

Vancouver Centre of Excellence



Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

Working Paper Series

No. 04-08

**Responding to the Changing Needs of the Chinese Community in
Vancouver: The Contribution of SUCCESS (1973-1998)**

Shibao Guo

April 2004

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

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information, contact the Co-directors of the Centre, Dr. Daniel Hiebert, Department of Geography, UBC (e-mail: dhiebert@geog.ubc.ca) or Acting Co-Director, Dr. Jennifer Hyndman, Department of Geography, SFU (e-mail: hyndman@sfu.ca).

**Responding to the Changing Needs of the Chinese Community in Vancouver:
The Contribution of SUCCESS (1973-1998)**

by

Shibao Guo
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta
shibao.guo@ualberta.ca

April 2004

Abstract: This paper examines how a community-initiated voluntary organization such as SUCCESS (The United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society) responded to the changing needs of an ethnic community in a multicultural society. Using interviews and document analysis, this paper investigates SUCCESS during its first quarter century. It reports that SUCCESS was founded in Vancouver in 1973 as a result of the failure of government agencies and mainstream organizations to provide accessible social services for newly arrived Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. During its initial stage, the organization mainly provided basic settlement services. But SUCCESS has become a well-established multi-level service agency, providing a wide range of programs and services to both Chinese and non-Chinese. More importantly, it has created a home and a community to which immigrants feel they belong. The findings from this study have important implications for researchers, policy makers, and community workers concerning the role of immigrant service organizations in immigrants' settlement and integration.

Keywords: Immigration, immigrant service organizations, Chinese immigrants, settlement, integration

Introduction

The United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society, called SUCCESS, is a community-initiated voluntary organization founded in Vancouver in 1973 as a result of the failure of government agencies and mainstream organizations to provide accessible social services for newly arrived Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. During its initial stage, the organization mainly provided basic settlement services. But SUCCESS has become a well-established multi-level service agency, providing a wide range of programs and services to both Chinese and non-Chinese. More importantly, it has created a home and a community to which immigrants feel they belong. Using interviews and document analysis, this article investigates SUCCESS during its first quarter century. My principal interest is in examining how a community-initiated voluntary organization such as SUCCESS responded to the changing needs of an ethnic community in a multicultural society.

The discussion falls into five parts. The first reviews the historical, social, and political context in which SUCCESS emerged. The second examines the founding processes. Third, the article investigates the historical development of the organization. Fourth, it reports the major changes in the organization and, finally, it analyzes the social contributions of SUCCESS.

Historical, Social, and Political Context

The Chinese immigrant group is one of the oldest in Canada, and its history is probably the most unsettling (Li 1998). The first group of Chinese arrived in Victoria on June 28, 1858, from California in search of gold and new development opportunities. Originally they came predominantly from the southern Chinese coastal provinces of Guangdong (or Kuangtung) and Fujian (or Fukien). Most of them were single men with rural origins. As the gold fields petered out, the Chinese found employment as domestic servants, coal miners, and seasonal workers in the salmon canning industry (Tan & Roy 1985). Chinese workers were used extensively during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR).

The proliferation of the Chinese on the West Coast was perceived as a threat to the mission of the government to build a white *British* Columbia. The Chinese signified an ancient and medieval baggage of distinctions between “West” and “East,” civilized and barbarian, master and slave, Christian and heathen, white and non-white (Anderson 1995). With the completion of the CPR, the Chinese were no longer welcome. In 1885, the government of Canada imposed a \$50 head tax on all incoming Chinese, increased to \$100 in 1900, and to \$500 in 1903. When it was found that it was not effective enough to keep the Chinese out of Canada, the Federal Government passed a restrictive

Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which virtually prohibited all Chinese immigration into Canada until its repeal in 1947. Besides the head tax and the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, the Chinese also faced other kinds of discrimination. Since they were not allowed to vote, they were prohibited from entering certain professions such as law, medicine, or accounting. Further, they were denied the opportunity to acquire Crown land (Tan & Roy 1985).

