
NEWCOMER INTEGRATION POLICIES IN CANADA¹

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AUGUST 25, 2004

¹ This paper does not include integration policy in Quebec which is different enough from the rest of the country that it warrants its own paper.

² The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Metropolis Project, Citizenship and Immigration Canada or the Government of Canada.

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes integration policy and programs in Canada, excluding those in the Province of Quebec. It underscores two defining features of the Canadian approach: i) the “two-way street” approach to integration; and ii) the delivery of the bulk of services by third parties, primarily in the non-governmental sector. In the first section, the Canadian “shared citizenship” or “diversity model” frames the discussion. The second part lays out the major policies and programs in place to facilitate the integration of newcomers, and the third section discusses the challenges and some of the policy/program solutions to these challenges in four key areas: housing; labour market; education; and newcomer relations with public administration (civic participation, justice and health). Major conclusions include the finding that most challenges are being tackled by a range of programs and policies, but to be more effective, better co-ordination is key. Naturally more resources would be ideal, but only after co-ordination is improved. Finally, more of a focus on the intersections of other identity markers with newcomer status would better address the needs of newcomers as they seek to integrate into Canada.

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a self-professed nation of immigrants. The most recent Census in 2001 found that we now have the highest level of foreign-born citizens in Canada for the last century – 5.4 million people or 18.4% of the population (See Annex 1). This level of immigration obviously impacts all of society and every level of government. For example, newcomers who arrived in the 1990s were overwhelmingly settled in urban environments – 70% in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver alone. Consequently, integration of newcomers in Canada has an enormous impact on municipal policy in Canada. Thus, when exploring integration policy in Canada it is important to consider all three levels of government (federal, provincial and municipal) as well as non-governmental service providers.

Immigration is also a fundamental component of the self perception Canadians hold of their country. This perception is well captured in a recent issue of *Canadian Diversity/Diversité canadienne* focused on “National Identity and Diversity” (Bauböck, ed. 2004). In this publication the Assistant Deputy Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada, Chantal Bernier, noted in her article’s title that “My country is not a country, it is an idea”. This “idea” appears to be shared by the majority of Canadians. For example, when polling firms ask Canadians if immigration makes our culture stronger or weaker, 63% reply stronger and only 22% believe it weakens our culture (Aubry 2002). This Canadian mindset of Canada as a nation founded by immigrants permeates and structures the means by which we seek to integrate newcomers into Canada.

The two most important elements of integration in Canada are first, the premise of reciprocal obligation of both the host population and the newcomers to adapt to take the shifting concerns of a diverse population into account. Second, the

delivery of services is primarily managed through partnership of different orders of government (federal, provincial and municipal) and of the non-governmental sector. This approach has a legislative and constitutional standing via the official policy of multiculturalism espoused by the Government of Canada since 1971 and through legislation like the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) of 2001. For example, section 3 of *IRPA* includes under objectives of the *Act*: “(e) to promote the successful integration of permanent residents into Canada, while recognizing that integration involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society;”

While this approach is not totally unique to Canada (for example, Australia shares many of the primary policies of this approach), it does certainly present an interesting case study for the integration of newcomers in immigrant-receiving societies. This case study is divided into three primary sections. The first describes the “Canadian model.” The second considers the division of labour among different orders of government and non-governmental sectors in the integration of newcomers. The third explores the challenges faced in four primary areas: housing, the labour market; education; and interactions between newcomers and public administration.

Before turning to a description of “the model”, a brief discussion of terminology should help non-Canadian readers. Such terms as immigrant, refugee, newcomer, integration, settlement, and citizenship denoted different things depending upon the environment. While there are no hard and fast absolute definitions for these terms, even in Canada itself, there are dominant meanings that we will employ throughout this paper.

Immigrants are those who are landed in Canada according to the rules or regulations governing immigration to Canada.

Refugees are those individuals acknowledged as Geneva Convention refugees.

Newcomers, is the most encompassing category. It includes those who have arrived as immigrants, those who arrive as refugees, and those who fall outside of these two groups (i.e. those who come on visitor visas, those who are awaiting determination of their refugee claims etc.). We will employ this umbrella term throughout this paper unless we need to make reference to specific sub-populations as the target groups of specific programs or initiatives.

Visible Minority, is a term designated by the *Employment Equity Act* (1995) to mean “persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.”

Diversity makes reference to the wide range of diverse identities that exist in Canadian society including: newcomers; official language minorities; Aboriginal peoples; the disabled; the young; the elderly; gays and lesbians; ethnic, racial,

religious and linguistic minorities; men and women; and the poor. Recent government initiatives to explore the intersections of diversity (Kwong, Hébert, et al. 2003) explore the complex interplay among these identities as well.

Settlement is the initial integration of newcomers to Canada. This phase of the integration process lasts approximately three years, and in the majority of cases comes to an end with naturalization.

Naturalization is the formal grant of citizenship following a citizenship test. It is often used as a milestone of integration (Kymlicka 1998). Landed immigrants can apply for citizenship after three years residence in Canada.

Shared Citizenship is a more comprehensive form of citizenship than mere naturalization. While our *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* embedded in the Constitution guarantees common rights to those with or without citizenship (with the exception of voting or holding public office), shared citizenship has been articulated as a “shared citizenship model” or the “Canadian diversity model.” At its heart, this model is about substantive equality and full inclusion of all Canadians in the social, cultural, political and economic facets of Canadian society. Substantive equality recognizes that patterns of disadvantage and oppression exist in society and requires that policymakers take this into account. It further requires challenging common stereotypes about group characteristics that may underlie law or government policy or programs. The Canadian shared citizenship “model”: is co- led by two federal departments (Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Canadian Heritage), but has been adopted government-wide.

PART I: “THE CANADIAN MODEL”

The integration of newcomers into the political, social, economic and cultural realms of Canadian life takes place under the aegis of what has been termed “the Canadian diversity model.” The so-called model has been built most extensively since the end of the Second World War (Dreisziger 1988, Jaworsky 1979; Joshee 1995, Pal 1993, and Schiffer-Grahame 1989), but other researchers suggest it has been developing for well over a century (Biles and Panousos 1999; Day 2000). While far from a coherent ‘model’ *per se*, the Canadian approach to fashioning a country composed of extremely diverse peoples does have some core elements: an emphasis on bringing Canadians of diverse backgrounds together; fostering a culture of inclusion; and a commitment to core values of reciprocity, equality, accommodation and acceptance. This approach has been largely driven by Canadians themselves and is an amalgam of initiatives of individuals, communities, different levels of government, and judicial decisions.

Of late there has been a number of attempts to meld this approach into an explicit “Canadian diversity model.” Three of the most recognizable attempts are former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien’s “Canadian Way” speech at a conference on

“Progressive Governance for the 21st Century” in Berlin 2-3 June, 2000; a paper commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage from the Canadian Policy Research Network (2001) entitled, “The ‘Canadian Diversity Model’: Repertoire in Search of a Framework;” and the presentation of the “model” by then Deputy Minister of the Department of Canadian Heritage, Alex Himmelfarb, at a preparatory meeting for the third progressive governance summit in 2001 (Lloyd 2001)³. Over the last three years the model has continued to receive high level support, leading Tolley to conclude that “although the government has changed since this unveiling of the model, recent policy documents follow in a similar vein suggesting that the Canadian model has been ingrained to the extent that it can transcend changes in political leadership” (Tolley 2004: 11).

The “model” is believed to have three major components: connections, culture and values. Connections are programs designed to bring Canadians together across differences and include such things as exchanges; the host program; official language immersion programs; national celebrations, commemorations and learning materials; and investment in Canadian public culture. Culture, naturally is “our collective sense of who we are” and includes creating spaces for diverse Canadian voices to be heard. This would include the national broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; the network of heritage institutions across the country (museums and art galleries); vibrant cultural industries (book publishing, magazines, video and sound recording etc). Values are the lynch pin of the model and by far the most contested. As Tolley explains (2004: 11-15) there is no deep consensus on what constitutes Canadian values, although there is a deep seated belief that Canadians have many values in common. Chief among them is the willingness to engage in (an often continuous) debate about values in a respectful manner. This respectful debate and the values that underlie it are reflected in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, in Supreme Court decisions, and in high-level government discourse.

In essence, the Canadian “model” is premised on the recognition that Canadians, all Canadians, are committed to a never-ending construction and reconstruction of what it means to be Canadian and where we would like to go as a society. This starting point is essential in the understanding of integration policy in Canada. Many of the programs we will discuss below are created and maintained with the specific goal of ensuring that newcomers have every opportunity to participate in this national dialogue in the economic, social, cultural and political spheres as readily as those Canadians who were born in Canada.

PART II: DIVISION OF LABOUR

As noted earlier, a core defining feature of settlement programs in Canada and of the long-term efforts to integrate newcomers into Canada is the widespread

³ Given that he is now the Clerk of the Privy Council, the most senior public servant in the federal bureaucracy, this presentation may reflect future policy directions for the Government of Canada.

partnership across orders of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) and non-governmental organizations (immigrant serving agencies, ethnocultural organizations, and other non-governmental actors). This complex interplay is important in the policy environment, but is not always apparent to Canadians, for as the Government of Canada noted in the most recent Speech from the Throne⁴

Jurisdiction must be respected. But Canadians do not go about their daily lives worried about what jurisdiction does this or that. They expect, rightly, that their governments will co-operate in common purpose for the common good – each working from its strength. They expect them to just get on with the job (2004d: 5).

1. GOVERNMENT

While it is not always clear who is mandated to take the lead (section 95 of the *Constitution Act* 1867, defines immigration as a shared jurisdiction between the federal government and the provincial governments), in the preponderance of cases, open dialogue prevents overlap and duplication. Over time, as Garcea notes (1994), there has been extensive movement between the federal and provincial governments over who takes the lead on immigration. At the present time, it would appear that the federal government has sought to more actively engage their provincial counterparts and even municipal governments. Denis Coderre, the former Minister for Citizenship and Immigration Canada, convened the first federal-provincial-territorial meeting of ministers responsible for immigration since Confederation. His successor, Judy Sgro, recently observed that “we have to find a way to shift the focus of Canada’s immigration program to one in which the provinces, territories and municipalities play a greater role . . .” (Sgro 2004: 28). She has convened a number of meetings between herself, her provincial counterparts, and mayors of key cities. This is a key innovation as Canadian cities have no Constitutional standing of their own, but are structured according to provincial legislation. Traditionally, provincial governments have been loath to allow the federal government to deal directly with cities.

1.1. Federal

As we mentioned earlier, an important consideration in Canada is the extent to which Canadian governments and other opinion leaders⁵ have staked out positions on the importance of immigration to Canada and to the success of integration depending upon reciprocal obligations between newcomers and the receiving

⁴ Each session of Parliament begins with a Speech from the Throne, prepared by the government of the day, but read by the Governor General, our official Head of State. It lays out the broad objectives of the government for the duration of the parliamentary session. As a result, it (and the budget) are the most important government policy documents.

⁵ Opinion leaders are elected officials, the media, and other high profile personalities and/or celebrities whose pronouncements are believed to have a strong impact on public opinion.

society⁶. The extent of this leadership can be measured by the strength and frequency with which political leaders speak out about immigration and diversity (for example in the *Speech from the Throne*) and their positive role in Canadian society, but it can also be measured by the machinery the Government of Canada has in place to guide immigration policy in Canada. For example, there is a standing committee of the House of Commons devoted to citizenship and immigration issues, there are a set of inter-departmental committees that work on very particular immigration and integration issues (Labour, Accreditation, Metropolis), and there is the Government of Canada's leadership in the international Metropolis Project (an enormous policy-research project exploring immigration, integration and diversity in cities around the world).

While almost the full range of government departments and agencies are involved in some way in the inclusion of newcomers and facilitating their integration, the major departments involved are Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canadian Heritage, Human Resources Development Canada⁷, Industry Canada and Health Canada (GoC 2003b: 3). We will focus on these departments below and, to a lesser extent, other critical departments who play an important, but less central role in the integration of newcomers like the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Status of Women Canada, and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada.

In broad brush strokes, Citizenship and Immigration Canada has the primary responsibility for settlement of newcomers in their first three years, and the mantle for longer-term integration is passed over to the rest of the Government of Canada, with primary responsibility falling on Canadian Heritage, the department that includes the multiculturalism program within its family of responsibilities. In both cases the majority of services are delivered by third parties, with the overwhelming majority of these being community-based or non-governmental organizations.

1.1.1. Citizenship and Immigration (CIC)

Funding and support is provided to service provider organizations (SPOs) by the federal government to deliver programs and services based on four major categories: 1) Official language acquisition handled by Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC); 2) Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP); 3) the Host Program; and the 4) Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). There is also an Immigration Loan Program that provides small low-interest loans to immigrants.

⁶ Integration of newcomers in Canada is often described as a “two-way street” approach.

⁷ In December 2003, our new Prime Minister, Paul Martin, announced the division of HRDC into two new departments: Human Resources Skills Development Canada and Social Development Canada. At the time of writing the division of labour between the two new departments is still unclear so we will continue to treat them as one department.

According to the main estimates, CIC was expected to spend \$396 million on settlement and integration programs in 2003/04. This includes \$164 million for Québec, \$45 million for British Columbia and Manitoba, \$30 million for ISAP, \$100 million for LINC, \$47 million for RAP, and \$2.8 million for HOST. This seems like an enormous sum, yet as Biles and Burstein note, “Having embarked on a course that entails large-scale immigration . . . it is essential that Canadians behave wisely and make the necessary investments, financial and personal to ensure that integration is successful . . .” (2003: 15).

The primary investment in settlement and integration by CIC is language. The **Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC)** program funds basic language instruction in one of Canada’s official languages to adult immigrants as soon as possible after their arrival. The program provides funding to Service provider organizations (SPOs) that offer language instruction to adult immigrants for up to three years from the time they start training. Each SPO must meet certain guidelines and benchmarks outlined by the program.

A common criticism with this program is that most of the training is for basic level English or French and most immigrants need advance or employment specific language training in order to access employment. Recognizing this gap, CIC has recently sought and received an additional \$20million/year to fund enhanced language training that targets employment-specific training (GoC 2004f).

LINC is clearly an important investment to this end, but so too are a wider range of activities covered under the **Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP)**. The Government of Canada spent 25.5 million on ISAP in 2002-2003. ISAP funds organizations that provide programming designed to assist immigrants access services and to integrate into their community. These programs include reception and orientation services, translation and interpretation services, referrals to services, employment assistance and counselling. ISAP also funds research projects, seminars and conferences related to settlement and integration activities and provides training for settlement workers.

Specific foci of ISAP are:

- **Reception** -- meeting newcomers at points of entry or at their final destination, and taking care of their immediate needs (housing, clothing, household effects, transportation) during their first days in Canada.
- **Referral** -- putting newcomers in touch with community resources/services (banks, shops, housing, health, cultural, educational, recreational and legal facilities).
- **Information and Orientation** -- giving clients practical guidance to help them cope with the problems of everyday living, introducing them to the community, and giving them information on their rights and obligations. This

service could include advice on how to use public transit, or assistance with housing. Information could be provided on banking, taxes, daycare, school registration, shopping, budgeting, food preparation, safety, the police, Canadian values, roles and responsibilities of landlords and tenants. The sessions may be given in groups or one-on-one.

- **Interpretation and Translation** -- providing interpretation to make it easier for newcomers to cope with day-to-day survival in the community. Translation must be limited to documents related to employment, health, education and legal matters that are necessary for immediate settlement.
- **Counselling** -- identifying newcomers' needs, determining how these should be addressed and helping clients link up with specialized services if they are having problems adjusting to life in Canada. This does not include in-depth social or psychological counselling normally provided by professional counsellors.
- **Employment-related services** -- organizing job finding clubs which cover job search strategies, resume writing, interview techniques and how to follow up on the telephone with potential employers. Newcomers may also be helped to obtain trade/ professional certification or recognition of their academic credentials. Other job search support may also be provided.

