

Vancouver Centre of Excellence



**Research on Immigration and
Integration in the Metropolis**

Working Paper Series

No. 02-03

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Immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia**

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February 2002

RIIM

Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

The Vancouver Centre is funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Citizenship & Immigration Canada, Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. We also wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Metropolis partner agencies:

- Health Canada
- Human Resources Development Canada
- Department of Canadian Heritage
- Department of the Solicitor General of Canada
- Status of Women Canada
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- Correctional Service of Canada
- Immigration & Refugee Board

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**Cultural Barriers to Labour Market Integration:
Immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia¹**

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¹ We thank Consul Anil Kumar Anand, Mandakranta Bose, Chris Friesen, Dan Hiebert, David Ley, Ravi Pendakur, Lilian To and the interview respondents who volunteered their time and expertise, but who remain anonymous. This project was funded by the Vancouver Metropolis Centre-RIIM.

Abstract: An important goal of Canada's immigration policy is to foster the country's economic performance. However, many newly arriving immigrants suffer from "de-skilling" and are unable to apply their foreign education, skills and experience in the Canadian labour market. This report examines immigrants from South Asia and the former territory of Yugoslavia who settled in Greater Vancouver. The objective is to understand why many immigrants suffer from occupational downgrading. In particular, the study investigates how circumstances of immigration, culture, and employment expectations shape labour market outcomes. The report presents a statistical assessment of the characteristics and labour market situations of the two immigrant groups, followed by the results of an interview survey with community leaders and administrators of NGOs servicing the two groups. The results demonstrate how labour market integration of immigrants relates to a set of interlocking factors, including not only immigrant class and employment credentials, but also cultural meanings of work, cultural competence, discrimination, culturally differentiated labour market conventions and job search patterns, and language.

Key words: Labour market integration, cultural barriers, South Asian immigrants, Yugoslavian immigrants, Greater Vancouver

Introduction

An important goal of Canada's immigration policy is to foster the country's economic performance. However, many newly arriving immigrants suffer from "de-skilling" and are unable to apply their foreign education, skills and experience in the Canadian labour market. This report examines immigrants from South Asia and the former territory of Yugoslavia who settled in Greater Vancouver. The objective is to understand why many immigrants suffer from occupational downgrading. In particular, the study investigates how circumstances of immigration, culture, and employment expectations shape labour market outcomes.

The discrepancy between immigrant qualifications, and their actual performance in the Canadian labour market is well documented (e.g. Ley 1999, Pratt 1999). In addition, ethnocultural immigrant groups experience different degrees of occupational segmentation (Hiebert 1999, Thompson 2000, Wanner 1999). Some visible minority immigrant groups, especially visible minority women, concentrate in secondary occupations and are more likely to be in sectors of the labour market with compressed wages, such as sales or primary school teaching (Hiebert 1997, 1999, Pendakur and Pendakur 1996, Preston and Giles 1997). Basran and Zong (1998) suggest that the de-skilling of immigrants relates to the non-recognition of overseas professional certification. Thompson (2000) examines immigrant employment in high-skill occupations by region of origin. She concludes that for immigrant groups "there are large differences in the transferability of education obtained outside of Canada (28)."

Although the devaluation of formal credentials and foreign work experience is undoubtedly a problem for many immigrants, overlooked issues are cultural perspectives and expectations of immigrants. The very meaning of work is closely tied to circumstances of migration and cultural identity, and differs between immigrant groups. Waldinger (1996), for instance, demonstrates in a US context that immigrants typically enter ethnic employment niches, which "strengthens group identity [and] sharpens the distinction between insider and outsiders (25)." In Canada, Filipina domestic workers accept down-skilling in return for the prospect of landed immigrant status (Pratt 1999). Chinese and Punjabi Sikh immigrants have different cultural motivations to become school teachers (Beynon and Toohey 1998). Some immigrants who struggled through the immigration process may simply have other life priorities than Canadian-born residents. And business immigrants may not measure economic achievement by the immediate increase of personal income, but rather by the long-term benefits derived from investment ventures and transnational business linkages (Mitchell 1995).

Cultural factors as well as personal and ethnic preferences must be considered when evaluating the labour market performance of immigrants.

The report presents a statistical assessment of the characteristics and labour market situations of the two immigrant groups, followed by the results of an interview survey with community leaders and administrators of NGOs that service the two immigrant groups. The results demonstrate how labour market integration of immigrants relates to a set of interlocking factors, including not only immigrant class, credentials and work experience, but also cultural meanings of work, cultural competence, discrimination, culturally differentiated labour market conventions and job search patterns, and language proficiency.

Immigrants from South Asian and the former Yugoslavia

By focusing on the settlement context of Greater Vancouver this study controls for regional labour market variations (Pendakur and Pendakur 1996, Hiebert 1999). Table 1 depicts the number of immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslav state who settled in Canada, BC and Vancouver between 1985 and 2000. The South Asian immigrant population is much larger in size than the former Yugoslav immigrant population. Of the South Asians who came to Canada, 13.1 percent settled in the Vancouver area, while only 8.7 of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia settled there.

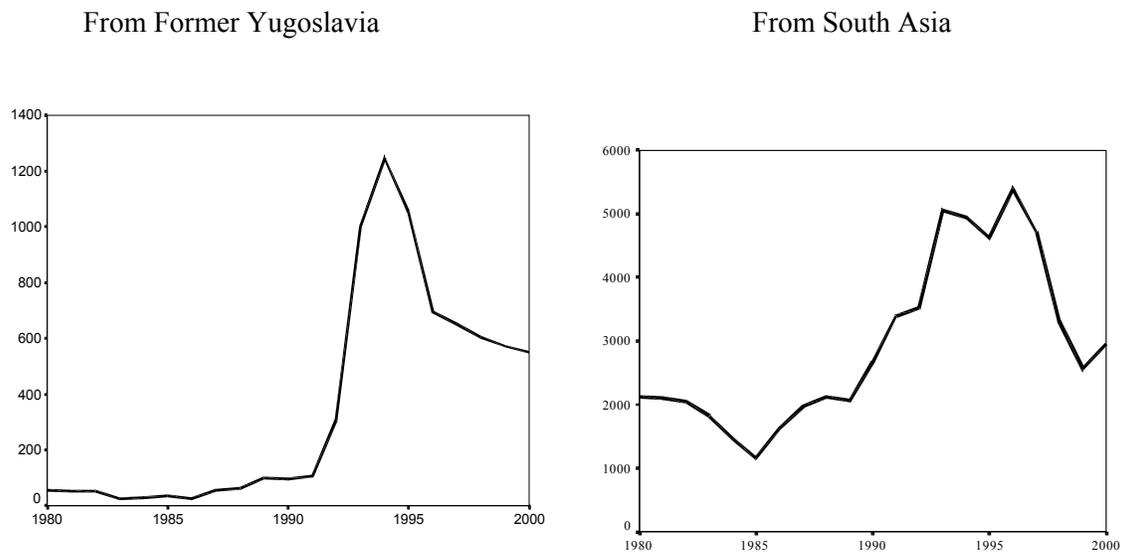
Table 1: Landings by Country of Last Permanent Residence, 1985-2000

