al. 2008, 120). But in the North, it is the opposite. The local workforce is less educated and less trained making it easier for immigrants in the North to get jobs commensurable with their qualifications. For instance, an immigrant holding a master's degree could well teach in a college or a university. Social networks are less dense, so there is a possibility for more opportunities to emerge and develop. Another strategy is to use postsecondary education institutions (College Boréal and Laurentian University and its affiliate the Université de Hearst) to attract international students. Because of the aforementioned, if their experience is good, presumably they will stay in the area, which becomes ever important because once international students decide to stay in the North, they are seen as the key actors to attract other immigrants. Most immigrants arrive in the North generally by word of mouth. Nevertheless, it is true that the North is unique, and the branding should focus on its features: quality of life, affordable housing, and bilingual and tri-cultural environment (Aboriginal, Francophone, and Anglophone).

The fourth priority is to ensure adequate and stable financing of the welcoming and integrating structures. This is probably the most pressing issue as no other priority could be implemented without a service provider being fully accredited and receiving stable funding. As explained earlier, the preferred model of all stakeholders is to have the CIFS established in Sudbury as an umbrella organization that would provide expertise and help to small teams of trained workers in establishments and who would be integrated into well-established structures (cultural centres, municipalities, or postsecondary institutions). For the last 10 years, the CIFS has fulfilled the function of a service provider for Francophone immigrants, but without the proper recognition and financial support from CIC. Too often, service providers are designated bilingual agencies and receive specific funding to deliver services in French. However, the common experience of such is that Francophones get French-language services only sometimes, when bilingual staff is there. Adequate bilingual service is often absent and, above all, the services offered do not match their specific needs. For this reason, Francophones in the North have asked for Francophone service providers, be it in education or in services to women and victims of violence (Sirois and Garceau 2007, 98–111; Cardinal and Sauvé 2010, 10). Local stakeholders recognize that CIC should grant CIFS full accreditation with specific funding so that French-language services for immigrants could be delivered by Francophones to Francophones. Interestingly, the Eastern and the Southwestern networks have purely Francophone service providers, as well as the Toronto region, while paradoxically, the North, the only truly bilingual part of the province, does not.

In order to create welcoming communities to Francophone immigrants in Northern Ontario, these four priorities should be addressed. Governance issues have been felt in Northern Ontario because of its perceived remoteness and peripheral position. So far, the North network has not yet implemented any strategies and has experienced many changes in 2013. For example, one position was funded by CIC to hire a coordinator, which may prove to be insufficient considering the territory it covers and the fact that almost everything has to be started from scratch. It is also a challenge for the CIFS to recruit someone experienced to assume such a responsibility. As a whole, a bifurcated settlement programming in small communities is more challenging with insufficient local resources. So far there are no studies to prove otherwise.

13.4 Conclusion

The challenge of attracting Francophone immigrants to the small cities of Northern Ontario is multifaceted. Today, there is a definite synergy among the various stakeholders in Hearst, Timmins, and Kapuskasing to develop a common strategy to reach that goal. Immigration often relates to the three pillars: attraction, retention, and integration. These three pillars should not, actually, be approached as silos; they are, in fact, three intertwined processes. This is probably even more so in small cities and in rural Canada. French speakers in Northern Ontario have taken the lead to demand for parallel services, not integrated services (Cardinal et al. 2006, 35). Indeed, it is not only a question of language but also of culture and habits. Parallel services are the ones that make the most sense to ensure cultural sensitivity. In other words, they want services delivered *by* Francophones *for* Francophones. This raises the question of how to tackle bifurcated settlement programming in small communities when there are insufficient resources to provide settlement services.

Northern Ontario communities are not yet destinations for immigrants. But their historical settlements demonstrate their capacity to be welcoming communities. They offer many advantages in terms of quality of life (more disposable income, more sense of community, a greater possibility to find a “good job”, close to nature, access to postsecondary education and health services, bilingual and tri-cultural environment) that offset the crucial element of remoteness. The attraction of Francophone immigrants is not only important for the social and economic development of Northern Ontario communities, it is also important for the future of the Canadian Francophonie at large.

Hopefully, this chapter demonstrates that not only the small city context must be taken into consideration in researching immigration but also that this very context is not homogenous. In particular, the small city context varies according to spatial proximity to big urban centres. This chapter also intended to show that small cities are often diverse communities thanks to their historical development. While the challenges to attract immigrants must be acknowledged, small cities might also prove to be creative and resourceful, especially in developing social networks and original governance networks.