Two of the most successful programs funded by ISAP are Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) and Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS).

There is no doubt that the better prepared newcomers are to tackle the challenges migration poses, the better the results. Correspondingly, CIC began the Canadian Orientation Abroad in 1998. It consists of modules lasting one, three or five days and includes an introduction to Canada and information on “settling-in,” employment, rights and responsibilities, climate, finding a place to live, living in a multicultural society, the cost of living and education. In 2002 it was offered to 9,600 people. To broaden access to this information, CIC and Human Resources Skills Development Canada are working on an on-line Immigration portal that builds on the work of several provinces and of CIC’s integration-net. Integration-net engages non-governmental organizations from across the country to share best practices aimed at assisting newcomers in their settlement and integration⁸.

Settlement Workers in Schools facilitates the integration of newcomer children into Canadian schools. Through this initiative, settlement workers operate in schools with high concentrations of immigrant children, providing services to the parents, children, and the school system. They act as cultural brokers and facilitators between students, parents and administrators. They may orient newcomers to school rules; refer children to appropriate agencies in cases of domestic violence; act as intermediaries; and provide general information about Canadian society,

⁸ <http://integration-net.cic.gc.ca/english/index.cfm>

culture and climate. This program is not national in scope, but instead is an initiative of the Ontario region of CIC.

As we mentioned earlier, a central component of the Canadian “shared citizenship” or “diversity model” is connections or contact. This emphasis on cross-cultural contact is a government articulation of Allport’s (1954) “contact hypothesis.” Simply put, this hypothesis states social contact between majority and minority group members will reduce prejudice. In the Canadian context this has been expanded to include contact across minority cultures as well. The pre-eminent CIC program premised upon this belief is the Host program. The importance of this kind of contact has also recently been emphasized with a renewed interest in social capital in Canadian policy circles. This interest has been reinforced by recent results from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) that found that after colleges and universities, newcomers turn most often to friends and family to seek assistance (GoC 2003e).

The objective of the **Host Program** is to match immigrants with established Canadians to assist in successful integration. In this program, immigrants: practice language skills; learn about Canadian society; and build a network of support and friends to aide in integration. Organizations may receive funding to recruit, train, match and monitor Canadians who volunteer to serve as hosts.

Volunteers do not have to make any financial contributions, but rather are asked to act as friends and mentors to newcomers in the first few months of arrival. Types of activities outlined by the program include: banking and grocery shopping; getting around the community; finding major services in the area; getting used to their new home; becoming familiar with English or French; enrolling in the local school; operating household appliances; and using the transit system. CIC invested nearly 2.8 million on the Host Program in 2002-2003.

Refugees are a special class of newcomer as their conditions are significantly different, as are their stocks of human and social capital. Immigrants have often had time to prepare for their migration, have been selected through the points system to assure their stocks of human capital, and often follow in the footsteps of families, friends, or neighbours in chain migration movements. Refugees, on the other hand, seldom have a choice in which country accepts them as refugees. As a result, there is a need for significant assistance at first⁹.

CIC has two programs to facilitate their integration. The first, the **Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)**, provides immediate services, including financial assistance, to government assisted refugees and humanitarian cases. Financial support is provided for one year normally or two years in extreme cases based on

⁹ Recent studies suggest they ultimately repay the investment Canadians make in their initial settlement (*Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* March 2004).

the welfare rates of the province of residence. Assistance may also include accommodation.

The second, the **Immigration Loans Program (ILP)**, is designed to assist government sponsored or privately sponsored refugees. Loans are awarded based on need and ability to repay for the payment of costs associated with migration including: travel documents, medical examinations, transportation and landing fees. The Immigration Loan Fund was established in 1951 and currently has a limit of \$110,000,000. The recovery rate for repayment is 91%. During fiscal year 2003-2044 4,473 new loans were granted worth \$12.5 million while \$14.1 million was collected from previous loans (Canada 2004h: 26).

1.1.2. Canadian Heritage and the Multiculturalism Program

After three years of initial settlement, the overall mantle of responsibility for citizenship transfers to the Department of Canadian Heritage. Canadian Heritage is responsible for national policies and programs that promote Canadian content, foster cultural participation, active citizenship and participation in Canada's civic life, and strengthen connections among Canadians.

The most important program in the Canadian Heritage portfolio for the integration of newcomers is the multiculturalism program. As we discussed earlier, this program is at the core of the “Canadian model.” In some ways one could conceive of CIC’s role in the first three years to be working primarily with newcomers themselves to ensure successful integration, and Canadian Heritage works primarily on Canadian society to ensure that the two-way street model of integration is a success¹⁰. For example, the bulk of CIC’s expenditures are on language training for newcomers, while the majority of effort by the Multiculturalism Program tends to be on effecting institutional change.¹¹ For example, Canadian Heritage must table a report every year in Parliament on the workings of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. The report tends to highlight what government departments and agencies have done to “enhance the multicultural nature of Canada.”

The Multiculturalism Program recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. Since a strategic review of the program ending in 1997, the Multiculturalism Program pursues three overall policy goals:

- **Identity:** fostering a society that recognizes, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada.
- **Social Justice:** building a society that ensures fair and equitable treatment and that respects the dignity of people of all origins.
- **Civic Participation:** developing, among Canada's diverse people, active citizens with both the opportunity and the capacity to participate in shaping the future of their communities and their country.

¹⁰ Of course, CIC does also work through citizenship promotion activities to ensure receptivity on the part of Canadians and their institutions, and Canadian Heritage does also work with newcomers and their communities to build capacity.

¹¹ While the Multiculturalism Program used to primarily fund identity based activities (i.e. festivals and cultural expression) this aspect of the program has long been eclipsed by foci on race relations and institutional change.

The strategic review rolled all of the multiculturalism funding streams into one program designed to tackle the three goals. Based on the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, these goals are aimed at helping all Canadians to participate fully in the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country.

Within these broad goals spelled out by the strategic review and the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* 1988, priorities are established by the program to meet evolving needs. In the 2002-03 *Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act* then Minister of State (Multiculturalism)(Status of Women), Jean Augustine spelt out the program's present priorities: 1) combating racism and discrimination; 2) promoting cross cultural understanding and a shared sense of citizenship; and 3) helping to make Canadian institutions more representative of Canadian society (GoC 2003g).

The Annual Report lays out both the activities of the program itself, but also those of other federal departments and agencies. From the perspective of newcomer integration in Canada, two of the most salient areas funded by the multiculturalism program in 2002-03 were focused on policing and foreign accreditation.

In the wake of September 11, Canada experienced a short-lived upswing in hate crimes directed against minorities (Biles and Ibrahim 2002). Subsequently, tensions between police and security forces and minority communities have been exacerbated. To address these concerns, the Secretary of State (Multiculturalism) called a Forum on Policing in a Multicultural Society in February 2003¹². The Forum, organized in partnership with the **Royal Canadian Mounted Police**, was designed to build and strengthen partnerships between police and communities and showcased tools and best practices. Law enforcement agencies, Aboriginal, ethnic and racial communities, academia and public institutions discussed and developed strategies in three areas:

- i. recognizing and embracing diversity;
- ii. policing with a national security agenda at the forefront; and
- iii. civilian oversight and governance.

Follow up work has included an exploration of racial/religious profiling and also a forthcoming series of consultations with minority communities as part of the National Security Policy tabled in the House of Commons in April 2004(GoC 2004e).

A key cross-government concern reiterated in the Speech from the Throne in early 2004 was the importance of foreign credential recognition. While the lead for this

¹² The result of these discussions and the strategies proposed by the participants can be found in the report of the Forum (http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/pubs/police/index_e.cfm).

file lies with Human Resources Development Canada, Canadian Heritage did undertake a number of initiatives including: a policy development roundtable on the integration of internationally trained professionals and trades people; and the British Columbian network of association for foreign trained professionals (GoC 2003g: 14).

1.1.3. Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC)

One of the largest departments in the Government of Canada, HRDC, was broken into two new departments in December 2003. These new departments are Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and Social Development Canada (SD). At the time of writing it is still not entirely clear which department is responsible for which files¹³.

A. Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC)

HRSDC is mandated to provide all Canadians with the tools they need to thrive and prosper in the workplace and community. It supports human capital development, labour market development and is dedicated to establishing a culture of lifelong learning for Canadians. Among its clients are employees, employers, individuals receiving Employment Insurance benefits, students and those who need focused support to participate in the workplace. HRSDC provides federal-level management of labour and homelessness issues, and supports students through the Canada Student Loans Program.

From the perspective of newcomer integration almost all programs in HRSDC play a role, many, however, do not have specific strategies to tackle the different needs of newcomer populations. Indeed, some changes have actually resulted in detrimental impacts on newcomers¹⁴. Two programs that do, however, have an explicit focus on integration of newcomers are the labour program and the homelessness initiative described below. There is also the temporary foreign worker program, but its focus is temporary workers so there are few immediate ramifications for integration policy.

The Government of Canada tabled its Innovation Strategy in February 2002 that was presented in two papers that focus on what Canada must do to ensure equality of opportunity and economic innovation in a knowledge-based economy and society. HRDC took the lead on one, *Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians* (2002c) while Industry Canada took the lead on the other *Achieving Excellence: Investing in People, Knowledge and Opportunity* (2002b).

¹³ Parliament was dissolved for a general election before enabling legislation could be tabled and approved, so these two new departments are unlikely to technically exist until the winter of 2004.

¹⁴ According to one Ottawa-area non-governmental representative, changes to the employment insurance regulations has actually acted as a barrier to newcomers who are unable to access this program now, but could prior to the changes.

In *Knowledge Matters* there is an entire section on “Helping Immigrants Achieve Their Full Potential.” The key areas that were underscored are:

- Developing an integrated and transparent approach to the recognition of foreign credentials
- Better supporting the integration of immigrants into Canada’s labour market
- Helping immigrants achieve their full potential over their working lives

In addition, the Government of Canada committed itself to two primary objectives in labour market policy: by 2010, 65 percent (up from 58% in 2000) of adult immigrants will have post-secondary education; and reducing the income gap between immigrants and Canadian-born workers by 50% (GoC 2002c: 49-54).

HRSDC is also responsible for the oversight of the Social Union Framework that was negotiated between the federal government and its provincial and territorial counterparts in 1999. From the perspective of newcomer integration, the most important element of this framework is the emphasis on mobility within Canada. A significant component of this area is accreditation across jurisdictions. As a result, HRSDC is also the lead federal department on tackling foreign accreditation¹⁵.

Labour Program

The objective of the Labour Program is to promote a fair, safe, healthy, stable, cooperative and productive work environment, which contributes to the social and economic well-being of all Canadians. Included within this program is employment equity¹⁶. An extremely high proportion of visible minorities are newcomers to Canada (84% are first generation, 14% are second generation and 2% are third-plus generation). Visible minority is a term designated by the *Employment Equity Act* (1995) to mean “persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” As a result this *Act* and program have an important impact on the labour market outcomes of newcomers. An area we will revisit later.

¹⁵ The lead on this file is the foreign credentials recognition division of the Human Resources Partnerships Directorate. As of yet they do not have any mandate documents developed.

¹⁶ Employment Equity is the term developed by Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella, Commissioner of the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (1984), to describe a distinct Canadian process for achieving equality in all aspects of employment. This term was meant to distinguish the process from the primarily American "Affirmative Action" model as well as to move beyond the "Equal Opportunity" measures available in Canada at that time. Recognizing that "systemic discrimination" was responsible for most of the inequality found in employment, the Commission outlined a systemic response and chose the term "Employment Equity" to describe the process.

Employment Equity is an on-going planning process used by an employer to:

- identify and eliminate barriers in an organization's employment procedures and policies;
- put into place positive policies and practices to ensure the effects of systemic barriers are eliminated; and
- ensure appropriate representation of "designated group" members throughout their workforce.

The goal of Employment Equity is to:

- eliminate employment barriers for the four designated groups identified in the Employment Equity Act : women, persons with disabilities, Aboriginal people, members of visible minorities;
- remedy past discrimination in employment opportunities and prevent future barriers;
- improve access and distribution throughout all occupations and at all levels for members of the four designated groups;
- foster a climate of equity in the organization.

In Canada, there are two Federal Employment Equity Programs:

Under the **Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP)** all federally regulated employers with 100 or more employees, and all federal departments are covered.

Under the **Federal Contractors Program (FCP)** employers with 100 or more employees who have secured a federal goods or services contract of \$200,000 or more are required to sign a certificate of commitment to fulfill their mandated goal of implementing employment equity in their workplace.

Homelessness

Labour market conditions and housing are not unrelated issues. According to the Statistics Canada and CIC survey, the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, approximately 30% of newcomers reported their chief housing problem as cost. This varied across the country with 37% in Ontario reporting problems versus 20% in Quebec (2003e: 18). This did not come as much of a surprise, for as early as 1999, homelessness was becoming a crisis in large and small cities across Canada, largely driven by the lack of affordable housing and cuts to social services (Layton 2000). In response to this crisis, the Government of Canada announced the National Homelessness Initiative (NHI), a three-year initiative designed to help ensure community access to programs, services and support for alleviating homelessness in communities located in all provinces and territories. The Government of Canada has renewed the National Homelessness Initiative for an additional three years with an investment of \$405 million. Under this initiative

communities will be provided with the supports to further implement measures that assist homeless individuals and families in achieving and maintaining self-sufficiency.

As Ballay and Bulthuis note, “historically, new immigrants and refugees have often been housed in precarious situations,” but as they observe this situation has worsened today to the point where “immigrants and refugees are increasingly falling under the category of absolutely homeless.” This is especially true of refugees and undocumented migrants (2004: 119-123). While the seriousness of the situation is presently most pronounced in Toronto (home to the largest percentage of recent newcomers to Canada), there is concern that this phenomenon could be replicated in other cities receiving increasing numbers of newcomers. Ballay and Bulthuis observe,

Coordination across the government orders and the various sectors that address the needs of newcomers, as well as between the homelessness assistance system and settlement and integration system is necessary. Funds are often directed through separate streams – including shelter capital costs, settlement and integration staff and employment supports – inherently limiting the dialogue among those involved (2004: 122).

The NHI is exploring the intersection between immigration and homelessness through an extensive research program that is presently underway.

Accreditation

HRSDC chairs the interdepartmental committee on immigrant labour market integration (ILMI) that is responsible for tackling accreditation issues and continues to work with the provinces and territories as well as the professional associations and the sector councils¹⁷ to ensure that this area receives the attention it deserves. Support is primarily provided through the Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) Initiative. PLAR supports organizations to ensure comprehensive recognition of all learning, whether acquired formally in the classroom, informally in the workplace, or informally through life experience. Further support is provided by the Human resources Partnerships Directorate. CIC is pledged to work in tandem with HRSDC on this file (Canada 2004h: 20).

Enhanced Language Training

¹⁷ HRSDC created and funds 29 national sector councils that bring together business, labour, and educational stakeholders in key industries to identify and address common human resources and skills issues, and to find solutions that benefit that sector. They are designed to be instrumental in ensuring that workers already employed and those seeking employment are well prepared for the challenges of the rapidly evolving labour market.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada was granted extra funds for higher levels of language training linked to workplace needs in the 2004 budget. According to CIC's annual report this initiative will be tackled in tandem with HRSDC (Canada 2004h: 12).

B. Social Development Canada

The second department created by dividing the former department of Human Resources Development Canada is the Department of Social Development (SD). This department is mandated with helping to secure and strengthen Canada's social foundation by helping families with children, supporting people with disabilities and ensuring that seniors can fully participate in their communities. It provides the policies, services and programs for Canadians who need assistance in overcoming challenges they encounter in their lives and their communities. This includes income security programs, such as the Canada Pension Plan.