	Canada	BC	Vancouver Metro Area
Croatia	8,789	991	831
Yugoslavia	38,987	4,298	3,498
Slovenia	348	65	51
Bosnia-Herzegovina	30,781	3,212	2,888
Macedonia	1,202	35	21
Albania	4,395	111	84
Total Former Yugoslavia	84,502	8,712	7,373
Sri Lanka	85,990	1,914	1,689
India	266,843	76,860	46,479
Pakistan	80,633	4,172	3,262
Bangladesh	21,414	945	841
Nepal	1,041	139	116
Fiji	15,494	10,153	9,230
Maldives	22	3	3
Total South Asia	471,437	94,186	61,620

Source: LIDS

The annual numbers of immigrants who settled in the Vancouver area over the last two decades reveal important differences between the two immigrant groups. Few immigrants from the former Yugoslavia came to Vancouver prior to 1991 (Figure 1). Coinciding with the political turbulence in the Balkans immigration levels increased rapidly during the early 1990s, peaked in 1994 with almost 1,300 immigrants, and thereafter levelled off to 549 immigrants in 2000. Annual immigration from South Asia was above 2000 in 1985. A decline in annual numbers during the early 1980s was followed by a rise in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The peak occurred in 1996 with roughly 5,400 immigrants.

Figure 1: Annual Landings in Vancouver Metro Area



Source: LIDS

The immigration class under which immigrants enter Canada reveal further differences between the two groups. Table 2 shows the number of immigrants by class by source country. Roughly half of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia who settled in the Vancouver area came as refugees, and another 38 percent as skilled workers. Very few were admitted under the family or business class programs. Notable are the differences between country of origin. The majority of immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina came as refugees, while most Yugoslavians (Serbians) came as skilled workers. Other than the small Sri Lankan community, most South Asians who settled in the Vancouver area, on the other hand, entered Canada as family-class immigrants. Skilled workers comprised less than 20 percent of all South Asian immigrants. Few were refugees or business-class immigrants.

Table 2: Landings by Immigrant Class and Country of Last Permanent Residence in Metropolitan Vancouver, 1985-2000

	Family	Refugee	Business	Skilled Worker	Other	Total
Croatia	105	484	0	240	2	831
Yugoslavia	729	510	14	2,220	25	3,498
Slovenia	9	12	0	30	0	51
Bosnia-Herzegovina	65	2,597	3	223	0	2,888
Macedonia	6	1	0	14	0	21
Albania	5	34	0	44	1	84
Total Former Yugoslavia	919	3,638	17	2,771	28	7,373
Sri Lanka	601	451	5	570	62	1,689
India	40,085	616	354	4,868	556	46,479
Pakistan	1,191	231	243	1,541	56	3,262
Bangladesh	157	91	24	538	31	841
Nepal	34		5	77	0	116
Fiji	6,844	18	142	1,353	873	9,230
Maldives	0	2	0	1	0	3
Total South Asia	48,912	1,409	773	8,948	1,578	61,620

Source: LIDS

The breakdown by education reveals more differences between the two immigrant groups. More than half of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia were university educated (Table 3). Roughly one third had only grade nine education or less. South Asian immigrants were on average less educated. Roughly one-fourth (26.5 percent) were university educated, and a relatively large number (44.3 percent) had grade nine education or less.

Table 3: Landings by Education and Country of Last Permanent Residence in Metro Vancouver, 1985-2000

	0 to 9 years	10 to 12 years	Some univ., cert., diploma	University degree	Total (n.a.)
Total Former Yugoslavia	2,415	1,258	1,948	1,752	7,373
Total South Asia	27,323	17,932	7,142	9,184	61,620

Source: LIDS

In terms of immigrants' intention to work, the two groups also differ from each other. The majority (61.6 percent) of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia came to Canada with the intention to work (Table 4). About one fifth (21.6 percent) had no intention to work. Among South Asian immigrants, only 42.8 percent came to Canada with the intention to work, while 40 percent had no intention to work. The relative size of student immigrants was similar (about 17 percent) for both groups.

Table 4: Landings by Intention to Work and Country of Last Permanent Residence in Metro Vancouver, 1985-2000

	Intend to Work			Student	No intention to work	Total
	Employed	Occup. not identified	Self Employed			
Total Former Yugoslavia	3,318	1,216	5	1,244	1,589	7,372
Total South Asia	8,742	17,442	176	10,593	24,661	61,614

Source: LIDS

Additional analysis of statistical data (not displayed in the figures) revealed that only 37.8 percent of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and 34.3 percent of South Asian immigrants who settled in Vancouver between 1985 and 2000 spoke English upon arrival.

The information presented above examined the characteristics of immigrants at the time they entered Canada. After immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and from South Asia lived in Canada for some time, their labour market characteristics diverge further. Female immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, for example, are more likely to be in the active Canadian labour force than their South Asian counterparts. According to the 1996 Census (1996 PUMF), 51.5 percent of female immigrants who came from the Balkans² between 1991 and 1996 and who settled in the Vancouver Metropolitan Area worked in 1996. Of that same group 27.3 percent were not in the labour force. In comparison, only 37.8 percent of South Asian women who came to Canada between 1991 and 1996 worked in 1996, and 43.2 percent were not in the labour force. Among male immigrants who settled in Vancouver between 1991 and 1996, South Asians were slightly more likely to work (64.3 percent) than their counterparts from the Balkan (61.7 percent), and fewer South Asians (18.6 percent) were not in the labour force, compared to their counterparts from the Balkans (23.4 percent).

The final statistical cross-tabulation examines the average incomes of male and female immigrants from the two source regions (Table 5). Canadian-born men and women had higher average incomes in 1995 than recent male and female immigrants from both South Asia and the Balkans. Newly arriving immigrants from the Balkans have very low incomes, but the cohort which has been in Canada for more than ten years earns almost three times as much as newcomers do. Among South Asian immigrant women the income gap between immigrant cohorts was much smaller. These figures suggest that new immigrant women from the former Yugoslavia are less

² The 1996 Canadian Census uses the category “Balkan” rather than “former Yugoslavia.”

competitive in the labour market than their South Asian counterparts, but they become more competitive than female South Asian immigrants after about a decade.³

Table 5: Average Income of Employed Immigrants by Immigrant Group and Year of Immigration, Greater Vancouver (CMA), 1995, in \$.

Canadian-born	Year of Immigration	Balkan immigrants	South Asian Immigrants
	Female		
23,462	1981-85	20,000	17,354
	1986-1990	8,586	11,908
	1991-1996	7,264	10,858
	Male		
34,188	1981-85	27,868	20,536
	1986-1990	20,817	23,668
	1991-1996	15,145	15,092

Source: 1996 PUMF

Among men, the comparison between immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and South Asia is more ambiguous. The most recent immigrants had roughly similar incomes in both origin groups (Table 5). South Asian men who arrived between 1986 and 1990 surpassed their counterparts from the former Yugoslavia. The opposite is true for the immigrant cohort that arrived between 1981 and 1985. The combination of gender and region of origin is apparently a defining factor in the economic integration of immigrants.