Note

1. It is not possible to obtain average housing prices for the three cities through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). Nevertheless, in the monthly housing statistics of CMHC (2010) for January 2009, one can look at average prices in CMA of Northern Ontario and make some useful comparison: In January 2009, the average selling price in Greater Sudbury was \$354,959, in North Bay \$294,527, and in Sault Ste. Marie \$268,200, compared to Toronto \$610,268. A quick look at the MLS (Multiple Listing Service) listings show clearly that the house prices in the three small cities are by far inferior to the major CMA of Northern Ontario. The Timmins Economic Development Corporation states \$146,800 as the average cost of buying a house.

Acknowledgements I would like to thank Bob Segsworth for his corrections and suggestions, and the Welcoming Communities Initiative and the Pathways to Prosperity Partnership for their unflinching support. I am also most grateful to Simon Gingras and the Université of Hearst for the opportunity to visit these three communities a few years ago. The remaining shortcomings are all my own.

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Chapter 14

The “Regionalization” of Immigration in Quebec: Shaping Experiences of Newcomers in Small Cities and Towns

Jill Hanley

14.1 Introduction

As in most Canadian provinces, the vast majority of immigrants to Quebec settle in the Greater Montreal region. Fully 85% of immigrants to Quebec chose to live in the province’s metropolis, with Quebec City attracting a distant 5%. Only 10% of immigrants arriving between 2010 and 2014 chose to live anywhere but these two cities (Palardy 2015, 9). But, as in most other Canadian provinces (if not to say in many destination Western countries) (Belkhodja and Vatz Laaroussi 2012), the Quebec government has identified immigrant newcomers as a potential asset for small towns and rural areas in the province that are facing population decline, a shortage of particular types of workers and an ageing population. Yet the province remains far from its objective of attracting 21% of new immigrants (2005–2015) to settle outside of Montreal (MIDI 2013, 10). A related outcome is that many rural and small-town communities in Quebec have today come to depend on temporary foreign workers (TFWs) as the labour force for certain industries. And, while immigration has always been a factor in rural areas and small towns, there is a growing desire to attract them to settle and strengthen local communities.

Over the last century, Québécois were frequent migrants from rural areas to the province’s cities but also further afield to work in the mills of New England, the tobacco fields of southern Ontario or the fruit orchards of British Columbia, for example. In recent decades, large-scale resource extraction projects in Northern Quebec or the Alberta tar sands have drawn Québécois migrants away from their villages and small towns. And today young people leave in large numbers to seek greater educational or employment opportunities than their hometowns can offer. Yet, of course, many people remain; some people return from their sojourns in the

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city, and—the object of this chapter—increasing numbers of small numbers of international migrants have made small-town Quebec their home, whether on a seasonal, temporary or permanent basis.

On the other hand, Quebec's "regions", as anywhere outside of Montreal and Quebec City tend to be referred to in both popular and official discourse in the province, have also long attracted immigrants to work in agriculture and resource extraction industries (Lacroix 2014). The relative decline of resource extraction industries (e.g., forestry) and the difficult conditions for agricultural workers, however, have meant that immigrants are no longer being attracted to the regions by the force of demand for their labour alone. In recent decades, the government of Quebec has attempted to play a role in encouraging immigrants to settle outside of Montreal, their objectives today being:

- To offer conditions likely to attract the sustainable settlement of immigrants in welcoming and inclusive communities, particularly by facilitating the growth of both primary immigration and secondary migration outside of the Montreal metropolitan region
- To support the development of inclusive environments favourable to the full participation of immigrants and ethnocultural minorities, by encouraging an openness to diversity and active and open intercultural exchange (MIDI 2015a)

This chapter begins with an exploration of the ways in which immigration policy has played out in Quebec, starting with Quebec's unique processes of immigrant selection and refugee resettlement and then its "regionalization" policy that encourages newcomers to settle outside of the big centres. Quebec government policy to try to encourage permanent migration to small towns is contrasted with the province's rapid expansion of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP). The implications of these policies for relationships between Quebec-born residents and migrants are discussed.

Next is the examination of migrants' experiences of integration in small towns. What is it like for them to integrate socially into their new communities? Are they able to find stable, decent employment that fits their skills and aspirations? And for their children, what is it like at school? Examples of successful initiatives in different Quebec towns and critique of some areas that are falling short of migrants' hopes are included.