The founding and historical development of SUCCESS mirrored, and was influenced by, the national immigration policy. From Confederation to the 1960s, the selection of immigrants was based on racial background, with the British and Western Europeans being the most “desirable” citizens, the Asians the “unassimilable” and, therefore, “undesirable.” After the Second World War, Canadian immigration policy continued to be “highly restrictive” (Knowles 1997) despite external and internal pressures for an open-door policy.

In the mid-1960s, Canada was experiencing “the greatest postwar boom” (Whitaker 1991, 18). Skilled labour was required to help Canada build its expansionary economy, but Europe as the traditional source of immigrants was not able to meet the needs of Canada because of the economic recovery there. Thus the Canadian government turned its recruitment efforts to the traditionally restricted areas — Asia. In 1967 a “points system” was introduced by the Liberal government, which based the selection of immigrants on their “education, skills and resources” rather than their racial and religious backgrounds (Ibid., 19). According to Whitaker, this new system represented “an historic watershed,” and “it did establish at the level of formal principle that Canadian immigration policy is ‘colour blind’.” (Ibid., 19). However, the new selection method was criticized for being “in favour of some racial groups and against others” (Mattas, 1996, p. 100). Whitaker (1991), however, believes that the new system might have stacked the deck against poor immigrants from Third World countries.

Whitaker pointed out further that the “points system” was successful in reversing the pattern of immigration to Canada away from Europe toward Asia and other Third World countries. By the mid-1970s there were more immigrants arriving from the Third World than from the developed world, the largest number coming from Asia, followed by the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa (Ibid., 19). Among the Asian group, many were from Hong Kong.

To understand the founding of SUCCESS, besides understanding the historical, social, and political context in the receiving country, it is also important to review the context from which the immigrants came. According to Wong (1992), there have been three major waves of emigration from Hong Kong since the end of the Second World War. The first occurred between 1958 and 1961 owing to dramatic changes in Hong Kong agriculture. The second wave was triggered by a political crisis,

the 1967 riot. It was a spillover of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China. It began with a demonstration led by local communists, but ended with violence and terrorism. Threatened by bombs and political instability, thousands left Hong Kong for popular destinations, the United States and Canada in particular. Many of them were members of the Hong Kong elite.

The third wave of emigration described by Wong began in the 1980s. According to the 1984 Sino-British Agreement on the future of Hong Kong, the colony would become a special administrative region under the rule of China. Many of the residents who were worried about their future began to leave Hong Kong. Among them, a large number found homes in Canada. Wong described this latest group of emigrants as “predominantly ‘yuppies’ - young, educated, middle class professionals” (Ibid., 4).

The Founding of SUCCESS

Both the domestic “pull” and international “push” factors contributed to the increase of Chinese immigrants, particularly from Hong Kong, in Vancouver in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. However, many of them did not speak good English when they came. In fact, many of the group who came under the family reunion category arrived in Vancouver with little or no English. Owing to their language difficulties, many people had problems accessing mainstream social service agencies for assistance.

The Hong Kong Chinese also had difficulty in getting help from the local Chinese community. According to Willmott (1969, 1970), there were four kinds of Chinese voluntary associations in Canada. The first was the clan association, in which members were grouped under the same surname. The second was the district/locality association, in which membership was limited to Chinese from the same village or county in China. The third was the fraternal-political association, which included the Chinese Freemasons and the Guo Min Dang or the Chinese Nationalist Party. The fourth was the community-wide association, such as the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA).

Except the CBA, voluntary associations functioned “largely as mutual-aid fraternal associations” (Chow 1976, 133) which mainly served their own group members. The new immigrants from Hong Kong found it difficult to find an association they could belong to. Chow stated further that these new immigrants were concerned more with government welfares and government assistance programs. Also since many of the traditional associations were quite isolated from the mainstream society, they could not provide the kind of help this group needed. Willmott (1970, 50) added that many of the new immigrants “found the traditionalist clan and locality association of Chinatown anachronistic and refused to participate in them.” The gap between the mainstream society

and the Chinese community thus indicated that a new type of organization was needed to help the newly arrived immigrants from Hong Kong. In her interview, Maggie Ip, the founding Chair of SUCCESS, said:

“We found the gap. There was no bridge. There were always these two isolated groups of people and the gap was in between. The gap was really the cultural and language barriers.”