This statistics presented in this section suggest that immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia confront different circumstances in terms of immigrant class, education and intention to work that affect their integration into the Canadian labour market. In addition, these factors have probably different effects on men and women. An interview survey explores exactly how processes of labour market integration and exclusion operate for the two groups (see Appendix for Method).

³ A counter argument would be that Yugoslav immigrant women who arrived in the 1980s came for different reasons than the arrivals in the 1990s, when civil war raged in the Balkan. These differences could be reflected in earnings. This argument, however, is devalued by the female immigrants who arrived in the late 1980's, before the civil war, and who also had low wages.

Survey Results

This section initially assesses the labour market prospects of newly arriving immigrants. Secondly, it examines “conventional” barriers to labour market integration that are commonly cited in the existing literature, such as the significance of immigrant class and the non-recognition of foreign credentials. Third, it focuses on cultural barriers, including meanings of work, job search patterns, discrimination, cultural competence, interpretations of Canadian experience, labour market conventions and language proficiency.

1. Immigrants and their Jobs

The initial concern is to assess the labour market prospects for newly arriving immigrants in the Vancouver area. The interviews revealed that many immigrants are disappointed by the lack of opportunities available to them in Canada; some return to their home country. Although there is no statistical evidence available of the magnitude of return migration,⁴ several respondents noted that many immigrants return. A settlement counsellor for the South Asian community observes:

I have seen many people who come here in the independent category, they stay here for up to six months, and decide to go back for good. They don't want to stay in this country. There's no jobs for them ... I've seen many families going back to India, and many other countries, even Pakistan, going back there because they are doctors, they are engineers, they had a lucrative income.

Likewise, a settlement counsellor for immigrants from the former Yugoslavian countries notes that many newcomers cannot find adequate employment and are motivated to return: “It's very difficult. And they are disappointed, maybe about 10 percent, 15, I don't know exactly, they are going back to Europe because ... they cannot find a job here.”

The lack of high quality employment opportunities puts many immigrants in a difficult situation. Especially immigrants from South Asia tend to stagnate in their careers. A settlement counsellor, for example, says:

In many restaurants mostly inside the restaurant the dishwashing or the prep cooks are Indo-Canadian women ... They are hardworking people, and they don't have much opportunity ... A person who is Indo-Canadian, she is working in a restaurant as a dishwasher for last ten years, I have seen this, there are so many ... They cannot find anything else in the job market ... So they will stay there, stick with this job forever.

⁴ Citizenship and Immigration does not collect information on people leaving Canada. Thus, we have no records on how many immigrants actually stay in Canada, or, if they return, how long they have stayed.

The lack of labour market opportunity enables some employers to exploit South Asian immigrants. A community representative explains that employers in the ...

South Asian community, they see you need it (the money) so they will give you \$7 on the paper, \$5 in your hand. ... There is a restaurant on the corner of (Street) and (Street) no names ... a woman phoned on our emergency line one day, and this is last year. She taught in India. I went to visit her, and she was very tearful ... She worked in the restaurant, and she said she was there for 3 months and the first month they did not pay her. They said it was training. \$5 an hour, and they have to work 11 hours per day. And the restaurant takes the tips. And they did not pay her on the right day.

The employers who were interviewed noted that they are very satisfied with their South Asian employees in term of work ethic, but that they pay low wages due to the lack of language and job skills.

2. The Significance of Immigrant Class

Immigrant class is a defining aspect of the labour market integration of newcomers. Immigrants from South Asia arrive in Canada primarily under the family and skilled worker class (Table 2). A South Asian settlement counsellor stresses the significance of class for employment:

I believe that these two categories (immigrant classes) have distinct and separate issues which they (need to) address when they arrive in Canada. And under the independent class, their main objective is to get a suitable employment for the principal applicant, as well as his or her spouse, and whereas the family class people, they come here to live with their sponsors, and their issues are different, because most of the time they are people with language barrier, they cannot speak English ... and, if at all, they seek employment it has to be either as a farm worker or to work in a restaurant.

Most immigrants from the former Yugoslavia are admitted to Canada either as skilled workers or as refugees (Table 2). A community leader and expert on immigration issues explains:

Vancouver had several different waves of immigrants. They are directly correlated with the collapse of Yugoslavia. The first wave ... they're skilled workers by and large ... The second wave were refugees from Bosnia and Croatia, the third wave were people who immigrated again from Yugoslavia proper from Serbia and Montenegro ... (For) a refugee, there's no choice (of coming voluntarily to Canada). And so you have a culture developed among the refugee community where an ideal job ... has a relatively high wage for not a terribly taxing job in terms of having to speak English. So the dream job I'm told always is working as a janitor in the Vancouver School Board building because you immediately get benefits and a good union wage. Another desirable job

among the refugee community--that doesn't even register on the Richter scale for professionals--is if you can work as a building manager, and get a free apartment that way. (Refugees) are looking for security, they're risk adverse, and they're looking for employment that secures them a benefit that's very tangible.

Even refugees from the former Yugoslavia are relatively well educated. Canada's immigration procedures use factors such as age and education to select refugees. An employment counsellor, who was admitted as a refugee, recalls that she had to leave her father behind in Serbia because he was too old to be admitted as a refugee:

(The Canadian refugee program) would accept young people, educated, English speaking, from Bosnia ... Some young families, but not like my father. I wanted to bring him, I couldn't. Because he was 63 ... they didn't want to sponsor him, even though he was a refugee, and in the same situation like I was. It was mostly for young, educated people that got into the program ... They had the advantage.

Immigrant class overlaps with the settlement origin of newcomers. Independent immigrants from both South Asia and the former Yugoslavia tend to come from urban areas. Most immigrants from rural areas, on the other hand, often enter as family-class immigrants (in the case of South Asians) and refugees (in the case of the former Yugoslavia). A Serbian community leader explains that the difference between urban and rural immigrants is important in respect to labour market integration:

If these people were from major centres: Sarajevo, Belgrade ... Novi Sad ... are fantastically well-integrated here ... People from the cities, you see very ambitious, very aggressive, career-oriented, already well-versed in the culture of stock options, and ... very mobile. Sarajevo was a multi-cultural city ... There was much closer to a Western kind of style of living than there was in the smaller cities.

Similarly, urban immigrants from South Asia tend to be more accustomed to Western lifestyles, attitudes and behaviour. Rural South Asian immigrants, on the other hand, may simply lack the confidence to manoeuvre the context of an urban, Canadian labour market. A job training specialist explains that rural immigrants need to adjust to the local cultural setting:

They (immigrants from Punjab) came from the rural areas, (they) lived in small villages not the big cities. So they are people very simple, they hesitate when they come here, they hesitate how to talk, they're nervous sometimes of Canadian people ... in our country they feel shy.

3. *De-Skilling*

Foreign education and degrees are often not recognized in Canada and impose a barrier to employment especially for newly arriving skilled workers. An employment counsellor expresses the problem with foreign degrees:

(Foreign degrees are) not recognized. Whatever degrees they have in their country it's not compatible, and they don't equate. Like degree from UBC is not equivalent to the degree you get from India, or Pakistan or UK.