The Social Development Partnership program provides grant and contribution funding to non-profit organizations working to meet the social development needs of persons with disabilities, children and their families, and other vulnerable or excluded populations in Canada. It has been operating under new Terms and Conditions since April 2003 and is jointly administered by the Social Development Directorate and the Office for Disability Issues.

It is the primary department tasked with a focus on Canadians at both ends of the life cycle (children and youth and the elderly). However, no major programs or policies regarding newcomer children or the elderly are discernible at this time. In fact, in Canada's plan of action in response to the United Nations Special Session on Children entitled *A Canada Fit for Children* (GoC 2004g) there is a ten page list of government programs for children and youth and not one of them is explicitly targeted to meet the needs of newcomer children and youth. Similarly, the *National Children's Agenda* (GoC 2000b) is entirely silent on the question of newcomer children.

At this time, SD has no newcomer-specific programs, although on-going work exploring the intersections of migration status with disability and age (young and elderly) is likely to result in some partnerships between CIC and SD (Fleras 2003, Stienstra 2003). A particular grounds for future collaborative work is in old age pensions for newcomers who have not accrued enough benefits in Canada to retire.

1.1.4. Industry Canada

Industry Canada is mandated to build a dynamic and innovative economy where all Canadians have the opportunity to benefit from more and better-paying jobs, stronger business growth, and a marketplace that is fair, efficient and competitive. Through its five strategic objectives (innovation, connectedness, marketplace,

investment and trade), it aims to help Canadians contribute to the knowledge economy and improve productivity and innovation performance. There are clear connections in each priority area with immigration policy, however, the most important from an integration perspective is innovation.

As mentioned above in the section on HRSDC, the Government of Canada tabled its Innovation Strategy in February 2002. This strategy was presented in two papers that focus on what Canada must do to ensure equality of opportunity and economic innovation in a knowledge-based economy and society. HRDC took the lead on one, *Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians* (2003c), while Industry Canada took the lead on the other *Achieving Excellence: Investing in People, Knowledge and Opportunity* (2003b).

In *Achieving Excellence*, Industry Canada explicitly discusses immigration as a key to attracting and retaining the best (i.e. highest skilled) labour force possible. To that end, Industry commits itself to assisting in the attraction of highly qualified workers by actively branding Canada as a destination of choice; to facilitate the entry of temporary workers; to make it easier for these temporary workers to become permanent residents; to work with other departments on foreign credential recognition; and to encourage newcomers to settle in centers other than Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (2002b: 57-58).

Industry Canada is also responsible for the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency that has begun to work with local partners (governmental and non-governmental) to explore how best to attract and retain immigrants in a region with a high out-migration rate of those born in the region. The announcement of a fifth Metropolis center of excellence based in the region in December 2003 has spurred this along as has the Atlantic Liberal Caucus with its report *'The Rising Tide' Our Continuing Commitment to Atlantic Canada* (2003).

1.1.5. Health Canada

In Canada, health care is a universal service delivered under the auspices of the provinces. Newcomers are eligible for health care coverage under the *Canada Health Act*, although there are waiting periods of up to 90 days in most provinces.

Although a provincial responsibility, Health Canada works in partnership with provincial and territorial governments, health care workers and the non-governmental sector to provide national leadership in the development of health policy, the enforcement of health regulations, the promotion of disease prevention and the enhancement of healthy living for all Canadians.

For example, Health Canada funds the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) whose objective is to create new knowledge that can be translated into improved health for Canadians, more effective health services and products and a strengthened health care system. Central to the CIHR are their 13 “virtual”

institutes that consist of networks of researchers from various disciplines who are brought together to focus on important health problems such as aboriginal people's health, aging, genetics and gender. Currently, there is no institute that responds to the health concerns of newcomers explicitly, however, the Institute on Gender and Health occasionally produces research on immigrant and refugee health issues.

Perhaps a more illustrative example is Family Violence Initiative, a federal government initiative that includes 12 partner departments coordinated by Health Canada. The long-term objective of this initiative is to reduce the occurrence of family violence in Canada through public awareness, assisting the criminal justice, housing, and health systems to respond to family violence issues and by supporting data collection, research and evaluation efforts to identify effective interventions. Health Canada works in conjunction with Canadian Heritage and Citizenship and Immigration to ensure that the program reaches newcomers and ethnocultural communities.

1.1.6. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)

Today the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) helps Canadians purchase homes through a mortgage loan insurance program, assists low-income and other disadvantaged Canadians access affordable homes, and contributes to the construction of affordable housing. Currently, CMHC reports that more than 640,000 units of social housing are managed by provincial and municipal housing agencies, or by local non-profit organizations such as cooperatives and urban native groups. On behalf of the federal government, CMHC supports social housing by subsidizing these units on a cost-shared basis with provincial and territorial housing agencies. The framework of these agreements between provincial and territorial housing agencies states that:

- Provinces and territories have the primary responsibility for design and housing program delivery;
- Provinces and territories require flexible programs to address their housing needs;
- The initiative needs to create affordable housing for low to moderate income households and;
- Units funded will remain affordable for a minimum of 10 years.
- Provinces and territories will be required to match federal contributions overall

To date bilateral agreements have been signed with British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nova Scotia and Manitoba¹⁸.

In regards to newcomers, the CMHC undertakes research, development and information transfer to improve the quality of housing and living environments for all Canadians. Some key areas of policy research in relation to immigrants and housing include: the impact of immigration on housing markets, the evolution of immigrants' housing choices and preferences, residential mobility of immigrants, access to housing and housing-related discrimination, the implications of immigration for the management of housing projects, the potential for housing to facilitate the delivery of services required by immigrants, and the impact of immigration on urban growth and infrastructure requirements.

1.1.7. Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (PSEPC)

The newly created portfolio of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (PSEPC) is responsible for a wide range of security and justice issues in Canada including emergency preparedness, crisis management, national security, corrections, policing, oversight, crime prevention and border functions. The portfolio is comprised of six agencies including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), National Parole Board (NPB), Canada Firearms Centre and the Canada Border Services Agency.

The Canada Border Services Agency is responsible for managing Canada's borders by administering and enforcing about 75 domestic laws that govern trade and travel, as well as international agreements and conventions. Specific responsibilities include conducting intelligence, such as screening visitors and immigrants, working with law enforcement agencies to maintain border integrity and ensure national security. This agency is also responsible for engaging in enforcement activities, including investigations, detentions, hearings, and removals.

The Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada Portfolio has funded several projects examining the interaction of newcomers with policing, one of its major responsibilities. For example, the Royal Mounted Canadian Police (RCMP) was a partner with the Multiculturalism Program for the Forum on Policing in a Multicultural Society in February 2003 mentioned earlier. Other examples of projects supported by this department include a project carried out by the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women and the National Reference Group of Visible Minority Organizations to enhance the capacity of visible minority

¹⁸ An additional \$680 million was announced in the 2004 budget. However, it was contingent upon matching funds from the provincial and municipal governments. Thus far this has not been forthcoming.

communities to provide input into policies and programs on restorative justice, youth and children and effective corrections.

Another project funded is being carried out by the Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities in Vancouver to develop a cultural diversity policy framework for the immigrant and refugee sectors. Project goals include enhancing the RCMP's understanding and awareness of diverse cultures and building the policy capacity of the immigrant and visible minority subsector.

1.1.8. Status of Women

Status of Women Canada (SWC) is the federal government department which promotes gender equality, and the full participation of women in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the country. SWC focuses its work in three areas: improving women's economic autonomy and well-being, eliminating systemic violence against women and children, and advancing women's human rights.

SWC has been very active in the Metropolis Project and in supporting academic research that focuses on the concerns, obstacles and issues facing immigrant and refugee women. Some of the issues identified by SWC as research priorities regarding immigrant and refugee women include:

- the factors affecting the integration of immigrant women into the paid labour market, and the policies that contribute to making this integration 'successful', including employment equity policies and the policies relating to the recognition of educational and work credentials acquired outside Canada;
- the 'best policy practices' that enable immigrant women to acquire English and/or French language skills;
- the dynamics underlying changing family relationships between generations of immigrants, including how definitions of 'the family' may be affected;
- the impact of changing immigration laws and regulations on women immigrants;
- the situation of older immigrants, particularly women, and the effect of government policies on their financial security; and
- the 'best policies' related to integration that enable immigrant women to live in non-violent families, and policies that enable violence-related services to respond to the needs of immigrant women.

Examples of the research that SWC has supported in this area are: *A Complex Web: Access to Justice for Abused Immigrant Women in New Brunswick* by Baukje Miedema and Sandra Wachholz (1998) and *Mental Health Promotion*

Among Newcomer Female Youth: Post-Migration Experiences and Self-Esteem by Nazilla Khanlou, Morton Beiser, Ester Cole, Marlinda Freire, Ilene Hyman and Kenise Murphy Kilbride (2002).

SWC also plays a vital role in supporting the work of women's and other equality-seeking organizations. It promotes women's equality in collaboration with organizations from the non-governmental, voluntary and private sectors. For example, SWC works with many women's organizations dealing with women and diversity issues such as the Canadian Council for Muslim Women and the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia.

1.2. Provinces and Territories

The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* allows the Minister to enter into agreements to share responsibility for immigration with Canada's ten provinces and three territories. The **Canada–Quebec Accord** is the most comprehensive of these agreements. Signed in 1991, it gives Quebec selection powers and control over its own settlement services. Canada retains responsibility for defining immigrant categories, setting levels, and enforcement. As a result, we do not cover Quebec programs and policies in this paper.

The objective is that eventually all provinces will assume responsibility for settlement and integration policies as it is believed that they are best suited to deliver such programs. While this objective has been underway for well over a decade, real progress has been made only in the last few years. In October 2002, then Minister for Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Denis Coderre, convened a meeting of federal, provincial and territorial ministers responsible for immigration in Winnipeg. It is believed to have been the first since Confederation in 1867, even though it is one of only two shared areas of jurisdiction according to the *Constitution Act* (GoC 2002a).

At this inaugural national meeting on immigration, it was agreed that the provinces, territories and federal government would work together to:

- Break down the barriers to the recognition of foreign credentials;
- Attract and select highly skilled workers;
- Expedite the entry of foreign students, including transition to permanent status for those who choose to remain;
- Enhance settlement services to facilitate newcomers' full participation in Canadian society; and
- Share best practices.

The Ministers met a second time in January 2004 in British Columbia. They updated one another on the many initiatives undertaken that will help attract skilled immigrants and help them to better integrate into Canadian society and the labour market. These include measures to enhance language training, the expansion of

Provincial Nominee Programs, and initiatives to attract and retain international students in Canada. Ministers also highlighted the importance of providing better labour market information to immigrants to improve outcomes for newcomers to Canada.

The next meeting is scheduled for November 2004 in New Brunswick with a focus on evaluating progress and pursuing other initiatives to attract and integrate newcomers to Canada more effectively (GoC 2004a).

CIC has signed agreements with British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, The Yukon and Prince Edward Island. The agreements with Manitoba and British Columbia give those provinces funds and responsibility for settlement services, a greater say in planning, and an agreement to attract business immigrants (See Annexes 4 and 5).

Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have signed Provincial Nominees agreements, which allow them to select a small number of immigrants to meet specific labour-market needs. In addition, federal-provincial working groups meet regularly to discuss a wide range of immigration issues.

Although Quebec, British Columbia and Manitoba are the only provinces that have assumed responsibility for integration services, the other provinces are still active participants in these issues. To a great extent, provincial participation in integration is due to the fact that many sectors integral to the integration process are the responsibility of provincial governments, such as housing, education, and health. Therefore, many provinces support the development of research, policy and programs to respond to the particular needs of newcomers in these areas. For example, Alberta Health funded the Edmonton Centre for Survivors of Torture and Trauma (ECSTT) to provide clinical counselling, specialized support, services and programming for refugees and immigrants who have survived physical and/or psychological torture.

Notably, many professional organizations and regulations are managed at the provincial level (Mata 1999). Thus, many provinces are involved in the recognition of foreign education and professional credentials. For example, in 1992 Alberta government released *Bridging the Gap: A Report of the Task Force on the Recognition of Foreign Qualifications* that recommended establishing a central agency to assess foreign education and credentials. In Ontario, the Ontario Task Force Report (1989) on the *Access to Professions and Trades* acknowledged the presence of several professional accreditation barriers in the province. Since that time, a province-wide coalition called the Ontario Network for Access to Professions and Trades has been established to advocate for accreditation for foreign trained workers.

1.3. Municipalities

Given the overwhelmingly urban nature of immigration flows to Canada, it is hardly surprising that municipalities have become more vocal about demanding a seat at the table when immigration, integration and diversity issues are discussed. Moreover, due to cutbacks and provincial downloading, municipalities are becoming more central in the delivery of many programs that impact the successful integration of newcomers to Canada. In May of 2001 former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien established a Liberal Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues that issued its final report in November 2002 recommending three priority areas: 1) a national affordable housing program; 2) a national infrastructure program; and 3) a national transportation program (Prime Minister's Task Force 2002). The Federation of Canadian Municipalities argued in their *Brief to the Prime Minister's Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues (2002)* that:

Despite the fact that municipalities provide services to new immigrants and refugees, immigration policy rarely takes into account municipal perspectives. Municipal governments welcome new Canadians in their communities not only because they contribute to a richer cultural fabric, but also because they fuel economic growth. But while there are benefits, there are also costs. Often municipalities must provide income support, subsidized housing, emergency shelter, childcare, and health care, and often must provide these services in numerous languages. The federal government has failed to recognize these costs, and has not provided adequate financial support for them.

Although the FCM was disappointed with the outcome of the task force, the federal government has continued to demonstrate that urban issues are a priority. Since the task force issued its report in 2002, the new Prime Minister Paul Martin has stated that a "new deal for municipalities" is one of his top priorities. In his government's first *Speech from the Throne* he underlined this priority by arguing that Canada must strengthen our cities by bringing "municipalities to the national decision making table" (Martin 2003). In addition, he also included John Godfrey as a Minister of State (Infrastructure and Communities) with a special emphasis on cities.

Further, to deliver on his promise, Prime Minister Paul Martin has appointed Judy Sgro as the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration who had also been a city councilor for ten years and chair of the Liberal Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues. Since becoming Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Judy Sgro has begun to find ways to bring municipalities to the table. For example, she met with both her Ontario counterpart and seven municipal leaders in February 2004. She observed that the meeting provided "a good first step as cities become engaged in the planning of Canada's immigration program" (GoC 2004b).

The investment of CIC and its partners in Metropolis since 1996 has also provided a tremendous amount of opportunities for municipal governments to tackle immigration, integration and diversity issues. In a publication co-produced with the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in the Spring of 2004, Metropolis highlighted eight key areas of municipal concern vis-à-vis integration: demographics; arts and culture; health; housing and homelessness; infrastructure, development and planning; parks and recreation; political participation; and policing and justice (Metropolis 2004). Fifty contributors including elected officials, policymakers, researchers and NGOs explored issues of concern and best practices, many of which will be reflected in the sites of integration covered in the next section of this paper.

Despite the fact that cities do not possess the political or financial authority over many of the services important to the successful integration of newcomers, many cities have been extremely creative and innovative in their response to integration issues. The following examples are just a few of some of these pioneering municipal projects.