The chapter ends with a discussion of how all of these factors (policy, social, economic, educational) combine to influence the success of Quebec's objective to regionalize its migration. If migrants go to rural areas and small towns, do they stay? Are they satisfied with their newfound lives? And has their presence contributed to the revitalization that is hoped for? The strengths and weaknesses of different initiatives will be discussed before concluding with some suggestions of ways that the interests of migrants and rural and small-town communities might be brought closer together.

14.2 Quebec Immigration Policies

In order to understand the experiences of migrants who live and work in rural and small-town communities, we have to understand the policies that shaped their landing in Canada and the scope of their choices once they arrived. This section begins with a description of Quebec’s parallel immigrant selection process and its role in government assistance to refugees. Next, the programmes that encourage migrants to choose to settle outside of the biggest cities are discussed. Finally, it examines how Quebec has made use of the TFWP, taking it up a little later than other Canadian provinces and in slightly different ways.

14.2.1 *Immigration to Quebec: A Parallel System*

The fact of the French majority in Quebec—but minority within North America—introduces particular considerations when it comes to the selection of immigrants. Prior to the late 1970s, immigration to Quebec was entirely controlled by the federal government, and no particular priority was given to migrants with a propensity to speak French. As a result, many of those who came preferred to integrate into the English-speaking community. The reasons are complex, but they include that newcomers were making an economic choice considering that the job market on the whole rest of the continent was English speaking, but also that the English-speaking minority was already a little more diverse in origin than the relatively homogenous Québécois majority. If immigration was to be a source of population growth,¹ then the continued integration of newcomers into the English-speaking community would eventually create a demographic challenge to French as the public language of Quebec, a legitimate concern for the only Francophone state jurisdiction in North America.² There was a desire to exercise greater control over the process of immigration, prioritizing Francophone immigration and skills in demand in Quebec.

Following Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, there were calls for greater control over immigration. From 1971 onwards, there was a series of agreements with the federal government that gave Quebec increasing influence over the selection of immigrants, culminating in the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration (Becklumb 2008). Since 1991, Quebec has full control over the selection of immigrants and refugees seeking settlement in Canada from overseas and wanting to settle in Quebec. Applicants wanting to avail themselves of the Quebec point system (which prioritizes French, family connections or previous experience in Quebec) must apply first to the Quebec Ministry of Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion. Successful applicants will receive a Quebec Certificate of Selection, which allows them to apply to the federal government for the final security and health screenings, a rubber stamp for most people. The same basic process is used with applicants who want to come to Quebec to study or work temporarily.

Table 14.1 Top 10 source countries of immigrants to Canada and Quebec, 2014

Canada	Quebec
Philippines	People's Republic of China
India	France
People's Republic of China	Algeria
Iran	Haiti
Pakistan	Morocco
United States of America	Iran
United Kingdom and Colonies	Colombia
France	Cameroon
Mexico	Egypt
Republic of Korea	Tunisia

Sources: Facts and figures, 2014 (CIC 2015b), and Portrait statistique (Palardy 2015, 10)

Of great importance is that the Canada-Quebec Accord also gave Quebec control over settlement services, so that Citizenship and Immigration Canada is absent from the on-the-ground experience of migrants to Quebec. Settlement services here are entirely funded by the province and largely delivered by community organizations with service contracts. The overwhelming emphasis is on French language acquisition or improvement, along with integration into the labour market.

From the point of view of having immigrants integrate into the French-speaking community, the Canada-Quebec Accord has been a great success. The bureaucracy for applicants is more than a little daunting, but migrants from former French colonies believe that they are accepted more readily and more quickly by Quebec than they would have been if they were applying in the much greater Canadian applicant pool. Generally speaking, Quebec processes its immigration applications much more rapidly than when the same applications are passed on to the federal level. Once landed in Quebec, immigrants are free to move wherever they like within Canada, but the incentive to move is low for migrants who speak French as their first or second language rather than English.

Today the impact of the Canada-Quebec Accord can be seen in the dramatic difference between the top source countries of immigrants to Quebec and those to Canada (see Table 14.1).

In the past 5 years, there have been about 50,000 immigrants a year settling in Quebec, a share of the total number of immigrants to Canada or an average of around 260,000 per year (CIC 2015a) that is proportional to its share of the total population. About 9 % of all the immigrants to both Quebec and Canada are accepted refugees (Palardy 2015, 9). Most immigrants already speak French when they arrive (61 %), while 15 % speak only English and 23 % speak neither French nor English (ibid). Of interest in this chapter is that of these 50,000 annual newcomers, only about 5000 will settle outside of the Montreal and Quebec City regions.