The non-recognition of educational certificates devalues the human capital of many South Asian immigrants: "there are so many clients I have seen, if they have done BA and when they evaluate their credentials they are given Grade 10. And if they have Master's or so they are given Grade 12." The non-recognition of foreign education prevents many immigrants from reaping the full value of their human capital. A South Asian community leader explains:

Here's the story. You are in Iran or India. And you want to migrate to Canada. OK? So on the basis of the fact that you're a doctor, you get x number of points. So I'm saying "hey you're a doctor, great! Come to Canada!". But you can't practice in Canada. Now explain this to me. (*laughs*).

Many interviewees believe that the exclusion of immigrants in the Canadian labour market is a systematic effort to reserve the better job opportunities for Canadian-born workers. In light of the current shortage of nurses in BC many interviewees cited the certification process for nurses as too complex and time-consuming to be a viable option for newly arriving immigrants. This problem exists for immigrants in medical occupations in general.

De-skilling and the non-recognition of degrees have negative effects for the immigrant, as well as the countries of destination and settlement. An employment counsellor criticises Canadian immigration policy for wasting human capital. He makes reference to the often cited "brain drain."

We need people with brains, right? So I ... call this a total brain drain, and it's an abuse to the brain. Because what happens, the country from where any person is coming from, that country is recognizing that brain ... And those people are performing in those countries. And the biggest thing is, when you're being assessed for immigration, your ... qualification (and) skills (are) counted (when) you're permitted to enter this country. But when you enter this country you drop to zero level ... Yeah brain drain! So what happens, so that country from where the person has immigrated, loses that brain, this country who should have been otherwise benefited (from) that quality, doesn't accept that brain. So ultimately what happens, neither this country got help, nor the country where he left got help. So it is a brain abuse because it's not proper utilization of the quality and the skills of people.

De-skilling can have a traumatic effect on the status of immigrants and their families. An employment counsellor working with South Asian immigrants explains:

I've had people say to me, "I don't want to get a job (in the secondary labour market) because what am I going to tell their children, that their dad is now, instead of being the head of this company, is now a waiter in a restaurant?"

With the loss of their credentials, immigrants often change their careers. An employment counsellor states:

Some people, they just be "oh well, it's going to take me two years to get the credential evaluation, it's going to take me one year at BCIT to do this professional course. Forget about the credential evaluation, I'll just go for one year of study and then, you know, get a job over here." So they totally drop (their) certificate from India.

The difficulties with accreditation frustrate many immigrants and encourage them to seek employment in the United States, where accreditation is perceived to be swifter.

Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia confront similar problems with the accreditation of their foreign credentials. It takes them longer than expected to reach the level of employment they had achieved in their country of origin. A settlement counsellor who immigrated from Yugoslavia less than five years ago describes a typical situation:

It doesn't matter if I have university, I can go and clean the street and everything, no problem, but I would like to see that I will have chance (after) a few years, to do my job. And that's problem. I have to go to school again ... I need two, three years, 5 years maybe. Then I can go (enter my profession). Then I will be over the 55 years, that's problem.

Some immigrants from the former Yugoslavia have changed their careers because their education is not recognized in Canada. A community leader uses herself as an example: "I was a medical student (in Belgrade), so my education wasn't recognized here ... I couldn't continue medical school, so I changed to psychology."

Immigrants with occupations that are in high demand and which are not highly regulated, however, sometimes escape de-skilling and do not have to change their careers. An employment counsellor, for instance, observed that jobs in the high-tech and dot.com sector have been available to newcomers. Other immigrants from the former Yugoslavia manage to continue along their career paths, although their degrees are not formally recognized. Some employers seem to informally recognize education obtained in Yugoslavia. A former settlement counsellor, who has a law degree from Sarajevo University says:

Officially nothing is recognized. However, the businesses, even in government, I have that luck that they didn't make big fuss around my education. They kind of recognized that I completed studies of law somewhere, and that was treated as a postsecondary education ... I managed to... get a job that has some legal component.

The informal recognition of education begs the question whether cultural factors enable Europeans from the former Yugoslavia to maintain the value of their human capital--expressed in education--while South Asian immigrants face the degradation of their human capital.

4. Work and Its Meanings

For most immigrants, the need and desire to generate an income is the overwhelming motivation for entering the Canadian labour force. Although a significant share of immigrants in both groups declared to the immigration officers at the point of landing that they have no intention to work (Table 4), the experience of community leaders is that the tight monetary situation pushes most newcomers into the labour market. Thus, among both origin groups and across immigrant classes the motivation to work is very high. A settlement counsellor explains the importance to be gainfully employed for South Asian family-class immigrants.

Their sponsors help them with the everyday needs. So although shelter is provided ... disappointment is there at not being able to find a job. "Oh my son (the sponsor) says, that's OK Dad if you don't have a job you can stay at home." And sometimes staying at home is a big problem. They really want to be contributing members of society, they really want to work hard ... Sometimes they're highly motivated when they come, because they are bringing a lot of dreams with them too.

Similarly, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia value work very highly, although many refugees qualify for social assistance. A settlement counsellor states:

People from my country (former Yugoslavia) are very shy because they are on welfare, on social assistance. And ... that's not in our culture you know ... they don't want to be on welfare ... but sometimes they must be, one year, two year ... And that's very difficult for men ... If you have family and you cannot care for (it), you cannot earn money for your kids, that's very difficult ... In Yugoslavia, there is no welfare. Social assistance, no. If you work, you can have family, wife, kids, and everything. But if you do not have job: I'm sorry! And they are thinking like that.

The perception of valuable labour market attributes often differs between immigrant workers and Canadian employers. An employment counsellor who works with immigrants from South Asia as well as the former Yugoslavia notes:

A lot of our clients think that certain attributes are desirable and they're not so desirable (as) ones that they don't put value on are... an example would be flexibility, adaptability here, came up as number one in BC business council survey last year. I've had one client in the last ten classes who got that right ... they usually pick honesty as being the number one.

Many South Asian immigrants do not expect that their previous social and labour market situation is trivial in the Canadian labour market. An employer, who immigrated from India herself, explains that some highly educated immigrants ...

... think that they will get everything, they are educated, they can speak English, they can get the job. Easily. But it's their misconception ... For example, janitor work, that is meant for one community in India. There (is) a caste system over there ... So there are certain ... castes which are designated to do a specific type of job in India ... you can't do that job because that job is meant for one caste only. But when they come to this country, they see everybody is doing it, they have to clean the floor, everybody has to do it themselves.

An employer confirms that the hierarchies in the Indian labour market affect some immigrants' perception of their status in the Canadian labour market:

When they (immigrants) come here they face problems, sometimes they don't (want to) work in the lower end, they say it's lower. But for me ... no work is lower, everything is equal. If I am doing janitorial job, good for me. It's work, I should respect work.

Skilled workers from South Asia usually lower their expectations soon after they arrive in Canada and take jobs below their skill levels. A settlement counsellor explains:

Those who are engineer and doctor, and salesman, when they come here, within a few days they realise, OK, it's very difficult to reach the long-term goals within a short time. So at that time, their first intention is to get into the labour market.