The City of Toronto is Canada's largest immigrant receiving municipality and one of the most diverse cities in the world. Toronto has embraced this diversity adopting "Diversity Our Strength" as the city's official motto. As a result of its dedication to diversity issues the city has a range of diversity-related working groups including one on immigrant and refugee issues. It is designed as a means to obtain community input from over 40 community coalitions/agencies. The issues addressed by the working group include:

- The City of Toronto's Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination
- Immigrants' access to professions and trades
- Methodologies for measuring progress made by immigrants and refugees in their settlement
- City services – how they can be accessible and beneficial to the immigrants and refugees living in the Toronto
- Federal and provincial legislation and programs that affect immigrants and refugees

Another initiative taken by a municipality is the City of Winnipeg's "Homegrown Economic Development Plan." The plan calls for a number of strategic priorities including "Closing the Skills Gap and Enhancing Immigration" (City of Winnipeg 2001). Building on this plan, in 2002 the City of Winnipeg adopted the Winnipeg Private Refugee Sponsorship Assurance Program. This is the first time a city government has been recognized as a partner in immigration and population growth strategy. The objective is to increase the number of immigrants going to Winnipeg. Under this pilot program, the City of Winnipeg has set aside \$250,000 of municipal funds which can be accessed to cover refugee support in circumstances including those when a private sponsor is no longer able to meet its

commitment. In addition to other elements of the agreement, the three governments acknowledged that “adequate support systems need to be in place for refugees to ensure their settlement and integration in Winnipeg” (See Annex 6).

A third municipal example can be found in Calgary. In this case citizens approached an alderman in 1999 with a plan to work together to make Calgary more inclusive. This resulted in the formation of the Calgary Cultural and Racial Diversity Task Force in 2000 comprised of community groups, business leaders, members of City Council, City of Calgary staff, and provincial and federal government representatives. This Task Force led to the development of twelve strategies dealing with a wide range of issues including discrimination, stakeholder involvement, employment, diversity training, accreditation, developing curriculum and teaching resources, and improve access for minorities to systems and services. The project report *Diversity Calgary: Moving Forward* (City of Calgary 2002), highlighted some of the best practices and a detailed implementation plan.

2. NON -GOVERNMENTAL SECTOR

Canada differs from many other countries in that all three orders of government often deliver services through third parties. The result is a thriving non-governmental sector that works in partnership with governments. This so-called third sector is populated by an extremely complex array of organizations. For the purposes of this paper, we will briefly explore four different types of organization: 1) the immigrant service provider organizations (SPOs); 2) the multicultural or ethnic, racial, religious or linguistic minority organizations; 3) the issue-based organizations, 4) the so-called “universal” organizations, and 5) the private sector.

2.1 Service Provider Organizations (SPOs)

The majority of government-funded integration and settlement services are delivered immigrant serving organizations, or service provider organizations (SPOs). Priorities highlighted by the government and the SPOs in immigrant integration in Canada are official language acquisition, access to employment, and intergroup relations. Organizations that can apply for this funding include businesses, not-for-profit groups, non-governmental organizations, community groups, educational institutions and individuals. Moreover, other levels of governments including provincial, territorial or municipal governments may also apply.

These organizations receive federal dollars and then deliver programs such as: orientation and information, official language instruction, interpretation and Translation, assistance with applications, assistance to sponsors, counseling, advocacy, referrals and assistance with other community services such as health and housing, employment searches, legal aid, and assistance for refugee claimants. Citizenship and Immigration has federal contribution agreements with

over 300 SPOs that deliver both private sponsorship and settlement programs and services.

An excellent example of this is the Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO), a community-based non-profit agency that provides services to enable newcomers to the Ottawa area to become equal participants in all aspects of Canadian society. Services include language training, counselling, housing and legal referrals. This organization receives funds all three levels of government including the federal departments of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Canadian Heritage, the provincial ministry of health, and the City of Ottawa.

The greatest level of co-ordination within the integration field in Canada has occurred among the SPOs. For example the Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (AAISA) has been active since 1980 as an umbrella organization for immigrant-serving agencies in Alberta. The objectives of this umbrella organization are:

- To serve as a provincial forum to facilitate identification and recognition of the needs and concerns of immigrants and refugees;
- To provide for networking and sharing of information;
- To provide input on behalf of its members and the immigrants it serves;
- To combat systemic discrimination;
- To advocate on behalf of immigrants and refugees;
- To make recommendations concerning the needs of immigrants and refugees to Canada;
- To encourage the recognition of settlement/integration work as a profession;
- To organize conferences and consultations with appropriate participants;
- To arrange regular meetings between society members and funders of immigrant settlement/integration services;
- To undertake research, evaluation and study of trends.

Similar umbrella organizations exist in other parts of the country at both the regional and municipal scales. For instance, in the City of Ottawa the six local settlement agencies have formed a loose entity entitled LASI (Local Agencies Serving Immigrants). LASI meets quarterly and ensures co-ordination and the avoidance of overlap between the SPOs in Ottawa.

On a regional scale, the Atlantic Regional Association for Immigrant Serving Agencies (ARAISA) was established in 1994 to bring together the seventeen immigrant serving agencies in the region (now down to fourteen). There were five primary objectives: to act as a collective voice representing the interests of newcomers, service providers and service organizations; to facilitate an information exchange process among immigrant-serving agencies; to recognize and implement training and professional development of settlement workers and others working with newcomers; to advise and lobby government in the formulation and

implementation of policies and programs; and to inform the public on matters pertaining to immigrant and refugee settlement (Smith Green & Associates Inc. 2001).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada has also moved over the last few years to encourage co-ordination among the SPOs on a national scale. Through funding made available by the Government of Canada's Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI), a settlement sector project was funded entitled "Strengthening the Settlement Sector". This project sought to bring the SPOs from across the country at two national conferences (the first held in Kingston, Ontario in 2001 and the second in Calgary in October 2003). The overall objectives are to provide a national forum for meaningful dialogue around priority policy issues, assist in enhancing the overall capacity of the sector to develop policy and to facilitate learning within the sector.

Four working groups have been formed in order to continue addressing the settlement issues identified by the project:

Working Group 1 - How to Maximize Current Settlement Services

Mandate: to develop recommendations on how to improve settlement supports for newcomers by both the sector and government.

Working Group 2 – Smaller Community Strategy

Mandate: to explore and develop strategies to encourage immigrants and refugees to move to and stay in smaller centers other than Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

Working Group 3 – Settlement Accord

Mandate: to translate the Accord principles into common practice for government and the settlement sector, and develop a framework for policy input.

Working Group 4 – Settlement Standards, Professionalization and Accountability

Mandate: to develop service and sectoral standards for the delivery of services to immigrant and refugee communities.

2.2 Multicultural Organizations

Multicultural organizations are non-governmental organizations whose mandate it is to aid ensure that all Canadians can express and maintain their cultural identity, take pride in the ancestry, are treated equally and have a sense of belonging in Canada. These organizations receive funding from all different levels of government and the private sector to carry out a range of projects including community outreach and capacity building, anti-racism, and the maintenance of cultural heritage. There are two major types of NGOs in this area – ethno-specific organizations that look after the concerns and needs of a specific community, and

broader umbrella organizations that address issues that cut across community lines.

The largest example of the latter is the Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC). The CEC is a non-profit, non-partisan coalition of national ethnocultural umbrella organizations which, in turn, represent a cross-section of ethnocultural groups across Canada. The CEC's objectives are to ensure the preservation, enhancement and sharing of the cultural heritage of Canadians, the removal of barriers that prevent some Canadians from participating fully and equally in society, the elimination of racism and the preservation of a united Canada.

Smaller umbrella organizations exist in most provinces and major municipalities. For example the Multicultural Association of Fredericton (New Brunswick) has recently been working with the Multiculturalism Program (Canadian Heritage) on three projects: 1) Multicultural Leadership and Diversity Competency; 2) Responding to Racism; and 3) Capacity Building in Youth¹⁹. Similarly, the provincial umbrella organization, the New Brunswick Multicultural Council has been funded to bring communities across the province together to address common concerns.

Ethno-specific organizations also tend to exist at multiple levels, with national umbrella organizations represented on the CEC's board. An example of how ethno-specific organizations can assist in the integration of newcomers is the Canadian Cambodian Association of Ontario. It was recently funded by the Multiculturalism Program (Canadian Heritage) for a project entitled "Lao and Cambodian Youth and Academic Initiative." The aim of the project was to get Cambodian and Laotian parents actively engaged within the decision-making systems of the education system.

2.3 Issue-Based Organizations

Unlike multicultural organizations, the objective of issue-based organizations is to address one or more integration or diversity challenges or issues such as racism and hate crime, media awareness, housing, education, or social justice. For example, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities discussed earlier is a not-for-profit organization that is dedicated to improving the quality of life in all communities by promoting strong, effective and accountable municipal government.

2.4 Universal Organizations

¹⁹ Note that when multicultural organizations address needs of newcomers, they often do so in conjunction with the immigrant serving agencies or their umbrella organizations. For example, The Multicultural Association of Fredericton was recently funded to assist in the annual Atlantic Regional Immigrant Serving Agencies' Conference. This kind of cooperation is essential if newcomers themselves are to be seamlessly integrated despite the three year settlement cut-off that applies to funding from Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Universal organizations are large, generally not for profit, organizations that respond to a multitude of issues facing Canadians. For example, the United Way of Canada is a network of locally run organizations that focus on increasing the organized capacity of people to care for one another. They create a common ground where labour, business, community leaders, and government come to the table to identify needs and solve problems. They help to build, idea by idea, solution by solution, the communities of tomorrow, delivering health and social services.

Of late the United Way has taken an increasing interest in immigration. For example, the United Way in Ottawa funded a conference designed to focus attention on newcomer and diversity issues in Ottawa. The conference, "Building the Ottawa Mosaic" very effectively garnered attention and encouraged local stakeholders to work together to tackle integration issues. Similarly, the United Way in Calgary recently released a report on immigrant youth, "Conversations for Change: An Overview of Services for Immigrant Children and Youth in Calgary" (United Way 2004).

Similarly, local organizations often play a key role in the integration of newcomers. It could be religious organizations that sponsor and care for refugees, or it could be examples like the Onward Willow Better Beginnings Better Futures project. This was a project of a network of neighbourhood and community organizations that came together to ensure their community grew into an inclusive one. For example, it was successful in facilitating the development of the skills necessary for civic participation of new immigrant and refugee mothers and grandmothers.

2.5 Private Sector

It is becoming clear that the underemployment and the underutilization (Reitz 2002) of immigrants in the Canadian workforce is an issue of concern not just for the government and immigrant serving organizations, but for Canadian businesses as well. The private sector, comprised of businesses and individuals, is becoming more aware that the failure to integrate highly skilled immigrants into the work force has a significant negative impact on their industries. Thus, the private sector is now working in partnership with other sectors of Canadian society to accelerate the integration of immigrants into the workforce by providing innovative ways to acquire Canadian experience, accreditation of foreign training and education, and the removal of other systematic barriers.

For example, in September of 2000 the Halifax Chamber of Commerce published a discussion paper on immigration, recommending that Nova Scotia bring together stakeholders to develop a coordinated plan for increasing immigration to Nova Scotia. The report argued that the fact that immigration rates in Nova Scotia were declining and the same time that population growth in the province was decreasing was creating a significant problem for Nova Scotia's labour force. Immigration was seen to be an important factor in economic growth for the province and the

Chamber of Commerce encouraged the province to take on a more active role in this area.

Another example is Internationally Trained Workers Project (ITWP) created by the Canadian Labour Business Council, the United Way/Centraide Ottawa and Local Agencies Serving Immigrants (LASI). The goal of this project is to examine the problem of underemployed immigrants in Ottawa and the best ways to rectify this problem. Recommendations include encouraging businesses to sponsor work experience programs such as internships, job shadowing, mentorship programs, and to develop workplace language programs.

PART III: SITES OF INTEGRATION

While the previous section focused on the overall role governments and non-governmental actors have in the integration of newcomers to Canada, we will now turn to four critical, yet inter-related, areas of integration: housing; labour market; education; and newcomers interactions with public administration (we focus on three specific sub-segments of this enormous area i) civic participation, ii) health and iii) the justice system).

These areas can be seen to flow naturally from one to the other with some overlap, for example, one of the first things newcomers need when they arrive in Canada is a roof over their heads, especially if they arrive in the dead of winter! Shortly thereafter, they will need a means to provide for themselves and possibly their families. While many newcomers arrive with a financial cushion, many do not. Even those who do often discover that it disappears all too quickly on housing and food. If they are fortunate, and find work in their field (no mean achievement), and face no linguistic barriers, then they will likely have no need of further education or training. Although they may well require some citizenship training to participate fully and to interact with public administration in health, justice and other fields. On the other hand, if they have not mastered one of Canada's official languages (English and French), then they may need to take language courses. If their credentials are not recognized in Canada (an all too common outcome), they may need to either retrain in their field to acquire Canadian credentials, or return to school to acquire skills for a different career. Those who meet stiff resistance in the labour market to their lack of Canadian experience may also pursue further education to overcome this barrier.

In all cases, newcomers are a portion of the overall population facing barriers to their full participation. As a result there is usually a complex intersection of involvement by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and a range of federal partners with more issue-specific responsibilities. In most cases, other actors like the provincial and municipal governments and non-governmental organizations may also be involved. For the purposes of clarity however, we will focus mostly on the policies and more importantly, the programs that the Government of Canada has in place to tackle the major integration issues experienced by newcomers in these areas.

1. HOUSING

There is literally nothing more important to the lived experience of an individual than where they call home. It affects access to employment, education and other social services, and produces (or fails to produce) a sense of place and belonging in a community. For newcomers to Canada this is particularly true for a number of key reasons. First, one of the primary obstacles they must overcome upon arrival to Canada is finding affordable and adequate housing. Secondly, in order to integrate successfully into Canadian society, immigrants need to be connected to transportation routes for education and employment and connected to networks of people to build social capital. A little context will help explain where Canada is at the moment in tackling these twin issues of access and location of housing available to newcomers.

Housing Policy in Canada

Canadian public policy on housing first began after World War II with the establishment of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) in 1946. During the 1960's the federal government became more active in social housing constructing more than 200,000 units and developing policies to respond to affordability and supply concerns (Hulchanski 2002: iii). However, the active federal role in housing was dramatically reversed in the 1980's when federal housing programs were subject to massive cutbacks. By the 1990's, during the Government of Canada's quest to eliminate the budget deficit, the federal government had almost entirely withdrawn from social housing. Correspondingly, the responsibility for social housing was almost entirely delegated to provincial, territorial and municipal governments. To make matters worse, many provincial governments, including Canada's largest province of Ontario, also cut back on housing programs and revoked rent control legislation. (Hulchanski 1997, 2002)

The result was an enormous burden on municipal governments to supply social housing. Municipalities have no Constitutional standing of their own, but rather are regulated by provincial legislation. Accordingly, they lack the ability to raise revenues through any form of taxes except property taxes. In short, the order of government that found itself responsible for social housing did not have the resources to address the problem. Driven by the lack of affordable housing and cuts to social services, by 1999, homelessness was reaching crisis proportions in large and small cities across Canada. In many cities, best illustrated by Calgary, there was the emergence of a new phenomenon: the working homeless. These were people who had jobs, but were unable to find housing they could afford. Some have suggested this is connected to Canada's low rate of non-market social housing: Only 5% of Canadian households live in non-market social housing, compared with 40% in the Netherlands, 22% in the United Kingdom, 15% in France and 2% in the United States (Hulchanski 1997).

Moreover, there is no rent allowance program in Canada, low income renters are either dependent on subsidized housing or must pay rent with their income or social assistance. To add to the crisis the Canada Assistance Plan – the federal transfer payments that constituted the funds for social assistance such as welfare were cut and blended into a general transfer in 1995. Many argue that since this change social services delivered in the provinces such as health and social assistance have been negatively affected (CERIS 2003).

In response to this crisis, the Government of Canada announced the National Homelessness Initiative (NHI), a three-year initiative designed to help ensure community access to programs, services and support for alleviating homelessness in communities located in all provinces and territories. The Government of Canada has renewed the National Homelessness Initiative for an additional three years with an investment of \$405 million. Under this initiative communities will be provided with the supports to further implement measures that assist homeless individuals and families in achieving and maintaining self-sufficiency.