14.2.2 *Quebec’s “Regionalization” Policy for Immigration*

Since 1970 and picking up in the 1980s, the Quebec government has had policies to encourage the “demetropolization” of immigration (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005; Simard 1996). In the beginning, the policy targeted mostly resettled refugees (Lambert 2014), a group still more likely today to settle outside of Montreal,³ but since 1992 there has been a clear effort to attract independent immigrants, as well. Vatz-Laaroussi, likely Quebec’s leading researcher on this topic, laid out government motivations as based on the following convictions that:

1. A more balanced regional distribution of immigrants would support their integration into the host society.
2. They would contribute to the economic development and demographic vitality of the regions where they settled.
3. A more balanced regional distribution of immigrants would diminish the socio-cultural divide between the Montreal area and other administrative regions of Québec (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005).

Today, there are four observable measures that the Quebec government employs to either attract or retain immigrants in rural areas, small towns and small cities outside of Montreal. The first is the resettlement of government-assisted refugees (GARs), selected overseas and landed as permanent residents, in small towns and cities. Local organizations receive specific contracts to offer new groups of GAR-tailored settlement services. The second is direct overseas recruitment of immigrants to small cities. In immigration fairs overseas, Immigration Quebec puts an emphasis on the possibility of settling outside of Montreal and the potential employment and quality of life advantages of doing so (MIDI 2013).

The third measure is programming to attract Montreal-based immigrants to small cities (MIDI 2013). There are four community-based organizations in the city that are subcontracted to implement this programme. PROMIS⁴ and ALPA⁵ are classic and well-established settlement organizations, while the Quebec Immigrant Women’s Collective⁶ specializes in employability for women, and the Carrefour BLÉ⁷ specializes in linking new immigrants to employment and entrepreneurial opportunities in the agribusiness industry. These four organizations are located in four different Montreal neighbourhoods, each with a high concentration of immigrants, typically lower income than immigrants settling in other neighbourhoods: respectively, Côte-des-Neiges, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, La Petite-Patrie/St-Michel and Ahuntsic-Cartierville. These organizations are able to individually advise Montreal-based immigrants on the employment, professional training and entrepreneurial opportunities available in other regions (PROMIS 2015). They offer workshops on the realities of life beyond Montreal—with a heavy emphasis on affordable housing, access to green space, a slower pace of life and the skills shortage—arrange visits and make links with relevant community supports in as many as 14 different regions in Quebec.

Finally, the newest approach has been the introduction of the Quebec Experience Program (PEQ)⁸ to retain high-skilled TFWs and international students as permanent residents (MIDI 2015b). For workers who have 12 months of experience in Quebec or students who have completed higher education degrees, there is a fast track to permanent residency. These applicants have already “proven” their ability to integrate in Quebec and are seen as ideal immigrants. While this programme can be used by any high-skilled TFW or international student in the province, those who are already working or studying in small cities such as Sherbrooke or Chicoutimi—or even larger cities like Gatineau and Quebec City that still have difficulty attracting and retaining immigrants—are assumed to be more likely to have made roots in and therefore settle in these centres than people arriving directly from overseas.

In response to this push towards regionalization, Quebec’s major coalition of settlement organizations, the TCRI,⁹ coordinates the RORIQ,¹⁰ a network of 22 organizations from 11 regions that work towards a clear objective: “supporting the settlement and quality of life of immigrants living in Quebec regions” (TCRI 2013). This network aims to identify and recruit immigrants who might want to settle in the regions; offer employability services to these people; and provide networking, settlement and integration services to immigrant families, including the preparation of the host communities. Immigrants often have misconceptions of life outside of Montreal, and this network aims to offer them balanced information so that migrants can make informed decisions about the advantages and disadvantages of choosing to live outside the metropolis (Reichold 2011).

While the section below explores to what extent this drive to recruit immigrants to rural areas and small towns has been successful, it is essential here to point out that, in the last 10 years, Quebec has also been promoting another type of migration to these areas: seasonal and temporary migrants under the TFWP. While the higher skilled among these TFWs have the possibility of applying for permanent residency under the PEQ, low-skilled TFWs are excluded and limited to 4-year terms.

14.2.3 Temporary Foreign Workers: The Saving Grace of Rural and Small Town Businesses?

While there exists already about two decades of research examining the hiring of TFWs in the agricultural sector in the rest of Canada, particularly Ontario,¹¹ work on this issue is emerging in Quebec, building on a few notable groundbreakers who focused on the seasonal agricultural sector (Mimeault and Simard 1999). Recent years have seen a number of studies published that are painting a portrait of the dependence of industry in Quebec rural areas and small towns on the TFWP for the viability of their businesses (Bélanger and Candiz 2014; Hanley et al. 2015; Villanueva et al. 2015).