The Pender YWCA: Predecessor of SUCCESS

Before the founding of SUCCESS, the YWCA at the corner of Dunlevy and Pender Street in Chinatown (usually referred to as the Pender Y) played an important transitional role in helping new immigrants settle and adapt to their new environment. Arguably, the Pender Y was conveniently located. It had a visible presence in the community, and offered bilingual services in both English and Cantonese. In addition, there was YWCA in Hong Kong, with which the new immigrants were familiar. The Pender Y provided information on social services, housing, law, and schools. It also hired a counselor to help the immigrants with different social problems, and initiated the Women in Training Project, which was later funded by the federal government, with an objective to provide immigrant women an opportunity to learn new skills.

In fact, it was not only individual immigrants who came to the Pender Y for help, institutions needed that help, too. But the overwhelming demand for help was too much for the Pender Y alone to handle. Furthermore, the Pender Y was not mandated or prepared to provide bilingual settlement services for new immigrants. The special demands of Chinese immigrants just could not be dealt with efficiently, nor was the Pender Y, with its broad mandate, in a strong position to speak for the Chinese community. The Chinese should be in a better position to speak for themselves. Therefore, a separate organization with a special mandate to service Chinese new immigrants was necessary. Linda Leong, a founding member of SUCCESS, recalls:

There were other things that the YWCA was involved in, which had nothing to do with the needs of the Chinatown group... I don't feel that the Y, with the kind of setup they had at that time, would be in any strong position to speak for Chinese community. I believe that the Chinese should be in a better position to speak for themselves.

The Founding of SUCCESS

Discussions with the early founders of SUCCESS and analysis of SUCCESS documents reveal five purposes for the founding of SUCCESS: (i) to bridge the gap in social services between new Chinese immigrants and service agencies, (ii) to act as a united voice in the Chinese Community,

(iii) to educate Chinese immigrants about their rights and responsibilities, (iv) to help immigrants become independent and productive citizens, and (v) to promote integration. Maggie Ip notes in her interview:

I also want to make sure that the final goal of every program that SUCCESS runs is eventual integration. We have a program, whether the program is welcome or not is secondary. We have to look at the program. OK, why are we offering this program, because this program will help immigrants eventually become a member of the society. This is a guiding principle. We develop the program as such that this is our eventual aim.

To bridge the gap in social services between mainstream service agencies and new Chinese immigrants, a group of enthusiastic and conscientious citizens and professionals in the community welfare spheres initiated discussion on the founding of SUCCESS. This group included Maggie Ip, Jonathan Lau, Mei-Chan Lin, Pauline To, Linda Leong, and many others. Most of them were fluent in both Cantonese and English. This group had worked together for years to organize programs and services for the new Chinese immigrants. Later they formed the first Board of Directors of SUCCESS.

The need for funding found the new Board of Directors applying to the Health and Welfare Canada (now Health Canada) for a three-year grant to carry out a demonstration project, called “The Chinese Connection.” The objective of this project was to provide the much-needed link between the service agencies that delivered the services, and the immigrants who received them. In November 1973, a public forum was held to determine what the consumers themselves thought of the project and how the service agencies would react to it. Some three hundred local citizens, supporter of the program, attended the forum and over two hundred signatures were collected, endorsing “The Chinese Connection” project. Many social service agencies, which dealt with the problems of the Chinese immigrants on a daily basis, also came out to support the project. In February 1974, SUCCESS was officially registered as a non-profit and non-political organization under the B.C. Societies Act. The fifteen founding members formed an interim Board of Directors with Maggie Ip as the Chair, Philip Leong Vice-Chair, Faith Lam Secretary, Sister Teresa Fung Treasurer.