Community leaders agreed that it is difficult for many South Asian immigrants to accept the re-organization of their social and labour market order. Independent immigrants are usually the ones who have to come to terms with a status decline and the de-valuation of their human capital. Many lie to their community about their current jobs to uphold their social status.

Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia also have different labour market expectations than their Canadian-born counterparts. Some value their leisure time and measure labour market success by the amount of free-time a job provides. A community leader explains that especially among middle-aged workers...

... there's a willingness for success to be measured in having the same amount of leisure time they had over there (and the) same amount of material wealth ... 'If

you look to the gentleman who is working ... 60, 70 hours a week but doesn't have a lot of leisure time. Compare him to someone who's working you know, in a 30 hours a week job where he has fixed breaks, where he doesn't have any obligation to the office beyond his call, and he's earning 15, \$16 an hour with full benefits, there are many in the community who view that as a better arrangement because they have more time for family.

An employer confirmed that his employees from the former Yugoslavia tend to work through their scheduled breaks, accelerate their work pace, finish their job early and then go home to spend more time with their families. Their Canadian-born counterparts, on the other hand, take their breaks, pace their work day steadily, and finish the work day as scheduled.

Newcomers encounter gender-particular labour market roles that were less pronounced in the former Yugoslavia. An immigration counsellor finds that it is often difficult for immigrants from the former Yugoslavia to "comprehend why women have different wages than men. This was not so in the former Yugoslavia." An immigration lawyer confirms: "You see a difference in the Eastern European education system. For example, fifty percent of graduates in Belgrade and Novi Sad were women. That's very different than Canada." There is no stigma to (a high status occupation) being a male profession in Yugoslavia. However, among more conservative immigrants, especially from smaller towns and the rural areas of the former Yugoslavia, gender particular labour market roles are more traditional. A settlement counsellor notes: "It can cause a conflict within the family if the woman is more educated than the man, because the man is supposed to provide for the family."

In the case of both origin groups, gender roles are typically redefined when immigrants enter the Canadian labour market. Among South Asian immigrants a reversal of gender-roles is often the consequence of migration to Canada. A settlement counsellor observes:

Surprisingly, women get settled earlier than men. Maybe women are more flexible, they are determined to do whatever comes in their way, but men are not very flexible. Back home usually in India, women don't work outside, they just stay home and take care of children, and men are the only breadwinner at home ... When they (men) come here, they have some kind of expectation. They cannot do the dishwashing job, they cannot clean-up job, I was a manager in a bank, how can I do that ... But women, they start immediately ... At that point, actually, comes the role reversal in that family, because woman is working, man is sitting at home taking care of children and doing nothing at all because it is not his job to do the dishes, to cook food and this and that.

For many immigrants, employment becomes most meaningful when the workplace provides a link to their ethnic community. A farm owner suggests that she offers a preferred working environment to her South Asian employees because they can interact with members of their own ethnic group:

Lots of them (South Asian workers) are very happy working here. It's a social thing, if they're working with other people that make them happy, we've got lots that have been here three generations ... They're happy, they're totally happy. You think of yourself ... if you don't like the people you're working with ... if you don't get along with the person that's directing you and your co-workers, regardless if you thought it was the best job in the world, and the pay is adequate or what you expected, you're unhappy going to work every day, you're not going to stick around. It's the same thing.

A settlement counsellor confirms that being among co-ethnic workers and communicating in their native language can make it bearable for South Asian workers to endure difficult and exploitative working conditions:

In the farms ... it's long hours and, you're ready at about 4:00, ... and be there (to) 6 or 7 whatever. But some say, at least they have company there they can talk with, they feel they're free and they're like back home in the fields.

Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, on the other hand, tend not to conflate work and community settings to the same degree as South Asian immigrants. Rather, the community is fragmented and ethnic networks rarely extend into the sphere of the workplace.

5. Finding Jobs

Immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia use community networks in different ways to find employment. Ethnic and social networks produce job opportunities especially for South Asian family-class immigrants and in the lower labour market segments. An employment counselor says.

A lot of them (South Asian immigrants) do find jobs in the broader community, and also in the Punjabi community as well ... A lot of the lower level educated people would be looking for warehouse jobs, and some of the jobs where it doesn't take a lot of education. But more manual, more physical, labour-intensive type of jobs, for instance dish-washing, where it doesn't require, say, a lot of computer skills and to be very articulate. (The character of their work) it's physical, it's not multi-task or so complicated that they cannot understand. Things where there's simple instructions they can follow.

These networks, however, help little in regard to occupational upward mobility. On the other hand, South Asian immigrants have little access to business networks. A successful South Asian entrepreneur recalls the difficulties he encountered in establishing a business network:

There is generally a glass ceiling ... If I don't look the same, if I don't talk the same, socially, and I don't follow the Vancouver Canucks, in other words I don't follow ice hockey, I follow cricket, all those things are differentiators between us (i.e. Canadian business people and South Asian immigrants). So, when

somebody is going to help you, it's always, what is the commonality that we have, OK? [As] first generation, I will have cultural differences from the local community. So therefore, for me to go out and develop those relationships, will be more difficult, just because of the differences in culture and differences in terms of my background. And even the way you look, ... if you have a different accent, that's a factor.

Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia rely on small and fragmented community networks.

A settlement counselor says:

We are not organized in Canada, we don't have any club, just Croatian people they have the Cultural Centre, but Muslim people, Serbian people, they do not have that. But we all get along and we find out for jobs for something. I am phoning my clients and I tell my friends.

Relatively few immigrants from the former Yugoslavia find jobs through ethnic and social networks. For many newcomers, "networking" is an unfamiliar concept. Hiring practices that existed in the former Yugoslavia relied on formal qualifications and institutional networks rather than personal and social networks. Once in Canada, immigrants are reluctant to draw on their ethnic networks in their job search. A community leader stresses that...

Nobody networked in that same sense in Yugoslavia. You had much more of a system of (professional) connections. And you developed a network based on that, as opposed to a network based on social relationships that could get you into position.

In addition, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia have a certain set of assumptions about the hiring process which they acquired in their country of origin. A community leader explains that in the former Yugoslavia...

... you don't sell yourself, we don't know how to sell ourselves like, you know, to present ourselves in a good way. This is totally out of culture, you are not allowed to say something nice about yourself. If you are nice, I will say that you don't have to tell me. If you have to tell me, obviously you are not. It is a shame to say "yes I am good, I have good computer skills". It's a shame to say that. So Yugoslav people have a real problem in general, in the first step.

Many new immigrants from the former Yugoslavia place too little value on the interview process and on leaving a good personal impression. In their former country "the interview (is) not that important. So there is no interview. They just go to the panel just go through the papers and choose people based on what is on paper. Very rarely you have interviews."