The hiring of TFWs in response to labour shortages in particular industries (perceived or real) is nothing new (Brem 2006; Nievas 2010; Gravel et al. 2010), but

there has been a veritable explosion in Canada since the early 2000s. In recent years, the use of TFWs under the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program across Canada increased by 19% from 31,464 workers in 2008 to 37,595 in 2013 (CIC 2014, 32). In Quebec, where the use of the TFWP had slower uptake in the early part of this century, the increase was quicker between 2008 and 2013 (39%), from 5179 to 7183 workers (Palardy and Filip 2015, 15). In addition to these agricultural workers who, for obvious reasons, are headed to Quebec rural areas and small towns, there are an increasing number of other categories of workers, both low skilled and high skilled, working outside of the big centres. For example, in 2013, there were 7287 workers who came for employment in the primary resource sector (Palardy and Filip 2015, 16).

Employers in rural areas are clear in their assertions that they rely on TFWs for the survival of their businesses (Hanley et al. 2015; Gravel et al. 2016; Varvaressos 2009), and it is clear that there are far more TFWs going to rural areas and small towns annually than there are permanent residents seeking to settle permanently. It would seem that Quebec’s regionalization strategy is at odds with its encouragement of the use of the TFWP. And while rural and small-town employers continue to demand TFW hiring, they are increasingly calling for the possibility for low-skilled and agricultural workers to be able to immigrate permanently (Hanley et al. 2015; Gravel et al. 2016; Hanley et al. 2016). There is a belief that this would not only help to bolster local development, shoring up the use of public services like schools, health services and other local services, but would also attract local residents with a long-term interest in the types of jobs and businesses present in rural areas and small towns. So, what is actually happening on the ground?

14.3 Integration of Migrants in Quebec Small Towns and Cities

As with any immigrants, newcomers moving to Quebec small towns and cities have two main priorities: decent employment and social integration. It usually takes both of these things for working age people to feel satisfied with their lives. Vatz-Laaroussi and colleagues have challenged us to think more deeply about this process of integration (Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2007, 2013; Vatz-Laaroussi and Bezzi 2010). They have reminded us that people seek not only integration, but quality of life. Immigrants usually look for a link to their cultural community but also to the local community. Both individuals and structures need to adapt the arrival of newcomers. And, not to be forgotten, newcomers seek the full realization of their citizenship (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005). To what extent does this seem to be happening today?

14.3.1 Decent Employment for Immigrants Outside the Metropolis?

Immigration Quebec has long insisted that immigrants moving to small towns integrate into the job market more rapidly than the average in Montreal (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005), but it's debatable to what degree this is a reality. It is certain that many rural areas and small towns face labour shortages, particularly at the top and bottom end of the labour market (Lacroix 2014). Immigrants with high-end skills in the medical profession, for example, or with skilled trades tend to find meaningful employment outside of the metropolis and will often enjoy generous incentives to relocate there, even being recruited directly from overseas. And the seasonal low-skilled labour market, strongly agricultural, is being filled with temporary foreign workers, overwhelmingly Guatemalan and Mexican (Bélanger and Candiz 2014; Gravel et al. 2010).

But what of the other immigrants that move to small towns and cities relatively independently or in response to the province's regionalization programme? As in the rest of the province, strong French skills are central to securing decent employment, and immigrants often face significant hurdles having any foreign training or credentials recognized by local employers (Lambert 2014). Immigration Quebec offers a service that evaluates foreign degrees and provides immigrants with a certificate that asserts the equivalence of their degree in Canadian terms. While this is one step along the way, these certificates are not widely sought by employers. There is little faith among employers that this certification is reliable, and in cases where there are licences or professional associations in the field, the certification is not enough. But, especially, employers seek work experience more than formal training in their hiring. And it seems that it is the lack of Canadian experience that is the biggest barrier to immigrants (Lambert 2014). Once in the workplace, relations with locally born workers can sometimes be difficult (Lacroix 2014; Lambert 2014), but it is also a place where friendships can be born (Hanley et al. 2015).