Choosing the Name and Location

The name for the Society in English is different from its Chinese name. In English, it is called the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society, or SUCCESS; in Chinese, it is called Zhong Qiao Hu Zhu Hui **中僑互助會**, or the Chinese Immigrant Mutual Help Society, to reflect its spirit of mutual help. Many local Chinese in Vancouver simply call it Zhong Qiao **中僑**.

Qiao - Bridge  (the same sound as Qiao in Hua Qiao - Chinese Immigrants) was chosen as its logo. In an interview, Jonathan Lau, a founding member of SUCCESS, had this to say about its name and logo:

For the Chinese name, instead of using a wood bridge, we use people [Chinese Immigrants] as a bridge. That's the way we chose the name. Qiao is the human side... In terms of the logo, we just changed one side of the character [Qiao – as in Hua Qiao], very easy for people to accept.

Initially SUCCESS was located at 321 Main Street in Chinatown, a central location for the many Chinese residents who lived in Chinatown at that time, and close to many services in Chinatown as well (e.g., travel agencies, accountants, lawyers). Also for people living outside Chinatown, transportation services were convenient. In the beginning, SUCCESS served not only immigrants from Hong Kong, but many of the early Mainland immigrants from Taishan County and the surrounding areas of Guangdong Province. These required more professional services that they could not get from other organizations.

Historical Development of SUCCESS

The historical development of SUCCESS between 1973 and 1998 can be divided into three stages based on a general review of the history of SUCCESS, its programs and services, and its organizational development. Stage One, from 1973 to 1979, is the founding and establishing stage. Stage Two, from 1979 to 1989, is the developing and maturing stage. Stage Three, from 1989 to 1998, deals with its expansion and transformation.

Stage One: The Founding and Establishing Stage, 1973-1979

It was stated earlier that “the Chinese Connection Project” was the first project sponsored by SUCCESS between 1973 and 1977. It was a three-year demonstration project funded by Health and Welfare Canada. Its objective was to study existing gaps, provide the much-needed link between immigrants and social service agencies, and pressure agencies to modify their policies to provide better services. A team of seven staff members was formed for this project, including Paul Chan, Ambrose Hsiung, Elgin Lee, and Lilian To, who were all community workers, and a receptionist. Jonathan Lau from the Neighbourhood Services Association and Penelope Steward shared the responsibilities of the co-ordinator of the project.

At this stage, the SUCCESS office was opened for only half a day for referral services. The other half of the day was for the staff to do paper work, make contacts, among other duties. The Third Annual Report of SUCCESS (1976) documented the three major areas in which the Chinese Connection Project was involved: 1) Direct Information/Referral Services; 2) Community and Agency Development; and 3) Volunteer Development. SUCCESS was also actively involved in the debate about the published Green Paper on Immigration and the proposed changes in the Citizenship Act. Philip Leong, Chair of SUCCESS from 1975 to 1978, reported at the Third Annual General Meeting that in its first two years, the Chinese Connection Project was the prominent and most ambitious project sponsored by SUCCESS. By the third year, the project had had a tremendous impact and far-reaching effect on the local Chinese community.

The year 1977 was a crucial and difficult one in the history of SUCCESS. When the grant for the Chinese Connection Project ended in 1977, the Board of Directors had many discussions about the future of SUCCESS. Because their services were well utilized and because they foresaw the need for such a society, they decided to continue to provide services. Since the government was not prepared to provide more funding, the Society had to let some of its staff go. At one point, they were down to one staff member and the Executive Director. Despite these difficulties, the SUCCESS Board and staff members did not disappoint their clients. They all worked together to get through this difficult period. They overcame the difficulties by getting everyone involved, including members, volunteers, staff, and board members. Maggie Ip recalls:

At that time, lots of Board members came down to help because there were people coming and we opened our door for three years, people knew that. That was a very difficult time. One very important ingredient to overcome is that everyone put aside their own personal interest. We want to make this Society develop and strong.