6. Discrimination

It is difficult to measure discrimination in the labour market. Employers usually do not discuss hiring decisions openly. An employment counsellor explains:

(In some service jobs) the client base is such that (it) could be a hindrance (if) the person (is) not being able to speak the language or not seeming to be right for the position, because the clients may not be comfortable with them. These are all the things that would come into decision making (about hiring). You don't know what they guy's (employer's) motive is, you don't know what he's thinking, so to call it discrimination it would be, you can't put a handle on it. (The employer might) give a run of the mill kind of response to why you didn't get the job. The real reason may not be forthcoming.

An employment counsellor, however, who places immigrants into jobs finds that racial and ethnic discrimination is common among employers. He says that some employers have ethnic biases:

They will say, oh I need a Chinese person. I don't need Indians. I don't need Filipinos. I don't need people coming from UK, I don't need from Czechoslovakia, or the Yugoslavia or something. But they don't give you any valid reasons for that ... They communicate with me very openly sometimes ... My personal experience also is that there is discrimination, there is racism.

According to some interviewees, when skilled South Asian immigrants compete with Canadian-born job applicants, they usually do not get the job. An employment counsellor recalls his own experience:

If there are two experienced (job applicants) for the same position, and if there is a person who is from the Canadian origin, and there is a person from the South Asian origin, they both have identical qualifications and skills, or maybe the person from South Asian (has the) edge over the person from the Canadian origin, the person from Canadian origin will be given the preference for that job.

Although to many South Asian job seekers racism is a reality of the Canadian labour market, the occurrences of blatant racism have sharply diminished over the last 15 years according to interviewees. Respondents who represented the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia reported no incidents of direct discrimination. Nevertheless, processes of indirect racial and ethnic exclusion can be observed under the rubrics of lacking cultural competence, inability to "fit in," as well as not having Canadian experience.

7. Fitting in and Cultural Competence

Processes of cultural exclusion are perhaps easier admitted by employers than blatant discrimination. An employment counsellor uses the term "cultural competence" to suggest that immigrants need to

adopt certain attitudes, values and behavioural norms to be competitive in the Canadian labour market. He explains that in the program he supervises immigrants are assessed for their cultural competence:

Counsellor: Here, in the Western culture, (the handshake) is a normal thing, eye contact, and so this is a change for them ... It may sound very trite but it's a reality for them.

Interviewer: And employers would shy away from hiring anyone who doesn't...

Counsellor: Who's not culturally competent, follow protocol, that kind of thing, yes!

An employment counsellor suggests that immigrants from the former Yugoslavia use body language that Canadians sometimes misinterpret as rudeness. She states:

My observation is that (among) former Yugoslavian(s) ... a lot of the clients have not as much facial expression as is common in Canada. They don't smile as much ... And that can be very off-putting to people from Canada, who take that as a sign of unfriendliness or coldness.

Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia may have a cultural advantage of fitting in with a Canadian born work-force, compared to immigrants from South Asia. The formal 'Western' dressing styles of Yugoslavian immigrants matches the expectations of many Canadian employers. In addition, behavioural patterns are rooted in European tradition and tend to be accepted by many Canadian employers. An employment counsellor who services both immigrant groups says that among former Yugoslavians...

There's more of a Westernization, European kind of feeling which has similar manners, you're not going to have to teach an Eastern European how to do a handshake for instance.

South Asians, on the other hand, do not evoke the same feeling of familiarity. The same counsellor continues ...

For South Asians you have skin colour barriers, there are dress barriers, there are things like shaking hands, which maybe have to do with religion as well, so we've had some clients who've said "I'm sorry but I can't practice shaking hands because I'm not allowed to touch, you know, a man" or, you know something like that. And well, you can imagine that's going to be a big barrier.

Related aspects of fitting-in are smells and odours. An employment counsellor notes that

Sometimes your clients are, they smell. Right? And you need to address this with them, and now that's more difficult ... The client can really be very neat and tidy and clean, but they just have that one little problem ... If they eat a lot of garlic

and a lot of raw onions, or a lot of sort of curried type spice foods, which a lot of our clients do. Then that can have an effect.

A particularly distinguishing symbol is the turban. It separates some South Asian men from the other ethnic and religious groups. An employment counsellor points out that the turban is a major obstacle for labour market integration: “Certain employers ... they feel that certain types of persons who are wearing turbans, they are not a part of their team, they won’t be a part of their team.” A job trainer, on the other hand, points out that the turban has created a positive image in the security business. In this case, the turban represents ...

to be true to their work, to be faithful to the others, ... and be supportive to the others. So, these are the qualities they (men wearing turbans) should have ... It’s positive in the security (business), because they feel they are more faithful. (Employers) take it as a positive.

Faced with processes of cultural exclusion, some immigrant families find themselves weighing their traditional clothing and behaviour against ones that are accepted within Canadian society. An employment counsellor observes that abandoning traditional expressions of culture in favour of Canadian norms can cause emotional distress among immigrants: “Cultural adjustments are huge ... Some women decide, I’m going to keep it, and they don’t find jobs, and some women decide they’re going to discard their traditional way of dress and they feel really bad about themselves.”

8. Interpretation of Canadian Experience

Some interviewees observed that discrimination is actually minimal in Canadian society, and suggest that job applicants are rejected because of the lack of experience in the Canadian labour market. Many immigrants, however, may misunderstand the reasons for their rejection. According to an employment counsellor:

Everyone has got in their mind, there is some discrimination, but I think this is because of the local knowledge, lack of knowledge of Canadian systems, that’s why they are thinking that there is some discrimination.

However, lack of Canadian experience sometimes serves as an excuse for employers to exclude workers who they might not see “fitting in” with their business. A South Asian community leader, for instance, had experience as a librarian in the United States--where the labour market operates in similar ways as in Canada--but she was rejected for a job because she lacked Canadian experience. Some interviewees suspect that “lack of Canadian experience” is a way of covering-up racist attitudes towards workers from South Asia. An employment counsellor observes that many of his clients from South Asia confront this hidden form of racism:

And when you ask them (employers), why did I not get the job because I did have all the qualifications? The standard answer is that you don't have Canadian experience and Canadian qualifications. So these are the pretexts ... (to) racism and discrimination ... And sometimes I give a call to the employer, "Ok what is that thing which is wrong in that person that you're not taking him or you didn't take her?" And most of the time people try to cut corners they don't give a straight response to you, and the really standard answer they said Canadian experience and qualification.

A community leader in the local Serbian community voices her frustration over similar concerns:

The problem that people have in finding a job ... is about having Canadian experience. What is it? Is it (an) excuse, or what is this? I have no idea ... We don't know how to build (it). Because when you start working (in your first job in Canada), you're not totally independent, you're supervised, you have work codes, you have everything, so you will gain experience. So it's not a big deal, but people make it a big deal. I personally think it's just an excuse to avoid people, because you don't like them, or to pay you less in the beginning, which happens a lot.

Two business owners, who employ many immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, confirmed that Canadian experience is not a decision-breaking factor in the hiring process. They hire workers with and without Canadian experience and both groups perform equally on the job. The most convincing reason for requesting applicants with Canadian experience seems to be that Canadian references are available to potential employers.