Community organizations, often funded by Immigration Quebec, support relocating immigrants in their settlement and search for employment on the one hand, but they are also working to raise awareness among employers about the value of immigrant employees. They seek to establish partnerships with local employers to ease the hiring of immigrants, thereby increasing a region's socio-economic capital (Reichold 2011; Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2013). And there is growing interest in supporting semi-skilled TFWs who come on temporary visas to work in nonagricultural industries, in particular—meat packing, food transformation and light manufacturing—to immigrate permanently and settle locally (Hanley et al. 2015).

While many immigrants do manage to integrate into the mainstream job market, there also exists a significant niche market for these independent immigrants. Just as in the last century, one could expect to find Chinese restaurants in any small town or city across Canada, an echo of the Chinese immigrants who first came with the construction of the railways and then who often stayed on in individually or in small groups. Today most Quebec small towns and cities boast a relatively authentic

Mexican restaurant opened by a migrant who either stayed on after a TFW contract or who relocated from Montreal. This long tradition of ethnic restaurants, a combination of unique skills and exclusion from the broader job market, is taken up by other groups of migrants as well.

Another area of niche employment, particularly for Latino migrants, is related to servicing the thousands of seasonal TFWs coming from Mexico and Guatemala. Grocery stores, small restaurants, money changing and cheque cashing, overseas parcel delivery, employment agencies and labour and immigration rights consultation are all areas in which Spanish-speaking entrepreneurs have established themselves in regional centres used as commercial bases by TFWs (Hanley et al. 2015). And the employers of TFWs often hire locally resident Spanish-speaking immigrants in order to help them recruit workers (Gesualdi-Fecteau 2014), to act as foremen, supervisors, translators or facilitators in their enterprises (Gravel et al. 2014; Villanueva et al. 2015).

Local businesses also have a need for Spanish-speaking employees. They hire locally settled immigrants, recruit from Montreal and benefit from Latino social networks spreading the word that jobs are to be had in their small town. Grocery stores, banks and, of course, the Tim Hortons are all examples of places where Spanish-speaking employees can be found. They are settling permanently in these small towns, buying houses and sending their kids to school. Related to this are municipalities, local non-profit organizations and churches that hire Spanish speakers in order to help them serve TFWs.

Of note here is that much of this niche employment requires Spanish language proficiency, providing a skill that local residents easily recognize is rare among them (although that is changing) and the wages are not often high. For other French-speaking immigrants or those struggling to become proficient in French, there are a much more limited niche market and a great need to break into the mainstream job market, a formidable task due to the ongoing discrimination in the workplace, a situation that is difficult in Montreal as well.

14.3.2 Educational Experiences in Small Towns and Cities

Education is one of the most important environments for socialization and, for parents, often central to their family aspirations in their new home. Access to quality public education is a key desire for most immigrant families, and it is no different for those who settle outside of the big centres. Unfortunately, the children of new immigrants can face exclusion or discrimination from locally born children, particularly at the high school level. When youth have had little previous exposure to diversity, it can be a source of tension (Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2013) and can be an important factor in families’ decisions to stay or to leave.

Quebec public schools have ministerial guidelines and a rhetoric that is accepting of diversity and which emphasizes the richness of diversity (Vatz-Laaroussi and Steinbach 2010). On the ground, however, locally born students often feel threatened.

In one study, it was reported that locally born students asserted that “Us, too, we’d like to keep our culture” (Steinbach and Grenier 2013), an indication of the challenges that continue to play out as the population outside of Montreal diversifies. Assimilationist attitudes and intergroup conflicts have been documented in small-town schools (Steinbach 2010), but positive interactions are also common (Steinbach and Grenier 2013). The need for both administrative and pedagogical practices that better support immigrant students and their newfound classmates in adapting to their changing reality is necessary in order to ensure equity among students and encourage improved intercultural relations (Steinbach and Grenier 2013; Vatz-Laaroussi and Steinbach 2010; Vatz-Laaroussi 2011).

Education is not only important for children and youth. Many adults who migrate to Quebec may seek to continue on their educational journeys begun at home. Immigration Quebec seeks to attract foreign students to the regions’ smaller universities, but immigrants already living in Canada may also seek to study or feel forced to study in order to acquire Canadian credentials, Canadian work experience and Canadian social networks. There are reports of migrants leaving the smaller centres to go to Quebec small cities expressly to be able to take advantage of continued learning opportunities while continuing to work and raise a family (Lambert 2014).