Angela Kan became the Executive Director in 1977. Under the leadership of the Board of Directors, Angela and her colleagues started to rebuild the Society. In her interview, Kan highlighted four major actions taken in the rebuilding process. They were: to have a long term plan; fundraising; membership development; and joining the United Way to win recognition. The availability of funding from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) in 1979 became a turning point for the Society. In addition, in the same year, SUCCESS was accepted as a member organization of the United Way of the Lower Mainland. The acceptance implied that the organization had, for the first time, city-wide recognition. With core funding now being provided by the United Way, SUCCESS turned its attention to long-term planning. K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1975 to 1981, shared his view about joining the United Way:

The United Way is also a very respected and prestigious organization in the community. It represents 100 agencies in the Lower Mainland. It's a major fundraising organization for all charity organizations. To be accepted by the United Way is a very respectful organization. SUCCESS was the first Chinese organization that joined the United Way. Again it's good for the prestige of SUCCESS. It put SUCCESS on the map.

Another important development during Stage One was the arrival of a large number of Vietnamese refugees in 1979 under the Federal Government's assistance program. SUCCESS stood out, among other organizations, and met the challenge of providing a whole new branch of services for the refugees. In an agreement with the Vietnamese Refugees Assistance Association (VRAA) chaired by K. C. Li, a citizen group was formed to sponsor 50 Vietnamese families to Canada. The Society undertook to perform all re-settlement services for these newcomers. This was also the time when the spirit of voluntarism, mutual help, and self-help manifested themselves.

Stage Two: The Developing and Maturing Stage, 1979-1989

During Stage Two, a steady increasing number of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong came to Vancouver. Meanwhile, many early Chinese immigrants moved out of Chinatown and settled in areas in South Vancouver. These demographic changes were to have an impact on the general development of SUCCESS during this period.

The Kingsway Community Outreach Project was established in 1984 in response to the demographic changes in Vancouver. It was the first of its kind in SUCCESS. The Project aimed at developing a sense of community and encouraging community participation among Chinese-Canadians in the Kingsway neighbourhood. Nicholas Lo, Program Director of Finance and Asset Management of SUCCESS, began to work on the Project in 1984 as a staff member and later became the program manager. In his interview, Lo stated that in the 1980s the Kingsway and South Vancouver areas became the second largest Chinese community outside Vancouver Chinatown. There was a need to reach out to this group of people. It was also one way for SUCCESS to diversify its services. It marked a very important step for the development of SUCCESS outside Chinatown. Lo adds:

According to government statistics, lots of Chinese-speaking people choose to move out of Chinatown area and live in another part of Vancouver. In the Kingsway area, around 18 to 23% of local residents are Chinese speaking. That is why we want to start some services in that area to see whether it is necessary to have a branch office so that people don't need to take a long trip to Chinatown office to get the service they needed.

Having served the community in neighbourhood houses and community centres for one year, the Project was moved to Fraser Office in 1985 and was developed into SUCCESS's first branch office in 1986, but continued to provide settlement services, direct information, and referral services. Most of the funding for this project came from the federal government although SUCCESS had to raise money for some programs. In 1989, Fraser Office received funding to offer employment programs and job training, which consisted of specific skills training, as well as general orientation for job seekers. It opened a new area for SUCCESS.

In 1985, SUCCESS joined the Vancouver Foundation. Its first year's commitment of \$25,000 was matched by the Vancouver Foundation in December 1986. SUCCESS's fund with the Vancouver Foundation reached a capital base of \$60,000 in 1986. In October 1989, the Vancouver Foundation SUCCESS Endowment Fund showed a balance of \$160,000. K. C. Li, a former Chair of SUCCESS, regarded this new development of SUCCESS joining the Vancouver Foundation as "another landmark for SUCCESS." The new alignment indicated that SUCCESS had committed to serving immigrants permanently. Angela Kan, former Executive Director of SUCCESS, pointed out:

When we have a SUCCESS endowment fund under Vancouver Foundation...that means there is a commitment there...that SUCCESS will never go out of sight. It will be a permanent organization. That means financially, SUCCESS is counting on the fund to grow.

Also in 1985, SUCCESS was successful in hosting its first Walk with the Dragon Walkathon event, which was jointly sponsored by SUCCESS and the United Way of the Lower Mainland. Hong Kong T.V.B. (Television Broadcasting) and A.T.V. (Asia Television) sent their stars to support this special event. The Walkathon later became an annual event at Stanley Park, and one of the two major fundraising activities for the organization.