When nearly a quarter of a million newcomers a year are added to this picture, it is hardly surprising that many newcomers experience some difficulty in finding appropriate and affordable housing. The major barriers to finding affordable housing for newcomers are availability of affordable housing, discrimination, a lack of Canadian references, and the concentration of many newcomers in undesirable locations of social housing.

Affordability

As we have already mentioned, the overwhelming flow of newcomers to Canada settle in major cities, with the majority settling in just three: Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Further, Ballay and Bulhuis note, “historically, new immigrants and refugees have often been housed in precarious situations,” but this situation has worsened today to the point where “immigrants and refugees are increasingly falling under the category of absolutely homeless.” This is especially true of refugees and undocumented migrants (2004: 119-123). While the seriousness of the situation is presently most pronounced in Toronto (home to the largest percentage of recent newcomers to Canada), there is concern that this phenomenon could be replicated in other cities receiving increasing numbers of newcomers.

The NHI has begun to focus its attention on the intersection of newcomer status and homelessness. The rates of immigrant and refugee homelessness is difficult to gauge because newcomers are more likely to use temporary solutions such as staying with friends, “short term rentals in illegal or unsafe rooming houses and insecure tenure or living arrangements, or ethnic, religious or family networks” (Hannat 2004). Nevertheless, the NHI has listed newcomers as one of the key areas to be further explored by their research program to ensure that their programs and initiatives meet the needs of newcomers. A number of projects have already been funded in Toronto and Vancouver to explore homelessness among newcomers.

Clearly homelessness is the most desperate of housing circumstances. There are a host of other difficulties experienced by newcomers. According to the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), 62% of immigrants²⁰ did not experience any difficulties finding housing. However, of the remaining 38% almost one third (31%) found housing costs too high (GoC 2003e: 18-19). Perhaps most concerning for policymakers working on immigrant integration, 59% of those immigrants who experienced difficulties reported that they did not receive the assistance required to find a place to live.

Renters and owners are the two largest categories when dealing with housing issues. Each brings their own issues, but in general owning a home costs less than renting one. Ironically, homeowners generally make twice the income of renters, yet renters spend a larger percentage of their income on rent (Hulchanski 1997).

While Canada's record for homeowners is positive, and home ownership has been used as an indicator of the successful integration of newcomers in Canadian research (Ley, D., P. Murphy, et al. 2001, Murdie and Teixeira 1997). Historically, immigrants have had higher rates of homeownership than the Canadian average, but this trend has begun to shift. Although immigrants with longer residence in Canada still maintain relatively high rates of home ownership, the overwhelming majority of more recent immigrants (arrived in the last 10 years) are in the rental sector (GoC 2003e).

This concentration of newcomers in the rental sector is a growing concern especially as the availability of affordable housing has diminished. CMHC states that the cost of shelter should not exceed 30% of household income. Yet it was reported in 1999 that over half of renters in Ontario pay too much rent. Alarming, poverty is also increasingly concentrated amongst five high-risk groups: female-headed lone-parent families with a poverty rate of 61%; families headed by a disabled person (56%); recent immigrants (64% for individuals who arrived after 1989); Aboriginals (44% for Aboriginals living off reserve); and, senior women living alone (53%). Meanwhile, a report by the National Homelessness Initiative reports that 20% of all immigrants are struggling with household costs (17% national average) and 39% of recent immigrants are struggling (Hannat 2004).

Discrimination and Lack of Canadian References

To compound the problem of affordability, many newcomers also face discrimination in access to housing. Discrimination based on family size, source of income (public assistance), and/or language compound racial and cultural discrimination. In addition to problems of affordability and discrimination, 38% of

²⁰ This number excludes refugees and refugee claimants, the later being over represented in the use of homeless shelters mentioned above.

newcomers are unable to find adequate housing because they have no Canadian guarantor, credit history or housing references (Hulchanski 1997). Interestingly, the Centre for Equality Rights in Accommodation (CERA), a provincial coalition that advocates for the rights of those with low incomes, successfully argued that demands for references from newcomers is unfair discrimination. On behalf of a family of newcomers from Bangladesh, CERA fought the Ontario Municipal Board to make it illegal for landlords to demand credit histories from newcomers. This family had faced years of harassment by landlords who requested unfair requests for the name of previous landlords, credit histories and references.

Location and Residential Concentration

As geographer Brian Ray points out “Given the societal importance attached to housing and neighbourhoods, the question of where immigrants live, and the potential interactions they have with neighbours, provides a window of opportunity to examine somewhat large questions of social, cultural and economic integration.” (Ray 1999:66). According to LSIC, over 50% of immigrants chose their destination in Canada because they had family or friends living there

Thus, many newcomers appear to choose to settle in neighbourhoods where other family or cultural members reside. However, others are forced into living in certain neighbourhoods due to the lack of affordable housing in other areas. The phenomenon in which certain ethnocultural groups dominate neighbourhoods, either because of choice or financial and other pressures, is referred to by a wide range of terms including ethnic enclaves, residential segregation, residential concentration and, more grimly, “environmental racism.”²¹

Residential concentration, which can facilitate the integration process by providing a social network for newcomers, can also be highly detrimental to integration when coupled with poverty, meager social services and stereotyping. In the wake of the 2001 Census a report by Statistics Canada on residential concentrations (Hou and Picot 2004) led to an extensive debate in the public press. When the Metropolis interdepartmental committee met to discuss it in July 2004, the majority of federal departments expressed concern only in so far, as the concentrations correlated with poor economic outcomes. There was a great deal of skepticism that increased concentrations were indicators of a breakdown in integration. Instead, it was suggested that further research was necessary to understand what outcomes flow from residential concentrations and what impacts these concentrations will have on policy and programs. For example, recent research by Heisz and Schellenberg find that newcomers are larger users of public transportation even when controlling for age, gender, income, distance to work, and distance between place of residence and the city center. This leads them to conclude that future

²¹ Preston noted at the 5th International Metropolis Conference in Vancouver that “Environmental racism entrenches the advantages of the dominant racial group at the expense of minorities, while residential segregation heightens the marginalisation of minorities by confining them to marginal spaces” (Preston 2000).

public transit needs must take this demographic shift (immigrants are the largest source of population growth) into account (2004: 187-8).

Housing Services Provided to Newcomers

The federal government provides direct financial assistance to those newcomers, primarily government assisted refugees and a few other special cases, who qualify for RAP (Resettlement Assistance Program) which includes public housing and welfare. Beyond that, many newcomers, depending on their income, qualify for social housing or subsidized housing that is most often provided by municipalities. This is not without its difficulties. For example, in the case of Ottawa, 70% of social housing is occupied by recent immigrants with priority given to those who have been here less than one year in theory. In practice although, the waiting list is 5-8 years. This has not gone unnoticed: The United Way in Ottawa highlighted housing as the most important issue for the city to tackle in its 2004 report entitled *Ottawa: A City of Change, Emerging Needs and Growing Disparities* (2004) and has lobbied for change.

Due to the lack of social housing, the Prime Minister's Task force on Urban Issues called for a national affordable housing program as part of the new deal for municipalities(2001a). In the 2001 *Speech from the Throne* indicated the Government of Canada would help stimulate the creation of more affordable rental housing. The federal/provincial/territorial housing ministers met twice to finalize details of an affordable housing initiative that would address the needs and priorities of individual jurisdictions while meeting the goal of increasing the supply of affordable housing. Led by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the final framework was formalized on November 30, 2001 and includes the following:

- Provinces and territories have the primary responsibility for design and housing program delivery;
- Provinces and territories require flexible programs to address their housing needs;
- The initiative needs to create affordable housing for low to moderate income households and;
- Units funded will remain affordable for a minimum of 10 years.
- Provinces and territories will be required to match federal contributions overall

To date bilateral agreements have been signed with British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nova Scotia and Manitoba.

While there is a general consensus that access to affordable and appropriate housing is the key issue that must be addressed to assist newcomers as they integrate into Canadian society, there is a need for further knowledge on the exact

contours of these issues, and on what kinds of interventions are likely to be most successful. To this end, there are several research initiatives underway in Canada that are examining the obstacles newcomers face in accessing housing. For example, Housing New Canadians²² is a research partnership focused on housing access and discrimination in the Toronto area, where almost half of all newcomers to Canada settle. The research projects examine: the nature of the housing search process used by immigrants and refugees, the quality, adequacy and cost of the housing they obtain, the degree to which their housing needs are being met, and the nature and extent of any housing-related discrimination. The Metropolis project also has a research domain on housing at most centers of excellence and their researchers are actively engaged with both CMHC and the NHI to explore housing issues that impact newcomers, including a project underway on housing data in LSIC..

²²**Housing New Canadians** <http://www.hnc.utoronto.ca/intro/index.htm>

2. LABOUR

Canadian immigration policy has long been focused on the economic benefits of immigration. Recently, this connection has come under renewed scrutiny (Burstein 2003). Prior to the 1980s, levels of immigration had fluctuating depending upon the state of the economy. The basic thought was that the integration of newcomers would largely look after itself provided that the Government of Canada carefully watched demand for new labour and adjusted immigration levels and the preferred occupational categories accordingly (Pendakur 2000).

A major shift in thinking in the mid-1980s decoupled immigration levels from the economy's performance, the result has been a more or less consistent in-flow of nearly a quarter of a million newcomers per year (Annex 1). This change has forced a closer examination of labour market outcomes of newcomers. As a result, with the new immigration act, *the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002)*, immigration applications are based more on human capital characteristics (language, education levels and adaptability) than the previous selection criteria (Tolley 2003).

It may yet be too early to tell if these new selection criteria will result in better labour market outcomes for newcomers. What we do know, however, is that the cohort of newcomers that arrived since the late 1980s is faring much less well than their predecessors. For example, a recent study by Picot and Hou found that the rise in low-income rates in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, as well as in Ontario and B.C. during the 1990s was heavily concentrated among newcomers. In fact nearly half (47%) of recent newcomers live in poverty (2003).

As troubling as this rising poverty level is, the most disturbing finding is, as Biles and Burstein observe, "the decline in the explanatory power of labour market factors. Instead, it would appear that an increasing component of the decline in earnings is statistically attributable to where immigrants originate" (2003: 14). One way or another this appears to link back to language ability, credentialing issues, requirements for Canadian experience and racism and discrimination.

Thus, access to employment is one of the major challenges facing immigrants in Canada today. Statistics Canada reports in their Labour Market Entry Survey (GoC 2001b) that 70.3% of new immigrants found it difficult to enter the labour market. Moreover, since most immigrants have difficulty finding work, many are forced to find alternative low-paying jobs - According to LSIC data, 60% of new immigrants worked in a different field than they had before arriving in Canada.

The most critical hurdles to employment recorded by LSIC are a lack of Canadian experience, the recognition of foreign credentials, and official language acquisition. Seventy percent of respondents looking for work reported at least one difficulty with the process – 26% reported a lack of Canadian experience, 24% accreditation, and 22% language skills as the primary reason for the difficulty (GoC 2003e: 33-34).

It is extremely unlikely that discrimination does not enter into the picture in the employment difficulties of newcomers, especially when newcomers from Africa found work only 38% of the time, versus 49% for those from Asia (GoC 2003e: 28). Similarly, those immigrants from the United States or Oceania (Australia, New Zealand) were able to find work in the same field 63 and 68 percent of the time while the same was true of only 33% of those from Asia and the Middle East and 36% of those from Africa (GoC 2003e: 30).

This impression is further magnified when exploring results from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) that found discrimination and unfair treatment were most likely to be reported to have occurred in the workplace. Fifty-six percent of those reporting discrimination reported it in the workplace versus 35% in the next most common location – store, bank or restaurant (GoC 2003d: 24). Twenty percent of visible minorities reported discrimination often over the previous five years, and an additional 15% reported it rarely occurred. Within the category of visible minority, 32% of Blacks, 21% of South Asians and 18% of Chinese reported discrimination (GoC 2003d: 21).

Accreditation

Without question, the labour market barrier for newcomers that has captured public and policy attention is foreign credential recognition. Everyone has a story about their taxi driver with a medical degree from another country who could not practice in Canada. The degree of outrage that Canadians feel on this subject is almost palpable. Apart from the incompatibility of this outcome with the equality ethos of the Canadian “model,” there are also hard-nosed self interest reasons for this raised level of concern. Sociologist Jeff Reitz found in his research on the subject that the under-utilization of immigrant skills cost the Canadian economy \$2.4 billion/per year (Reitz 2001: 347-378).

Despite this overwhelming will to address the problem, action has been difficult to notice because it tends to be on such a small scale and appears to be poorly co-ordinated²³. Canadian government researcher Fernando Mata (1999) breaks down the problem in the following way:

- 1) there is no national body responsible for the recognition of foreign degrees, professional accreditation and licensing;
- 2) Canadian professional associations, who are the sole "accreditors" within the Canadian system, often lack the necessary information on both education systems abroad and work experience equivalencies;
- 3) educational and occupational standards vary by province and occupational characteristics of the labour market and;

²³ One non-governmental agency reported that the only organization that appears to have a well co-ordinated approach is Ontario's Access to Trades and Professions.

4) each Canadian province and territory has a different standard of setting educational qualifications, training and certification of professionals.

As a result, each set of qualifications in each jurisdiction must be tackled separately. Nevertheless, tremendous impetus for tackling foreign credential recognition was provided by a national conference funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Human Resources Development Canada in October 1999. The conference entitled “Shaping the Future: Qualification Recognition in the 21st Century” brought 500 participants from the federal government, provincial governments, and professional associations together to focus on moving this file forward.

The lead for foreign credential recognition lies with Human Resources Skills Development Canada and they fund a range of organizations to work on the issue. For example, in May 2004 HRSDC announced funding of \$1.8million for the Self-Assessment Tool project by the Medical Council of Canada; the International Engineering Graduates: From Consideration to Integration project by the Canadian Council of Professional Engineers; the Diagnostic for the National Assessment of International Nurse Applicants project by the Canadian Nurses Association; and the immigration survey and roundtables project by the Public Policy Forum (HRSDC 2004).

A number of other federal departments have also worked with various professional bodies to tackle foreign credential recognition. For example, according to their 2002/03 annual report, the multiculturalism program at Canadian Heritage did fund two related projects in 2002/03:

Policy Development Roundtable on the Integration of Internationally Trained Professionals and Tradespeople. The Ontario-based Council of Agencies Serving South Asians is creating a mechanism to facilitate community-based input to government policy development in the area of foreign credential recognition. The mechanism will support research and development on policies and programs for recognizing foreign credentials and integrating internationally trained professionals and trades people into the labour market.

BC Network of Associations for Foreign Trained Professionals. The Surrey Delta Immigrant Services Society, MOSAIC BC and the Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia have undertaken a project to strengthen the involvement of ethnocultural groups in five British Columbia communities in policy development related to the recognition of foreign credentials. They aim to connect these communities with regulatory bodies and to facilitate the establishment of associations and networks of foreign-trained professionals.

Most SPOs offer guidance to newcomers on how to obtain recognition for their education or professional experience in Canada. This includes explaining the different regulations put out by particular provinces and professional organizations.

A key non-governmental organization is the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC). CICIC collects, organizes, and distributes information, and acts as a national clearing house and referral service to support the recognition and portability of Canadian and international educational and occupational qualifications. It is funded by both HRSDC and the Council of Minister of Education.

According to Mata (1999), provincial provinces, licensing bodies, post-secondary universities, and the federal government are working to rectify this problem by:

- 1) reviewing the accreditation barriers in specific professions and standard requirements for certification/licensing;
- 2) setting-up information/data bases on international credentials and other information networks;
- 3) providing foreign credentials referral and evaluation services;
- 4) providing financial support to help accreditation applicants with their retraining costs and other logistical aspects of the accreditation process (exams, fees, books, etc.);
- 5) creating jobs which to provide applicants with the necessary Canadian experience demanded by the practice of their professional tasks;
- 6) improving the access to academic equivalency services and to obtaining academic credit for foreign degrees/experience.