14.4 Becoming Part of the Local Community

Immigration Quebec has also long reported that the majority of migrants who remain in the regions after the first couple of years are satisfied with their quality of life (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005). Again, speaking French is absolutely necessary for any kind of meaningful integration outside of Montreal (Vatz-Laaroussi and Bezzi 2010; Urtnowski et al. 2012). So, for those who are able to communicate with long-time local residents, their reception by local communities, the development of friendships and intimate relationships are important. People are reporting good news on this front, but, as in Montreal and with elsewhere across Canada, immigrants’ settlement experiences may also be deeply coloured by racism (Hanley et al. 2015). And while local populations may recognize the important economic potential of migrants in the regions, the lives of TFWs, in particular, outside of work remain too often invisible to their neighbours (Bélanger and Candiz 2014).

The presence of an established cultural community of affinity to newly arrived immigrants in small towns, even if small, is often helpful in terms of offering social networks for employment, housing, social support and education (Routhier 2000). It is a factor taken into account when Immigration Quebec targets different regions of the province for the resettlement of government-sponsored refugees, for example. Different studies have shown that it is not essential, however, and that the absence of a cultural community of affinity can actually help some immigrants integrate more quickly, especially in terms of language acquisition and connections with local residents (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005). In some cases, refugees in particular seek to avoid members of their own ethnic or national communities out of fear that

others may be on the opposite side of a conflict or may relate private information to other members of the community (Lambert 2014). In terms of involvement with local organizations, women’s organizations, settlement organizations and religious organizations, all seem to be particularly welcoming of immigrant contributions and are an important point of entry for newcomers into the broader community (Lambert 2014; Hanley et al. 2015; Gélinas and Vatz-Laaroussi 2012).

14.5 Retention of Immigrants in Small Cities

The portrait of diversity is without a doubt changing in Quebec small towns and cities with now several generations of immigrants having made their homes outside of Montreal. And the trend is increasing. It would seem, however, that the smaller towns are losing out on this trend in favour of Quebec’s smaller cities like Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières and Gatineau. Many immigrants and refugees who settle outside of Montreal will leave their first destination in favour of a larger centre and most often due to a sense that they are unable to integrate and achieve their employment, educational and social goals (Vatz-Laaroussi 2012).

Inadequate settlement services outside of Montreal, the social isolation of immigrant families and their difficulty in obtaining employment appropriate to their level of training are all important factors in why smaller centres fail to retain the immigrants they badly need (Cardu 2002; Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2013). But, as well, the positive or negative attitudes of local residents are a key element in migrants’ decision-making about whether to stay or go (Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2010). More than two decades after the active promotion of this policy began, the same things remain important: access to employment, quality of family life and education for children, opportunities for all members of the family, quality health care and the existence of “mini” cultural communities (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005; Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2013).

But in recent years, small cities are gaining in popularity; as regional centres they attract the refugees settled in smaller towns or remote regions. These small cities are becoming more diverse (Vatz-Laaroussi 2012), and they offer the higher learning and employment opportunities sought by newcomers. There is an appreciation of the pace of life and sense of security afforded in smaller centres (Lambert 2014).

14.6 Moving Beyond Regional Economic Objectives to Supporting Migrants’ Life Projects

It would seem that there are a number of factors that must be taken into account if Quebec small towns and cities are to benefit from the settlement of immigrants in their locales. Their presence undoubtedly has economic and social spin-offs, but these can only be short term if migrants’ broader life objectives are not taken into

account. Migrants' life projects include access to quality education for themselves and their children, the availability of decent employment that allows migrants to put their full potential to the use of the collectivity and, of course, social inclusion and freedom from discrimination.

The government's encouragement of the use of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program addresses a long-term socio-economic need for newcomers in Quebec's regions with a short-term, cyclical workforce, with all the social exclusions this strategy implies. Few of the actors involved in this scenario get the benefits they would hope for. Instead, why not offer permanent residence to TFWs, including low-skilled TFWs, people who are already showing a willingness to live and work in Quebec regions? Investment in a reasonable level of settlement services, preparation of public and community sector workers for work with an increasingly diverse population and outreach and incentives to local business owners could all go a long way towards the attraction and retention of migrants to Quebec small towns and cities. There exists already a network of organizations and social networks of migrants working towards this goal and committed to the idea of the revitalization of communities through social inclusion.

Quebec's regionalization policy has great potential to benefit both migrants and local communities, but there is still far to go. Decent employment remains most migrants' number one objective; Quebec needs urgently to address the problem of recognition of foreign credentials and experience, as well as the problem of workplace racism, if people are to settle permanently in small cities. As well, equitable access to education, health and social integration for the entire family is a necessity. Public awareness of small cities' *dependence* on in-migration for survival and of migrants' many contributions to their communities might go a long way towards building strong relationships between old-timers and newcomers in Quebec small cities.