For both immigrant groups, the consequence of employers' insistence on Canadian experience is occupational downgrading. For example, a community activist from the former Yugoslavia and an expert in international finance started in Canada as a teller clerk. A South Asian community leader who was an experienced corporate secretary before she came to Canada, worked as a typist. A community leader who immigrated from the former Yugoslavia notes long-term consequences of not acknowledging work experience gained abroad. "... My wife is not recognized as an engineer (occupation was changed) with seventeen years of experience, it's just seven years here. So that makes a difference as well, the salaries."

9. Conventions and Rules of the Labour Market

An alternative explanation for employers' demand for Canadian experience is that immigrants are unfamiliar with the "rules" of the Canadian labour market. Most immigrants find that the rules of the Canadian labour market differ from the rules they were accustomed to in their home countries. The

emphasis on certification and formalities appears strange to many newcomers from the former Yugoslavia. A settlement counsellor says:

There are many schools here, you have to go to school for English, that's OK. School for profession, OK. But you have to go to school for job finding club. That's very strange for our people, they don't know rules ... Everything is different. (In Yugoslavia) you don't need to write resume, thank-you letter, that's problem for our people. That's big problem ... They don't know how to write resumes. They have to go to school three months for that ... For people who (seek non-professional trade jobs) it's very strange, to write resume, to speak to somebody, they are very disappointed.

The basic conventions of the job search differ between the former Yugoslavia and Canada. One interviewee recalls her husband's difficulties with the interviewing process:

And my husband needed some (guidance regarding labour market convention). He just didn't believe me that I was telling him. "How you mean interview techniques? There is list of questions and list of answers, what is, this is theatre this is not an interview!" I said "yes, but the question they choose tells you something, the answers you choose tell them something, you know?" But he just couldn't figure out why they needed the theatre ... So it was very far from our mentality that this is how you look for a job. It doesn't make sense, you know?

Not knowing the rules of the Canadian labour market becomes an important economic barrier. An employer remarks that the immigrants he hires from Yugoslavia are highly skilled and many know more about the product and its production than he himself. However, his advantage over his workers is that he knows the "Canadian system" and business conventions. A wide range of settlement and employment services addresses precisely the difficulties arising from the unfamiliarity of labour market conventions. The consensus among the respondents was that these job finding clubs are extremely useful to members of both immigrant communities.

10. Language

Language imposes a labour market barrier for immigrants from both South Asia and the former Yugoslavia. However, the nature of the language barrier differs for the two groups. Many South Asian immigrants face a language barrier in the labour market because their accents are not easily understood by Canadians. An employment counsellor notes:

A lot of the South Asians that we have have pretty good English levels ... You have people who are absolutely fluent, speak English sometimes better than the facilitators (laugh) of the programs might, but, it's very difficult to understand for the Canadian ear.

For many independent immigrants this language barrier is an unexpected issue. A settlement counsellor cites the example of a highly skilled professional from India:

There was a lady, she used to own a school in Bombay, and her school was ... teaching them (students) English, no local languages at all ... When she came here, she went to apply for one of the training programs ...and she was asked to go to ESL test ... And she was asked what is her first language and she said English and (the) person asked her a few times, “oh, so what is your native language, what is your birth language?” and she said “I grew up speaking English and that’s what I have studied and this is my language” ... Especially people who are coming under Independent class, they are facing that problem. And they’re quite surprised when they come here, and sometimes they are told, oh, “go and take ESL classes,” although their first language is English.

For immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, the lack of knowledge of English, rather than their accent, imposes a major language barrier. According to many interviewees especially recent immigrants, refugees and older people confront this barrier. A community leader explains:

People born (in the) 50s and 60s, and they are usually with Bachelor’s degrees. But many of them ... came here without any knowledge of English. Many of us, especially that generation, we were learning a lot of Russian, some of them Italian or German ... And that absence of knowledge of this language was the biggest problem for many of us We cannot express ourselves ... We cannot speak, we cannot ask anything, we cannot do anything without anyone’s help. And that’s a big problem.

Lack of English skills contributes to de-skilling and a division of labour within the firm. The owner of a company with a high proportion of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia states:

I’d be better off with immigrants. They work harder. The managers in the office, I prefer English speakers. But in the shop I prefer immigrants.

Two Examples

This section presents the two special cases of South Asian taxi drivers and building managers from the former Yugoslavia. The purpose is to demonstrate how distinct circumstances and expectations produce different labour market outcomes.

The “taxi-driver phenomenon” refers to the high proportion of South Asian immigrants in the taxi industry. A South Asian taxi operator proclaims with pride that “We are the people that drive taxis.” He explains what makes the taxi business particularly appealing to South Asian immigrants:

(In) this job, you start getting cash quickly. In other jobs you are paid for one month, two months, and this one, you have cash right away. That’s number one.

Number two, they tell their friends that “we assist you” ... Number three, is that work is very independent. (You) work (for) yourself ... Also there is some people that say, when you come into the industry they hope they will learn more (about) other types of people, jobs, meet people through driving the taxi ... Most of them were trying for a long time to buy a taxi and then buy a house, and they see that as satisfactory.

The issue of ownership is stressed by another employment counsellor: “If you look at who owns most of the taxi business, you’d find a lot of South Asians which own a lot of the taxis, so (the high concentration of South Asians) is probably tied to ... ownership.” Immigrant service organizations do not actively channel South Asian newcomers into the taxi business: “They have their own network.” Neither does the taxi operator actively recruit South Asian drivers. Rather, his drivers choose to become taxi drivers themselves. Many taxi drivers are well-educated. For them, driving taxi provides the means to achieve a mid-term goal, such as completing a post-secondary degree or professional certification.

Many immigrants from the former Yugoslavia aspire to be building managers. For these immigrants employment benefits are more important than independence and ownership. To be a building manager is a particularly attractive occupation in light of economic security. A community leader explains:

In Belgrade it’s not common that you own your own apartment. In ... smaller towns it’s absolutely unheard of that you own your own apartment. Your company owns the apartment. So if you work for your whole life for the car manufacturing plant, say, in Zenica, or Tuzla, you’ve gotten your apartment through them, you have your health care covered through them, you have your children’s education guaranteed to some degree from that state enterprise, so you’re getting tangible benefits apart from remuneration from the company. So even though your pay may be bad, you have other benefits that you’re looking at. So, if you come from that sort of culture and you come to a city where rent is typically high (like) here in Vancouver ... (a job in which) you get free rent, guaranteed, as a benefit, that’s very attractive right away.

Despite the apparent benefits of being a building manager, this occupation is transitory. An immigrant worker explains that “they attend courses in English or in some computer courses, and after a while, probably 5 years or something, they get another job.”

Job openings for building managers are rarely advertised and job-seekers rely on word-of-mouth. Although ethnic networks tend to be thin, they are successfully mobilized. Immigrants “just know someone and someone gives the references to property management and the property managers they know already that our people are very hard-working and honest people, so it’s why they get this position.”

Of course, not all South Asian immigrant aspire to be taxi drivers, neither do all immigrants from the former Yugoslavia want to become building managers. However, these two examples highlight the importance of cultural preferences, self-selection and ethnic networks in shaping employment outcomes. For policy making it is important to recognize that cultural factors not only constrain immigrants from reaching their full potential in the labour market, but they also enable immigrants to move into niche economies that satisfy the particular needs of immigrant groups.