Language

A second major barrier to newcomer participation in the labour force is language. It has not received the national profile that accreditation has received, and happily it is at least a little easier to grapple with and it falls primarily within the mandate of CIC, although it also has implications on school boards.

LSIC leaves no doubt that language skills matter. For example LSIC results indicate that 52% of those immigrants between 25 and 44 who reported official language skills were employed versus only 33% who reported no knowledge of either language (2003e: 28). Equally telling, 40% of those with official language skills worked in the same field as they had prior to immigration. This was true of only a quarter of those without official language skills (2003e: 30).

Unlike accreditation, language skills and training largely falls into CIC's sphere of influence. Tightening of selection criteria to accord more priority to those principle

applicants with skills in one or both of Canada's official languages, and also providing points to those applicants whose spouse also speaks one or both of the languages was an attempt to minimize this barrier to employment. This also fits well with the stated objective of the new immigration act to help enhance official language minority populations across the country, especially francophone minorities, by actively pursuing francophone migrants.

Finally, CIC has also recently sought and obtained additional resources for enhanced language training. This additional \$20million/year will fund pilot projects to ascertain whether occupation-specific language training helps diminish this barrier to labour market participation.

The other two barriers identified by LSIC and the EDS as barriers to labour market participation, Canadian experience and discrimination, have been much more difficult to address. For one thing, the research data available on both is sketchy and often only anecdotal in nature.

Canadian Experience

The requirement for Canadian experience that often bars newcomers from employment is especially pronounced among the better educated newcomers, and may well have been exacerbated by the revised selection criteria. A solution to this obstacle is almost as difficult to envision as a comprehensive solution to foreign credential recognition. It would need to involve all levels of government, non-governmental organizations, and most critically, the private sector. There are a few shining examples that we can consider in this area.

For example, the Internationally Trained Workers Project (ITWP) mentioned earlier encourages businesses and employers to sponsor work experience programs such as internships, job shadowing, mentorship programs, and to develop workplace language programs.

Another good example is the Toronto City Summit Alliance (a coalition of 40 civic leaders from the private, labour and voluntary and public sectors in the Toronto Region) that issued a report in April 2003 entitled *Enough Talk: An action Plan for the Toronto Region*. The report noted that "Government support for immigrants is focused on their initial needs, such as basic shelter, orientation and language instruction. But immigrants also face significant barriers to entering the labour market . . . In order to capitalize on the advantages of immigration, we need to improve our ability to address the second stage needs of immigrants to speed up their entry into the labour market in jobs that are appropriate to the education and skills they bring" (Toronto City Summit Alliance 2003: 19-22). Not content to merely call for change, the Toronto City Summit Alliance committed to establishing a Toronto Region Council for Immigrant Employment. This council, to be comprised of private, voluntary, labour and public sector leaders, would foster a

coordinated and collaborative approach to integrating newcomers. TRIEC was established in September 2003 with the financial support from the Maytree Foundation, Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Canadian Heritage. Its first effort was to establish an internship program called "Career Bridge." Funded by the Ontario provincial government, it has already placed forty newcomers (Alboim and McIsaac 2004).

As a last resort, many newcomers are encouraged to volunteer in their fields in order to gain Canadian experience. Volunteer work is an excellent way to gain Canadian experience, Canadian references, new job skills, and obtain job leads. A growing number of employers accept volunteering as a valid part of work history. The problems with this approach include the exploitation of newcomer labour, failure to obtain secure employment, and the possibility that some employers will not recognize volunteer experience as valid work expense.

Discrimination

The last of the major barriers, and perhaps the most difficult to measure is discrimination. Discrimination is not a widespread problem in Canada – 90% of respondents to the Ethnic Diversity Survey reported no or rare experiences with discrimination (GoC 2003d: 19). Sadly, this is not the case for visible minorities: Thirty five percent of visible minorities reported some experience with discrimination often over the previous five years (2003d: 21).

There are a number of means to measure discrimination, although the most common is to control for all possible variables (age, gender, education, experience etc) and then to attribute the residual to discrimination. A common means to accomplish this is through a study of wage gaps between the "mainstream" and the minority members of society. For example, according to the research by Pendakur and Pendakur (1995) based on census data from 1991 "there exist large earnings disparities between whites and visible minorities in Canada." They go on to argue that this disparity is can not solely be based on the fact that many visible minorities in Canada are immigrants and face language skill and other barriers, because Canadian born visible minorities make less then non-visible minority Canadian born population.

A second is to research the hiring process. There are very few studies on this area due to the tricky ethical nature of the work. However, the most cited study done by Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg entitled "Who Gets the Work" found serious disparities between the experiences of white and black candidates applying for the same job with the same credentials (Henry and Ginzberg 1985).

A third mechanism for measuring discrimination, and the one employed by the EDS, is to ask individuals if they feel they were discriminated against in the process. Unfortunately, there is some difficulties with this as an objective measure.

In general, governments have deployed a number of means to tackle discrimination in the labour market. The most prominent of these is employment equity that was laid out in section II above. A second strategy is through the use of public awareness campaigns to alert individuals in positions of power to the possible systemic barriers and prejudices that may impact on their hiring processes. The third mechanism is recourse through human rights tribunals and through the judicial process.

None of these processes are entirely satisfactory. Government programs run by Canadian Heritage, Human Resources Skills Development Canada, and Status of Women continue to fund non-governmental organizations to create capacity within communities that face these barriers so that they can more effectively encourage institutional change. In addition, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF), an arms length foundation established by the Government of Canada to combat racism, has done a great deal to shine a light on this under-explored area and to press for change.

Finally, governments also fund research that continues to explore how racism and discrimination play out in Canadian society. It is only through this knowledge that change will become possible. As part of *Canada's Action Plan Against Racism*, the government will monitor unemployment rates, participation rates, wage gaps, and job concentrations of minorities in the Canadian labour market. This initiative will be co-led by Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Human Resources Skills Development Canada.

3. EDUCATION

Education is widely viewed as one of the most important elements of human capital, especially for the integration of newcomers. Indeed, the Government of Canada is so convinced of this, that when it revised the selection criteria for immigrants as part of the new regulations accompanying the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (2002), that more points were awarded to those applicants with higher levels of education.

While it is still too early to tell if these new criteria will result in better outcomes for primary class applicants, especially labour market outcomes, we do know from LSIC that newcomers, especially spouses and dependants of the primary class (75%) and refugees (79%) do intend to pursue further education and training (GoC 2003e: 23). This intention appears to have been quickly acted upon: Within six months 45% of all immigrants and refugees admitted to Canada between October 2000 and September 2001 had already pursued some form of education, including language training (2003e: 24).

When asked about barriers to education, 40% reported at least one problem: 27% reported language barriers; 25% reported difficulties in financing their training; 11% cited unavailability of courses; 9% cited time; and 8% reported non-acceptance of foreign qualifications (GoC 2003e: 25). As in the case of labour market participation, country of origin played a part. Newcomers from Asia and the Middle East found language barriers to be the greatest obstacle (32%) and the cost of training was reported most often by newcomers from Africa (32%) (2003e: 26).

In Canada, education is a provincial responsibility meaning that each of the ten provinces have their own educational systems that include primary, secondary, and post-secondary education. The federal government provides funding for schools in northern Canada, on First Nations' reserves, prisons, and for post secondary education. Although education is a difficult policy terrain for governments, especially the federal government to negotiate, many sectors of Canadian society such as municipalities, the federal government, and non-governmental organizations are active in public education campaigns, curricula development, job training and official language instruction. In fact, education scholar Reva Joshee (1995) demonstrates that the Government of Canada has been actively engaged in citizenship education since the end of the Second World War.

The most recent articulation of federal policy vis-à-vis education came in the two policy papers laying out Canada's innovation strategy (*Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians* and *Achieving Excellence: Investing in People, Knowledge and Opportunity*). These two documents very firmly place newcomers front-and-center in the Government of Canada's plans to foster an innovative economy and society. The emphasis in *Knowledge Matters* is placed on four primary strategies: building a foundation for lifelong learning for children and youth;

strengthening accessibility and excellence in post-secondary education; building a world class workforce; and helping immigrants achieve their full potential.

Education and Newcomers

The two milestones that the Government of Canada set as targets for newcomers and education in *Knowledge Matters* were to ensure that by 2010, 65% of newcomers have post-secondary education (up from 58% in 2000) and to reduce the income gap between newcomers and the Canadian-born with similar education by 50% (53).

Obviously the first, and arguably the easiest, means to increase the education level of newcomers is to alter the selection criteria. As we have mentioned above, this was done with the new immigration act in 2002, we shall see if it continues the trend laid out in the table below.

	1999		2000		2001	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
EDUCATION²⁴						
0 to 9 years of schooling	22,483	15.26	26,506	15.05	28,223	14.61
10 to 12 years of schooling	27,856	18.90	31,599	17.94	32,708	16.94
13 or more years of schooling	12,469	8.46	15,763	8.95	16,906	8.75
Trade certificate	11,159	7.57	9,730	5.52	9,196	4.76
Non-university diploma	13,395	9.09	15,096	8.57	18,084	9.36
Bachelor's degree	43,943	29.82	56,969	32.34	66,013	34.18
Master's degree	13,133	8.91	17,294	9.82	18,467	9.56
Doctorate	2,931	1.99	3,215	1.82	3,523	1.82
Total	147,369	100	176,172	100	193,120	100

A further commitment of the Government of Canada is found in *Achieving Excellence* where it commits to significantly improve Canada's performance in the recruitment of foreign talent, including foreign students (60).

To this end Citizenship and Immigration Canada has made a number of policy changes that facilitate the retention of some of the more than 130,000 students

²⁴ CIC Facts and Figures 2001, (<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2001/1imm-06.html>)

who come to study in Canada every year²⁵. For example, some graduating students may apply to work in Canada for up to a year after graduation. Provided they have a job offer from an employer for a job that is related to their studies. Prior to this, students had to apply for work permits from outside of the country²⁶.

In addition, Citizenship and Immigration Canada recognizes that the key to an effective and dynamic foreign student program is in strong partnerships with provincial education authorities, institutions and educational organizations. For this reason, CIC created the Advisory Committee on International Students and Immigration (ACISI) in 1995, bringing together essential stakeholders in international education. In consultation with this committee, CIC has made many enhancements in student processing procedures, such as longer validity study permits, where feasible and practicable.

Official Language Acquisition

The largest barrier to further education and training cited by newcomers in LSIC was language (27% of respondents). This did not come as a surprise to Citizenship and Immigration. In fact, official language acquisition and proficiency is the central priority in Canadian integration policy. As we have mentioned earlier, language is not just an essential element of human capital in accessing education and training, is key to their successful integration as it impacts access to employment, housing, as well as many other services. This is echoed by Rosaline Frith, Director General of the Integration Branch at Citizenship and Immigration Canada, when she observes that “Basic language training helps newcomers face the challenges of becoming involved in their communities, in participating in their children’s schooling, in feeling that Canada is truly their home” (Frith 2003: 36).

In 2001 it was reported that 44% of newcomers had no ability in either official language. As a result, changes to *IRPA* accord more priority to linguistic skills of both the principle applicant and their spouse. Nevertheless, CIC anticipates that language acquisition will continue to be a key priority to assist in the integration process. The principle program for addressing this is Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC).

²⁵ “Canada has experienced unprecedented growth in the number of foreign students in recent years. At the end of 2001, there were over 130,000 foreign students in Canada, rising from almost 57,000 in 1990 and 37,000 in 1980. The principal source countries for foreign students are increasingly concentrated in the East Asian region, including South Korea, China, Japan and Hong Kong. In 2001, these countries accounted for 43 percent of foreign students studying in Canada” (Chona Iturralde and Colleen Calvert 2003).

²⁶ An added benefit to this change is expected to be the increasing retention of newcomers outside of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. This component of the regionalization strategy is premised upon the belief that if the foreign students become permanent residents in smaller communities surrounding Canadian universities, they will eventually sponsor their families and will begin chain migration processes that will make smaller communities more appealing for further immigrants.

LINC funds basic language instruction in one of Canada's official languages to adult immigrants as soon as possible after their arrival. The program provides funding to service provider organizations (SPOs) that offer language instruction to adult immigrants for up to three years from the time they start training. Each SPO must meet certain guidelines and benchmarks outlined by the program. A common criticism with this program is that most of the training is for basic level English or French and most immigrants need advance or employment specific language training in order to access employment. It was estimated that the Government of Canada spent 100.4 million on LINC in 2002-2003.

In addition, the Government of Canada launched the Enhanced Language Training (ELT) initiative in 2003 to provide higher levels of language training, including job-specific language training in Canada's two official languages. ELT will also provide bridge-to-work assistance, including mentoring, work placement and other assistance in accessing the labour market. ELT will help immigrants and refugees reach their potential and acquire a sense of belonging by enabling them to participate fully and effectively in Canada's social, economic, cultural and political life. The initiative will help immigrants find and keep jobs they are qualified for more easily and quickly. The program was expanded in 2004 to reach up to 20,000 new immigrants a year in need of higher levels of language training. This commitment is matched by an additional \$20 million/year to be spent through cost-sharing partnerships with provinces, territories, municipalities, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, employers and educational institutions. For example, in 2003–2004, Citizenship and Immigration Canada entered into cost-sharing agreements with partners to fund 43 projects at a cost of \$1.5 million. These projects will help immigrants acquire the language skills they need to pursue careers in fields such as nursing, engineering, policing, customer service, and administrative assistance, or to manage a small business or become entrepreneurs.

Public Schools & Multicultural/Intercultural/Anti-racist Education

Issues surrounding cost, availability and time cited by newcomers as major barriers to education and training on LSIC are shared equally with the Canadian-born seeking further education and training. In Canada, all children regardless if their parents are immigrants, refugees, citizens or foreign nationals, have the right to attend public schools²⁷. This universal access to schools in Canada means that the school is a powerful site of integration for newcomers. As Rosaline Frith points out the "Canadian school system also plays a significant role in teaching and modeling active citizenship both for children and for the parents of those children" (Frith 2003: 35). This overall integration of all members of society, only works if the public school system remains healthy. For example some issues that

²⁷ Refugee protection claimants are eligible to apply for student authorization so that they can attend school while waiting for a decision on their claims. Minor children of foreign nationals are automatically eligible to attend school.

have not been addressed well in research or in practice are the “flight of the native born to suburbs and exurbs, public financing of private ethnic or ethno-religious schools, ethno-specific schools within public school systems” (Weinfeld 1998).

Depending on the province and school board where the school is located, most schools in Canada have incorporated, to some degree, a multicultural, intercultural or anti-racist approach to teaching and the curricula. These approaches tackle issues such as an inclusive and reflective curriculum, teaching materials and teachers, awareness and agreement to combat racism in schools, and sensitivity to the differing educational achievement patterns of different students.

The Government of Canada, particularly Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Canadian Heritage create and fund educational materials for use by instructors in the education system. Recent materials include:

Cultivating Peace in the 21st Century, funded by Canadian Heritage and Citizenship and Immigration Canada, provides teachers, students and parents with meaningful learning materials that promote conflict resolution, understanding and the value of peace in the aftermath of the September 11 tragedy.

My Commitment to Canada, for youth in grades 7 to 10, which stimulates thinking and debate about citizenship.

Passages to Canada, is a project of the Dominion Institute that includes a speakers bureau and web pages that explore first-hand stories of immigration and on the immigrant experience in Canada.

Two of the larger initiatives are CIC’s Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS) program and Canadian Heritage’s March 21 program:

SWIS is seeing great success in the province of Ontario. It is a partnership of SPOs, school boards and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The goal of this program is to assist newcomer students and their families settle in their school and community by having settlement workers assisting newly arrived families to access services and resources in the school and community that are available to them. This program came about because schools are often the first service accessed by newcomers and it is easy to find the families. The worker will explain the educational system to the family as well as how to access other services.