Notes

1. As in the rest of Canada, Quebec's fertility rate is very low, not even at a rate of population replacement, at 1.69 children per woman in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013).
2. This is a challenge being faced by minority Francophone communities in the rest of Canada as well (Gallant and Belkhodja 2005), particularly in New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba.
3. Only about 61% of refugee immigrants settled in the Greater Montreal area between 2010 and 2014, as opposed to 85% of all immigrants (Palardy 2015, 62).
4. PROMotion – Intégration – Société nouvelle: http://promis.qc.ca/?page_id=1248&lang=en.
5. Accueil et liaison pour arrivants: <http://www.alpaong.com/>.
6. Collectif des femmes immigrantes du Québec: <http://www.cfiq.ca/>.

7. <http://carrefourble.qc.ca/>.
8. Programme d'expérience québécoise.
9. Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes: <http://tcric.qc.ca/>.
10. Réseau des organismes de regionalization de l'immigration du Québec.
11. See, in particular, the pioneering work of Kerry Preibisch and Tanya Basok (Bauder et al. 2002; Preibisch 2003; Basok 1999, 2000), both of whom remain at the forefront of this field today.

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Conclusion

Julie L. Drolet and Glenda Tibe Bonifacio

Immigration in the small city in Canada is a very timely topic in migration scholarship in today's ever closer world brought about by economic globalization and improved access to technology and communication. This theme of study demonstrates the intersections of policies, practices and programming found in large metropolitan areas albeit with particular challenges in small cities, even rural communities. This collection from multidisciplinary scholars and local practitioners highlights the experiences of immigrants, migrant workers, refugees, youth, parents, Francophone, racialized women and newcomers in small cities across the country. From the economic, health and political dimensions to welcoming communities and sense of identity and belonging, the well-grounded studies and case analyses reveal the complexities of immigration in small cities with fewer resources and more limited opportunities. While the aim of this collection is not to compare small cities with large cities (i.e. Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), it, nonetheless, situates the context and locationality where such experiences and perspectives come about.

This collection aims to stimulate interest and explore immigration, settlement, integration and diversity in small cities in Canada. We argue that the 14 chapters provided just that and, more importantly, enhanced understanding of what is taking place in small cities with changing demographics. The contributors have successfully made the issues and concerns of small cities at the forefront; their importance under the trend of regionalization and devolution cannot be ignored. Through these

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chapters, the data, analysis and insights enable us to connect with the ongoing dialogue on the role of immigration in sustaining development, broadly conceived.

Entry of newcomers is not simply a product of economics or the lack of skilled labour in small towns but also a concerted effort of communities to make them feel welcome. Immigrant settlement and integration in small cities require complex relationships, partnerships and engagements at the community level, often in collaboration with various levels of government and community associations. Several chapters present case studies that consider the role of welcoming communities, local immigration partnerships and other place-based initiatives. These chapters offer valuable information that informs the development of instruments to measure the progress of these initiatives in the future. Further research is encouraged along the new initiatives of local immigration partnerships in most provinces to ascertain what works and what needs to be done to engage with multiple stakeholders. This is particularly important in the context of changing immigration policies that affect the admission and selection of immigrants and newcomers.

The impact of immigration policies is wide ranging, more so in small cities with constrained capacity to accommodate an influx of newcomers with diverse needs such as language instruction, employment and school spaces. In general, there exists cultural insensitivity among conservative local residents who find the presence of non-whites in their midst problematic. Racism and discrimination, both subtle and direct, still resonate in the lived realities of racialized newcomers. However, these newcomers have found ways to make sense of the place they are located and create spaces to belong.

We look at four themes for this collection: partnerships, resources and capacities; identities, belonging and social network; health, politics and diversity; and the Francophone communities. We scope these themes across Canada and found very rich perspectives of immigration in the small city. These themes are not exclusive in small cities, yet what we have set out to do is to recognize the particularities of experiences based on immigration status, class, ethnicity, age, health, political participation and school life, among others, to further enrich our understanding about the dynamics of immigration in a small scale—the small city. By bringing together wide-ranging case studies, methodologies and theoretical frameworks used by different contributors, this book illustrates how a “small-city” context and place are important attributes in Canadian immigration in the twenty-first century.

As we navigate new modalities of immigration in a heightened climate of securitization in Canada, we bear in mind that the small city is, and will be, part of discursive politics of inclusion with rightful claim to resources and support from everyone.

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