Conclusion

The results from this study draw attention to cultural factors of labour market integration of immigrants. Skilled workers, for example, possess not only high levels of education and skills, but they often have the “cultural competence” to adapt quickly to Canadian labour market practices. On the other hand, labour market conventions, discrimination and meanings of work constrain other immigrants.

The study also highlights similarities and differences between immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia. Among both groups, the motivation to work is very high, and they are disappointed that they find themselves with few employment opportunities. Both groups suffer from de-skilling and lack knowledge of Canadian labour market “rules.” On the other hand, important differences emerged between the two groups. For example, among South Asian immigrants unrealistic labour market expectations relate to distinct ethnic gender roles, while many female immigrants from the former Yugoslavia expected more equal treatment of gender groups in Canada. In addition, strong ethnic networks shape the labour market experiences of South Asian immigrants, while these networks are fragmented and less significant in the case of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. In terms of language, the main problem for South Asian immigrants is the inability of Canadians to interpret their accents, while many immigrants from the former Yugoslavia lack fundamental knowledge of English. Due to these differences, it is important that immigrant service agencies retain the necessary flexibility to respond to different cultural situations of immigrant groups.

The evidence presented above suggests that three areas deserve special attention in respect to labour market integration of immigrants. First, public discourse focuses on the benefit of immigration to Canadian society and the economy. Often overlooked is the emotional distress, which is endured by immigrant families who do not integrate well into the labour market. Both origin groups report disruptions of their traditional cultural values and life-styles. Gender roles are reversed, social status

declines and careers terminate. Immigrants tend to make large emotional sacrifices to settle in Canada.

Second, immigrants and Canadian employers are often culturally ill-prepared to co-operate with each other. Many immigrants find it difficult to cope with different labour market “rules” and conventions. Job-finding clubs are critical in addressing these difficulties. More problematic are reports of discrimination and cultural exclusion on the side of employers. Only efforts to educate potential employers and the Canadian public at large about the cultural particularities of immigrant communities are likely to remedy these barriers to integration. There is no equivalent to job-finding clubs that would prepare employers for immigrant labour.

Third, the non-recognition of foreign education, skills and experience not only causes disappointment among many skilled immigrants, but it has additional consequences that obstruct the cultural integration of immigrants. For example, the non-recognition of foreign credentials contributes to the lack of medical practitioners that service the Balkan immigrant community. A settlement counselor explains:

There is no doctor from our country. Not one ... Many of them apply for that, but they didn't pass exam. Nobody, for ten years ... The community needs at least one, for people who cannot learn English. They can go there and speak in our language.

To deal with this issue, the South Asian community, according to a religious leader, raises \$80,000 a year in order to pay the wages of a doctor. This doctor has been unable to find a conventional position because of accreditation issues and works at the hospital to serve this particular religious community. The BC government apparently is aware of this arrangement, “that’s the way they want us to do it.”

The integration of immigrants in the Canadian labour market remains a central issue for the national economy. The recognition and removal of cultural barriers in the labour market is a crucial aspect of integration. An issue that future research should address regards the nature and quality of information available to prospective immigrants while they are still in their home countries. Our interview respondents suggested that this information distorts labour market prospects for immigrants and raises unrealistic expectations of coming to Canada. If information about existing labour market barriers were more effectively communicated to prospective immigrants, then many immigrants may reconsider coming to Canada. Limiting unnecessary emotional and economic distress among immigrant families is as much a Canadian responsibility as selecting immigrants who can best serve the Canadian economy.

Appendix

Method

The study involved personal interviews with local experts on the immigrant communities of South Asians and former Yugoslavians in the greater Vancouver area. Community leaders and NGO administrators of NGOs servicing the two groups provided insights into the cultural and immigration circumstances of the two ethnic communities and their labour market situations. In addition, employers who recruit from ethnic and immigrant networks were interviewed. The sample was drawn from the local *Redbook of Services*, the *Directory of B.C. Multicultural, Anti-racism and Immigrant Service Organizations*, ethnic business listings and through word-of-mouth. The interview process followed a focused interviewing technique whereby the interviewer retained a degree of flexibility to divert from the prepared interview guide. Interviews were audio-taped. In a few cases, the interviewer disagreed with taping and notes were taken.

The method of data analysis followed a variation of grounded theory analysis. According to this method, data collection and analysis occur simultaneously, allowing theory building and empirical verification to overlap. The grounded theory approach suited the exploratory nature of this study, but it required some flexibility regarding sample size and selection.

Table 6: Interview Profile

Name of Institution	Type of Institution	Expertise of Institution and/or Respondent
South Asian		
1. A-1 Security Training Institute	Training	Employment
2. Arrival Survival	Publisher	Settlement
3. Euro Asia Terminals, Inc.	Employer	Employment
4. Farm in Surrey	Employer	Employment
5. Geotech Systems Inc.	Employer	Employment
6. Immigrant Services Society of BC	NGO	Settlement
7. Immigrant Services Society of BC	NGO	Employment
8. India Cultural Center of Canada	Religious	Community Relations
9. MOSAIC	NGO	Settlement
10. Nat. Indo-Canadian Council, Vancouver	NGO	Community Relations
11. PICS (Annex)	NGO	Employment
12. PICS (Surrey)	NGO	Employment
13. Richmond Multicultural Concerns Society	NGO	Settlement
14. SBM Services	Employer	Employment
15. South Asian Women's Center	NGO	Community Relations
16. South Asian Women's Center	NGO	Settlement, Employment
17. South Vancouver Neighbourhood House	NGO	Settlement
18. SUCCESS Training Institute	NGO	Employment
19. Surrey Delta Immigrant Services Society	NGO	Employment
20. Vancouver Taxi	Employer	Employment
Yugoslavian		
1. "Umbrella" Serbian Newspaper	Media	Community Relations
2. Adesa Vancouver	Employer	Manager
3. Burnaby Multiculturalism Society	NGO	Settlement
4. C. A. Sas Immigration Law Centre	Legal	Community Relations
5. Canada Scaffolding Supply Co. Ltd.	Employer	Employment
6. CanWest Tanks & Ecological Systems Ltd.	Employer	Employment
7. Co-op Radio	Media	Radio Show Host
8. Croatian Cultural Centre	NGO	Community Relations
9. Human Rights Commission	NGO	Settlement
10. Immigrant Services Society of BC	NGO	Settlement
11. McCrea & Associates Immig. & Citiz. Law	Legal	Immigration Lawyer
12. Public Legal Education Society	NGO	Settlement, Employment
13. Serbian Community Leader	Community	Employment Counsellor
14. Serbian Community Leader	Community	Community Relations
15. St-Michael's Serbian Free Orthodox	Religious	Community Relations
Both Groups		
1. Committee for Racial Justice	NGO	Community Relations
2. Immigrant Services Society of BC	NGO	Employment Counsellor
3. PICS (Vancouver)	NGO	Job Placement Officer
4. SUCCESS	NGO	Settlement

Source: Interview data

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