The March 21 Campaign was initiated in response to the need to heighten awareness of the harmful effects of racism on a national scale and to demonstrate clearly the commitment and leadership of the federal government to foster respect, equality and diversity. For more than ten years, the March 21 Campaign has mobilized youth across Canada to rise up and to take a stand against racism. Every year, to mark the International Day for the Elimination of Racial

Discrimination, numerous activities aiming to raise public awareness on the issue of racism take place across Canada. *The Racism. Stop It* National Video Competition is one of the means by which the federal government leads the fight against racism and mobilizes thousands of youth across Canada to rise up and take a stand against racism.

Life Long Learning and Citizenship Education

Through its innovations agenda, the Government of Canada has committed itself to enhancing the capacity of all Canadians, including newcomers, to a path of life long learning. A key delivery vehicle for this commitment is the Canadian Learning Institute to be developed under the aegis of Social Development Canada. The institute's mandate will encompass information about learning at all stages of life, ranging from early childhood development, through work life and beyond. It will provide a single mechanism that will help coordinate and bring coherence to learning information.

To that end, the institute will report regularly on Canada's progress in learning outcomes, and publish and disseminate key findings on what works; and support the testing and analysis for innovation approaches to learning and research on best practices, in order to understand and build consensus on what works and what doesn't. The institute will respect jurisdiction, co-ordinate information and not duplicate any existing activities by government or third party organizations. It will work in close partnership with Statistics Canada, provinces and territories, and other stakeholders, working through existing mechanisms that promote co-operation in research. It will operate as an independent, arm's length organization; representative of stakeholders and learning decision makers, such as: provinces and territories, educational institutions and organizations, as well as employers and labour (Social Development 2002).

4. RELATIONS OF NEWCOMERS WITH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Canadian “model” of shared citizenship or diversity is premised upon all citizens being able to participate fully in the social, economic, cultural and political facets of societal life. As we have seen in earlier sections, key areas in this regard, especially for newcomers, are the housing and labour markets.

There are, however, a full range of other areas worthy of exploration. These areas include civic participation, interactions with the justice system, and the ability to access social services, such as the health care system. We will explore each of these areas below in some detail, but for a broader overview of the activities of the entire government at the federal level, the annual report on the functioning of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* is an invaluable resource²⁸.

Just as in the cases of housing, education and labour market participation, it is clear that there is work to be done in the fields of civic participation, justice, and health. Certainly in the cases of civic participation and newcomer/minority interactions with the justice system, the very credibility and legitimacy of the Canadian “model” is challenged. It is equally hard to imagine an area that is more central to the Canadian approach than health care provision to all citizens.²⁹

4.1. Civic Participation

Civic participation is a perennial concern in any liberal democracy. Until relatively recently Canadians were proud of strong voter turnouts in general elections. However, in the last two general elections voter turnout has dropped precipitously and the Government of Canada has taken notice. A discourse about democratic deficit has arisen and various agencies have pledged to ensure that citizens become more active in their own governance. For example, in the 2004 *Speech from the Throne* the government addressed this issue in the very first section of the speech entitled “Changing the Way Things Work in Ottawa.” A central theme was the need to “re-engage citizens in Canada’s political life.” To accomplish this, the government pledged to significantly enhance the role of all Members of Parliament to “make Parliament what it was intended to be – a place where Canadians can see and hear their views debated and their interests heard. In short, “a place where they can have an influence on the policies that effect their lives” (GoC 2004d: 3-4).

²⁸ We have not chosen to feature the culture element in this equation, not because it is not important, but because it is less tangible than the specific sites of integration explored here. Cultural inclusion and participation of newcomers and minorities is critical to the over all environment within which integration takes place.

²⁹ Healthcare is frequently rated in opinion polls as one of the top things that make Canada distinct. As such, it is seen as integral to the Canadian identity.

Unfortunately, research by political scientist Jerome Black (2002) over the last three Parliaments suggests that Parliament is not very representative of all Canadians, in fact, newcomers and visible minorities are significantly under-represented³⁰.

The news is equally discouraging in Canadian cities. Work by a network of Metropolis Project researchers, the Political Participation Network³¹, has found that newcomers and minorities are, in general, under represented in elected positions in all three levels of government in all of Canada's major cities (Biles and Tolley 2004, Bird 2004, Garcea 2004, Siemiatycki and Saloojee 2002, Simard 2004)³².

The Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) asked a battery of questions on civic participation and many of its results are quite illustrative. For example, newcomers who arrived prior to 1961 reported a voting rate of 92% compared to those who arrived since 1991 who reported a turnout rate of 53% (GoC 2003d: 18). While detailed analysis of difference across minority communities have yet to be fully explored, Multiculturalism Program researcher Jodey Derouin does observe in a recent article that the level of voter turnout is lower for Asians, and nearly as high as the national average for Filipinos and East Indians (2004: 60).

There are certainly other means to participate in societal discussions and to influence the rules by which all Canadians agree to live, but there is little doubt that holding elected office is the most high profile and has the most direct link to high level political discourse. It is not yet clear whether this under-representation is a result of discrimination or other factors like length of residency in Canada, geographic distribution, socio-economic status or cultural propensities to run for office. Regardless of the reasons behind the under representation, this key indicator of civic participation is worth watching to gauge the success of long-term integration of newcomers.

Another means to participate in shaping Canadian policies and programs is to work for the public service. The *Employment Equity Act* that we have mentioned in a number of places, does not directly capture the number of newcomers working for the public service. It does, however, include visible minorities among the equity groups, thus capturing a large percentage of newcomers to Canada over the last thirty years. According to the 2001 Census, visible minorities comprised 13.4% of the Canadian population, while the Annual Report to Parliament on Employment Equity for 2002-03 notes, 7.4% of the federal public service report visible minority status (an increase from 6.8% the previous year) (GoC 2004f). Clearly progress is being made, just as it is on elected officials, but it is uneven and slow.

³⁰ Representation improved between elections in 1993 and 1997, but dipped in the 2000 election (Black 2002). We are still awaiting results from the 2004 general election.

³¹ <http://canada.metropolis.net/research-policy/pprn-pub/index.html>

³² There are exceptions to this rule with Italians and Jews for example being over represented in Toronto, but on the whole newcomers and visible minorities are under-represented, as are women.

A third means to participate is through civil society organizations. The EDS found that newcomers are more likely to participate in voluntary organizations after they have become more established in Canada. 34% of newcomers arriving in the 1990s, 37% of those arriving in the 1980s, 41% of those arriving before 1981, and 49% of second-generation immigrants reported participating in at least one group or organization in the previous year, compared to 48% for those of third or more generations (GoC 2003d: 15-16). Not surprisingly, 6% of newcomers participated in ethnic or immigrant associations, versus 2% for the second generation and 1% for the third plus generation (GoC 2003d: 17). Not enough work has been done in this area to ascertain the impact on civic participation, although initiatives like the Voluntary Sector Initiative, especially projects like the Settlement Sector initiative have made a difference.³³

The simple bottom line on civic participation is that newcomers and minorities remain under-represented in the processes by which the Canadian social contract is (re)negotiated on a regular basis as part of our shared citizenship approach. This is clearly not a desirable state of affairs and as a result programs and departments like the Multiculturalism Program, Status of Women Canada, Human Resources Skills Development Canada and the Integration Branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada continue to provide support for capacity building projects in these communities.

4.2. Justice

The importance of this lack of representation becomes absolutely critical when turning to the interactions of newcomers with the justice system especially in the era of suspicion following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. This system operates effectively only with the consent of the governed: The expense of enforcement should the majority of the population not acquiesce and voluntarily follow the law is untenable in both a fiscal and a moral sense in a democracy.

Equitable outcomes in the justice system are an important indicator of integration of newcomers in Canada. On the newcomer side of the equation, positive integration would suggest no greater involvement with the justice system than the Canadian-born. On the other side of the two-way street that is the hallmark of Canadian integration policy, Canadian justice institutions should be treating newcomers equitably and this important group of Canadians should be equally represented within the institutions charged with administering justice in Canada.

³³ The Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI) is an undertaking between the Government of Canada and the voluntary sector to enhance their relationship and strengthen the sector's capacity. Over the five year initiative they are working together to address issues including funding practices, policy dialogue, technology, volunteerism and research about the sector. One of the projects funded under this initiative was the Settlement Project – a project that brought all of the SPOs together with CIC to develop a meaningful dialogue on settlement policy in Canada. On-going working groups have been developed following two national conferences that brought stakeholders together.

Newcomers in Conflict with the Law

Critics of immigration often contend that among a multitude of societal ills caused or exacerbated by immigrants is elevated levels of crime. This assertion poses an interesting research challenge in Canada as race or country of origin based statistics are not recorded on a national level as they are in the United Kingdom and other countries. The result is an incomplete picture based on smaller scale research projects or on particular elements of the justice system.

Nevertheless, a number of these studies are quite informative and do shed light on the integration of newcomers vis-à-vis the justice system. For example, a study commissioned by Citizenship and Immigration Canada explored the representation of newcomers in the federal correctional system. The study found that newcomers, with a few notable exceptions³⁴ are under-represented in a substantial manner (Schellenberg 1999). Another study by criminologist Matthew Yeager finds that even those newcomers who must receive a ministerial permit to enter the country³⁵, re-offend at a rate of only 2.5%, and of this percentage the majority are low-level conflicts with the legal system that are resolved in acquittals, diversions or lower-range sanctions (Yeager 2002). Finally, a recent panel of experts convened as part of the Metropolis Conversation series found that despite media reports to the contrary, newcomer youth are no more likely to participate in youth gangs than “mainstream” or Canadian-born youth.

Canadian Justice Institutions and Newcomers

The interactions of newcomers with different aspects of the justice system have been a long standing concern for Canada’s immigrant and refugee communities. Many newcomer communities, academics and settlement workers have expressed concerns regarding the tenuous relationship that newcomers have with the police, courts and immigration officials and believe that this relationship has a profound impact on the integration experience of immigrants. Allegations of discrimination and mistreatment by local law enforcement representatives ranging from racial profiling to police brutality, particularly against racial and religious minorities, have been the primary impetus for concern.

Representation in the Administration of Justice

Just as in the case of civic participation, involvement of newcomers in decision making processes of the administration of justice, further exacerbate feelings of discrimination and exclusion.

³⁴ Foreign-born inmates were over represented only in narcotics offence categories.

³⁵ Those with criminal records are inadmissible according to *IRPA*, although they may receive a Ministerial permit to enter the country.

Representation in legal professions like judges and lawyers are difficult to come by, however the federal *Employment Equity Act* does provide figures for a number of departments and agencies of the Government of Canada. As we noted earlier, this *Act* does not require data collection on the newcomer experience, but the visible minority category does shed some light on this area. The table below shows statistics from the *Annual Report to Parliament on the Employment Equity Act in the Federal Public Service 2002-03*. As we can see, representation of visible minorities is distressingly low when we remember that they comprise 13.4% of the Canadian population. These numbers are especially stark if we consider that the majority are lower in the justice-related departments and agencies than the already low average of 7.4% in the full federal public service.

Organization	Number of Employees	Number of Visible Minority Employees	Percentage of Employees who are Visible Minorities
Correctional Service Canada	14,303	662	4.6
Department of Justice Canada	4,734	421	8.9
Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Civilian Staff)	4,631	242	5.2
National Parole Board	309	17	5.5
Solicitor General Canada	276	14	5.1
Canadian Human Rights Commission	212	18	8.5
Military Police Complaints Commission	22	0	0
Canadian Human Rights Tribunal	18	0	0
Law Commission of Canada	12	0	0
Royal Canadian Mounted Police External Review Committee	3	0	0

Annual Report to Parliament on the Employment Equity Act in the Federal Public Service 2002-03. (2004f: 38-39).

These numbers have not gone unrecognized and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in particular have worked to develop better links with communities and to encourage a larger number of minorities to apply to join the force.

Profiling

The question of profiling in Canada has long been a concern of Aboriginal and Black Canadians. In the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, it has increasingly become a concern of Muslim and Arab Canadians. It has also pushed the scope of the discussion past profiling on the part of police patrolling city streets and has grown to encompass profiling by border control and security officials.

As we mentioned above, the non-collection of national data has long proven an obstacle to tackling the question of profiling by law enforcement agencies in Canada. However, some research does exist that suggests it is a significant problem. Criminologists Scott Wortley and Julian Tanner make references to two surveys completed in Toronto in a recent article (Wortley and Tanner 2004).

The first study was conducted in 1995 involving 1,200 adults in Toronto. It found that Black people were much more likely to report involuntary conflict with the police than any other groups. 44% of young Black men reported being stopped and questioned by the police at least once in the past two years and 30% reported being stopped two or more times. This compared to 12% of White males and 7% of Asian males reporting multiple stops by the police.

In the second study conducted in 2000, 3,400 high school students were interviewed. The results of this study found that 50% of Black students had been stopped by police on two or more occasions versus 23% of Whites, 11% of Asians, and 8% of South Asians. Interestingly, the survey also asked students about breaking the law and found that those that break the law, are much more likely to be stopped by the police. However, of those reporting no violations of the law, 34% of Blacks were stopped versus only 4% of whites.

More anecdotally, is a recent report released by the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC)³⁶ entitled "Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling." It records almost 5,000 cases of profiling, defined as "any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that relies on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin rather than on reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment." While different types of groups can be profiled, it seems young men of either black or aboriginal background are subject to greater police surveillance and are much more likely to be stopped and searched by police. The report goes on to state that racial profiling has a significant emotional, psychological, mental and in some cases even financial or physical impact on

³⁶ <http://www.ohrc.on.ca>

those profiled. This has a huge impact on integration, albeit negative, as it prevents immigrants from having a feeling of attachment or belonging in Canadian society.

Allegations of racial bias have permeated the Canadian criminal justice system for decades. Although there is great debate regarding the existence and extent of racism, there is consensus among academics and justice officials that the perception of bias is widespread. Indeed, survey research consistently reveals that the majority of Canada's minority residents perceive discrimination in policing, the courts and in corrections. (Wortley 2003)

To address this concern, the Government of Canada has taken a number of steps. The most high profile are those surrounding the now ubiquitous discussions of national security. For example, the Department of Justice has commissioned a study of the impact of anti-terrorism legislation on minority communities. Similarly, the Multiculturalism Program and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police organized a forum in February 2003 on "Policing in a Multicultural Society." These initiatives played into Canada's national security policy released in April 2004 in a document entitled *Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy*. The implementation of this policy includes consultations with ethnocultural, racial and religious minorities (GoC 2004e: 2).³⁷

Hate Crime

Another important interaction that immigrants have with the justice system is as victims, particularly those immigrants groups who are victims of hate crimes. In his important report "Disproportionate Harm: Hate Crime in Canada Julian Roberts (1995) argues that hate crime needs to be understood not as a crime against an individual but rather a crime against an entire community or group. He defines hate crimes as "crimes in which the offender is motivated by a characteristic of the victim that identifies the victim as a member of a group towards which the offender feels some animosity." (1)

The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, in collaboration with 12 major police forces across the country, has conducted a pilot survey on hate crime in Canada through funding from the government's Policy Research Initiative. The goals of this survey were to assess the feasibility of collecting national police-reported hate crime statistics³⁸. Twelve major Canadian police forces reported a total of 928 hate crime incidents during 2001 and 2002. While the majority of these incidents involved one hate motivation, in some cases more than one motivation was recorded. Overall, over one-half of these hate crimes were motivated by race

³⁷ A precursor to this round of consultations has been conducted by senator Mobina Jaffer, the only Muslim in Canada's Senate, who has been funded by the Senate to conduct roundtables with communities across the country on the question of profiling.

³⁸ This release is based on *Juristat* analysing results from this non-representative pilot survey, which collected data on hate crimes reported to police in 2001 and 2002.

or ethnicity (57%). The second most-common hate motivation of incidents was religion (43%). Sexual orientation was the motivation in about one-tenth of incidents³⁹.

Blacks and South Asians were among those most frequently targeted in hate crime incidents motivated by race or ethnicity. The majority of incidents motivated by religion involved anti-Semitism followed by those targeting Muslims. As Biles and Ibrahim (2002) note, there was an inordinate upswing in hate crimes directed at these communities of Canadians following the September 11th attacks. While the absolute numbers have decreased since that time, the scarring of these communities seems to be more permanent.

Recognizing the seriousness of hate and bias activity and its impact on minority and newcomer communities, the Multiculturalism Program at Canadian Heritage and partners across the federal government have sought to tackle this issue head-on. After holding two national roundtables of stakeholders, a number of remedies have been advanced. These include legislation that outlaws advocating genocide, and sentencing provisions on the criminal code that toughen sentences for those convicted of hate-based offences. It has also led to extensive media awareness campaigns, attention paid to internet content by Industry Canada, and to the sharing of best practices across police forces.

Arguably, the most important change has been the creation of hate crime units in most major police forces. For example in the 2002-03 *Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act* it is reported that both the Edmonton and the Saskatoon police have worked with the Multiculturalism Program to improve their relationships with minority communities. In the case of Edmonton this included establishing a hate crimes unit (GoC 2003g: 11-12). Building on this, the Government of Canada has included countering hate and bias as one of its seven points in its Action Plan Against Racism announced in early 2004.

Services for Newcomers

In general we can conclude that access to justice and representation within those institutions charged with the administration of justice remain challenges for newcomers to Canada.

Perhaps the most important concern among newcomers is information on the system itself: they want information about Canadian laws, on the availability of justice-related services, on the functioning of the justice system, and on fundamental Canadian values relating to justice. The legal information needs of longer-term immigrants appear to change over time, as they encounter challenges in adapting to Canadian society. A better understanding of the patterns linking

³⁹ There is a widespread belief that hate crimes are massively under-reported so this probably only represents the tip of the iceberg (Roberts 1995).

legal information needs to aspects of integration might enhance our capacity to develop and deliver legal information to immigrant and minority groups (Currie 1994). To this end, many SPOs provide legal aid or referrals to legal aid. Legal aid certificates are awarded based on financial need. This access is essential to the feeling of inclusion that the Canadian “model” tries to foster. As criminologists Plecas, Evans and Dandurand note:

The successful integration of newcomers and the noticeable absence of wide-spread crime problems among immigrants in a country such as Canada can be explained by some of the policy choices made by the country in the areas of multiculturalism, equal access to justice and the opportunities provided for ethnic minorities and ethnic relations in general. National policies in these areas need to deliver means to facilitate the integration of immigrants and to abolish systemic obstacles to their full participation in society, including providing equal access to justice (N.D. 38-39).

4.3. Health

There is no doubt that universal health care is an integral part of the Canadian national identity. Indeed, many opinion polls suggest that it is one of the most important (along with multiculturalism and official bilingualism). This was reflected in the status of health care as the single most important policy area addressed by all major political parties in the June 2004 general election.

If it is important to Canadians in general, it is no less important to newcomers. This central role of health care in welcoming newcomers was addressed in the final report of the *Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada* when it observed that “the first contact most new immigrants have with Canada’s social services is through the health care system. This contact can serve as an important element in their socialization in Canadian society and in their understanding of the entitlements to health care that come with being a Canadian citizen (GoC 2002e: 156).

As we saw in the section on justice, integration of newcomers in the area of health can be seen from both directions of the two-way street that characterizes Canada’s integration policy. On the one side, immigration should not imperil the health of Canadians and, on the other, Canadian society and institutions should make space for newcomers and adapt to their needs.

Despite a fairly consistent barrage of criticisms, often led by the media, about healthcare concerns raised by immigration⁴⁰, there is strong evidence that immigrants arrive in Canada with a higher health status than the general population⁴¹; this may be the result of both self-selection (unhealthy people tend not to migrate) and government selection policies and programs (some unhealthy people are not admitted). And there is evidence that their health deteriorates to the Canadian average. Ironically, integration into Canadian society is bad for the health of newcomers!

Access to the health system by immigrants

Immigrants are eligible for health care coverage under the *Canada Health Act*, although there are waiting periods of up to 90 days in some provinces. There are programs to bridge this gap. For example, in Ontario, some community health centers offer health services to people who do not yet have their health card. Community Health Centres (CHCs) are non-profit organizations that provide health care to all people who might otherwise have difficulty getting the help they need.

For refugees there is also the Interim Federal Health Program (IFH). It provides: health service benefits for the gap between date of arrival and eligibility for provincial health benefits, and limited additional benefits once provincial plans commence benefits for up to 12 months after arrival, or up to 24 months for some cases. The IFH is not available to refugees who are able to pay for their own health care services or who are covered by a private or public health care plan.

There are concerns that many health care services are not culturally appropriate or that some services are not covered, like those needed to tackle family violence or mental health issues.

Family Violence

At least one in ten women in Canada is abused. This violence occurs regardless of country of origin, race, religion, sexual orientation, education or financial status. However, immigrant and refugee women face specific issues and barriers that make them more vulnerable to abuse. These can include

⁴⁰ These critiques tend to focus on communicable diseases like T.B. or HIV. This is an issue not strictly for immigration, but for migration in general. The tremendous increase in the rapidity of travel and the flow of people, whether they are immigrants, tourists, or business travelers, increases these risks to public health in Canada. For example, not only did immigrants from Zaire pose a risk of bringing the Ebola virus to Canada, but so did tourists and business travellers returning to Canada.

⁴¹ The exception tends to be refugees who, due to the conditions that made them refugees (war, famine, repression, torture, rape etc), tend to have higher levels of health care needs than other newcomers.

- a lack of information about Canadian laws and women's rights
- limited English or French language skills
- isolation from others
- a fear of bringing shame to family
- a fear of losing their children
- a lack of knowledge about or experience with social service agencies

To respond to this need the Government of Canada established the Family Violence Initiative (FVI) in 1988 to reduce violence against women, children and elders. It has made a commitment to increase its responsiveness to the family concerns of four populations: Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, people living in rural and remote communities, and ethnocultural communities.

As its part of the initiative, a strategy was developed to reach immigrants and first-generation Canadians about the risk factors in family violence. This was primarily done through the use of ethnic media. Canadian Heritage funded multilingual radio and television broadcasts developed with community partners in the three cities with the largest immigrant populations in Canada: Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. A total of 98 original television programs and 174 radio programs were produced for 48 linguistic and cultural communities. An award-winning Public Service Announcement with the message "Violence Hurts Us All," was also produced and aired in 16 languages, and continues to be shown on Canadian ethnic television.

Mental Health

In 1986 Health and Welfare Canada and Secretary of State, Multiculturalism established a task force to identify factors influencing the mental health of Canada's immigrants and refugees. The Task Force's final report *After the Door Has Been Opened: Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees in Canada* (1988) concluded that "while moving from one country and culture to another inevitably entails stress, it does not necessarily threaten mental health. The mental health of immigrants and refugees becomes a concern primarily when additional risk factors combine with the stress of migration" (1988: i). The task force noted that in the Canadian context these additional stressors that needed to be addressed were negative public attitudes, separation from family and community, inability to speak English or French, and a failure to find suitable employment. As we have shown in previous sections, many of these stressors remain key integration challenges in Canada, for which many programs and policies exist.

The Task Force, also however, flagged the special needs of some subcomponents of immigrants and refugees as requiring special attention. These were children and youth, women, seniors and victims of catastrophic stress (i.e. survivors of torture). The Task Force observed that there are two key reasons why these groups of newcomers needed special attention. First, their experiences prior to, or

during migration were most likely to lead to mental health issues, and second they are socially disenfranchised and lack a voice in the broad Canadian society, but also within their communities” (1988: 63). Less attention has been focused on these groups of newcomers than on the general stressors.

That said, Status of Women Canada has been quite attuned to the concerns of newcomer and minority women and has funded a number of projects and studies designed to ameliorate their situation. In 2002-2003, SWC's Women's Program provided funding and technical assistance to 240 initiatives at local, regional and national levels with approximately 12 percent pertaining to ethnocultural women under three distinct but complementary areas: women's economic status, elimination of systemic violence against women and the girl child, and social justice. For example, Status of Women funded work by the Asian Society for the Intervention of AIDS to document and draw public attention to the isolation, violence, exploitation and legal victimization experienced by Asian women trafficked into Vancouver's sex trade. This work formed part of a larger international project that examined trafficking of women from their countries of origin to their countries of destination (GoC 2003g: 28-29).

Similarly, attention has been paid to those suffering from catastrophic stress. A good example of this is the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture (CCVT). It is a non-profit, registered charitable organization, founded by several Toronto doctors, lawyers and social service professionals, many of whom were associated with Amnesty International. They had begun to see victims of torture in their practices as early as 1977. Many of the victims were in the process of claiming refugee status in Canada. The doctors saw the need for specialized counselling for the social and legal problems faced by this particular client group. Lawyers, social workers and community groups saw clients who were survivors of torture, often badly in need of treatment by doctors and other health professionals.

Many Settlement Provider Organizations offer similar services in other immigrant receiving cities. For example, in Ottawa Community Immigrant Serving Organization's Clinical Counselling Program provides professional psychotherapy services to the immigrant and refugee population. It specializes in assisting survivors of war trauma political persecution, imprisonment and torture. It also provides psychotherapy for clients suffering from migration and culture-related issues including services for children, youth, adults, seniors, couples and families.

The other two sub-components identified by the Task Force, the young and the elderly, have received far less attention. For example, the primary department tasked with a focus on Canadians at both ends of the life cycle (children and youth and the elderly) was Human Resources Development Canada. With the division of this department in December 2003, it is now primarily the responsibility of Social Development Canada. No major programs or policies regarding newcomer children or the elderly are discernible at this time. In fact, in Canada's plan of

action in response to the United Nations Special Session on Children entitled *A Canada Fit for Children* (Goc 2004g) there is a ten page list of government programs for children and youth and not one of them is explicitly targeted to meet the needs of newcomer children and youth.

Clearly more work needs to be done in this area. As sociologist Augie Fleras, notes somewhat apocalyptically,, “the social cohesion and integration of an entire generation will depend on the success of minority youth in overcoming barriers and improving participation” (2003g: 33).

Knowledge – Research

Not only is there little policy or program activity directly tackling issues facing newcomer seniors and youth, there is also little research on these two communities or on the health of newcomers in general. Even though Health Canada recognizes the importance of research and sponsored the creation of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, it has not been supportive of research in this area. At the same time, the department withdrew from the federal funding coalition for the Metropolis Project. Surprisingly, of the 13 CIHR institutes (really programs of study within the overall CIHR), there are none that focus on immigration. The gender is really the only one of the institutes that has explored the impact of immigration on health⁴². Ironically, given the highlights of the Task Force covered above, neither of the institutes devoted to aging or children and youth has a focus on newcomers or ethnocultural/racial/religious diversity.

Recognizing this gap in the exploration of the intersections of diversity and their impact on the lived experiences of Canadians (in health amongst other fields), the Multiculturalism Program and the Metropolis Project have teamed up with over a dozen federal department and agencies on a project entitled “The Intersections of Diversity.” This project has explored how a range of diversity markers (including newcomer status, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, region, and age) intersect and contribute to differential outcomes in ten policy areas, including health. The results of the project will provide guidance for future policy development in this area⁴³.

Similarly, the Metropolis Centers of Excellence have secured support for the New Canadian Children and Youth Survey (NCCYS) to explore the experiences of newcomer children and youth in Canada. The study is unprecedented in scope and will measure among other things stress, coping and support in minority communities across the country. This study was devised as a supplement to the HRDC-Statistics Canada Survey, *The Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth*

⁴² The best example is the gender institute’s most recent call for research proposals entitled “Reducing Health Disparities and Promoting Health Equity of Vulnerable Populations.

⁴³ *Materials including literature reviews and challenge papers on policy areas can be found at http://www.canada.metropolis.net/events/Diversity/diversity_index_e.htm.*

which does not contain an adequate sample of newcomers to be useful for policy development.

CONCLUSIONS

As the preceding sections of this paper have demonstrated, integration of newcomers into Canadian society, is not just the task of the department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada within the federal government. It necessarily involves newcomers themselves, all three orders of government, non-governmental organizations and the Canadian public. As a result, there is a bewildering array of programs and policies that seek to assist in the integration process.

Co-ordination

Not surprisingly, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration concluded in a recent report that “there is a need for a better coordination strategy vis-à-vis the various federal and provincial departments involved in the delivery of settlement services” (2003c: 6).

In response to this observation, the Government observed that “CIC meets regularly and continues to work with other federal departments, including Human Resources Development Canada, Industry Canada, Canadian Heritage and Health Canada toward horizontal policy development and enhancements in the areas of economic and social integration of immigrants” (2003c: 3).

An excellent example of this commitment is the Metropolis Project. This project brings nearly a dozen federal departments and agencies together in a project devoted to exploring immigration, integration and diversity in cities. The interdepartmental committee for this project meets quarterly to discuss issues of cross-cutting policy concern such as the role of language in integration, alleviating poverty among newcomers, the importance of social capital for successful integration etc. (see Annex 7 for the questions eleven departments considered to be essential to guide the Metropolis Project).

More recently at the third meeting of federal, provincial and territorial ministers responsible for immigration, the ministers agreed to develop an immigration framework. Judy Sgro, the minister for Citizenship and Immigration Canada, noted

We are very proud to announce that we have agreed to work closely together over the coming months to define a new immigration framework for Canada that will help to raise the bar in terms of what we can achieve together. The framework will usher in a new era of even stronger partnerships, closer relationships with our partners and a new shared vision for Canada’s immigration program. Strengthening federal,

provincial and territorial relations is one of the government's top priorities and it's clear to me that the success of the immigration program will rest on the success of our partnerships" (Canada 2004i).

When considering how best to improve the coordination across actors, a useful model is found in a project in Calgary entitled "Calgary Immigrants Services Evaluation and Systems Overview" (2001). This project explored the delivery of integration services in the City of Calgary by the full range of players (not dissimilar to what we covered in the first section of this paper). At the end of a process that involved interviews with every level within the different types of organization, the authors concluded that a seven step approach made the most sense to ensure coordination and effective service delivery in the future. These steps were:

- 1) Creation of a System Logic Model
- 2) Review of the Current Funding Structure
- 3) Re-examination of Reported Gaps
- 4) Identify and Support Ethno-specific Agencies
- 5) Monitor the Immigrant Serving System
- 6) Disseminate Information About Immigrant Services
- 7) Increase Funding

What is most critical to note here, is that more dollars are not necessarily the answer by themselves, although the authors note that there is an "overwhelming perception that current funding is inadequate." A comprehensive assessment of integration policy and programs in Canada delivered by all three orders of government and non-governmental organizations would no doubt lead to great rationalization and a clearer roadmap for tackling challenges.

Fiscal Resources

Financial support for integration, does, however, continue to resonate throughout Canadian research and public discourse. The parliamentary Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration recommended that the benchmark for integration services should be \$3,000 per newcomer. This is almost exactly double the present allocation of resources accorded to integration and settlement for CIC.

Intersecting Identities

Also emerging as a clear area that needs more exploration is the intersections of immigration with other elements of diversity. Some areas have already begun to develop including CIC's foci on regionalization (encouraging newcomers to settle in locales other than Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver) and enhancing official language minority communities through immigration. Additionally, gender-based analysis was included in the legislative review process that generated the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. Others intersections are less well

understood such as the intersection of immigration and religion (an increasing area of concern for most immigrant-receiving countries) and immigration and age. As we have seen, both ends of the life cycle are increasingly important policy considerations, but little is known about the impact of immigration on them.