During the following year, SUCCESS faced a financial challenge. In its 1986 Annual Report, Sandra Wilking, Chair of SUCCESS from 1985 to 1987, stated that the Board was forced to make the very difficult decision of cutting back its administrative and program staff. They also had to raise approximately \$100,000 through their own fundraising activities, such as fundraising dinners, raffles, donations, new member's fees, and Walkathon. Wilking appealed to all sections of the Society to help

meet this goal. She stated that “this challenge is coming at a time when the demand for our services are increasing and government funding at all levels are not expanding” (Wilking 1986, 3).

In June 1986, Angela Kan, Executive Director of SUCCESS, was appointed Citizenship Court Judge for the British Columbia/Yukon region. Sandra Wilking stated that “[w]ith this appointment, Canada in particular British Columbia and the Yukon, was to gain the tremendous experience and expertise of an individual who has devoted herself to ten years of active community work” (Ibid., 2). “Unfortunately,” Wilking continues, “the Society lost a committed, innovative and hardworking executive director” (Ibid., 2).

The search for a new Executive Director was a difficult and lengthy process. The Search Committee looked for a replacement not only in Vancouver, but across Canada, the United States, and Hong Kong. In 1987 Lilian To became the new Executive Director. In the 1988 SUCCESS Annual Report, Eugene Lee, Chair of SUCCESS from 1987 to 1989, reported that To had performed remarkably in the first few months of her work in leading the staff and the Society. Her dedication and perseverance were unparalleled and the rapport that she had with the staff and the Board of Directors created stronger morale and a sense of unity. “The Executive Director Search Committee had high expectations when interviewing applicants for this position,” Lee said, and “we most certainly are satisfied with the results” (Lee 1988, 4).

In the 1988 SUCCESS Annual Report, Lilian To, Executive Director of SUCCESS, pointed out that “[t]he number of Chinese immigrants entering Vancouver has nearly doubled over the past year. Such changes were reflected both in the volume of our services, also in the demands for new approaches and direction” (To 1988, 8). In both 1988 and 1989, SUCCESS saw unprecedented organizational growth. Eugene Lee (1988) claimed that expanded programs and the demand for more services contributed to an annual budget which increased 50% over the last three years. In the 1989 Annual Report, Lilian To (1989) reported that with an influx of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and students from China, SUCCESS provided more than 90,000 service contacts for over 40,000 clients in 1989, an increase of almost 50% in service demand. Lee (1988) projected further growth as demographics of the Chinese community changed and the demand for services increased.

Among those who arrived during this time, many found homes in Richmond. In an attempt to provide more service accessibility and improve service delivery, SUCCESS opened its third office in Richmond in the Summer of 1989. According to Wilfred Wan (1989), Chair of SUCCESS from 1989 to 1990, this new office immediately attracted over 150 volunteers and quickly became an important part of the rapidly expanding new immigrant Chinese community in Richmond, offering, among other things, career consultation and job referral services. Lilian To reported that in 1989 “this newly

established Richmond service centre succeeded not only in meeting service needs of local residents but also in establishing bridges and linkages for Chinese immigrants in the Richmond area” (To 1989, 8).

During this period, besides the aforementioned programs and services, SUCCESS also spent much time on advocacy and fighting for social justice. Two major racist incidents towards the Chinese in the media, the W5 Campus Giveaway and the Dim Sum Diary, claimed its attention. In the first incident, the CTV erroneously depicted Chinese Canadians as foreigners. They were accused of taking educational opportunities away from white Canadians and unduly benefiting from taxpayer-subsidized public education (Li 1998). In the “Dim Sum Diaries,” according to Li, the accents of new Chinese immigrants and their stereotype behaviour were satirized. SUCCESS participated in the national campaign against the first and led a protest against the second. As a result, the CTV issued two apologies and the CBC withdrew the Dim Sum Diary program and acknowledged publicly that it adversely affected many Chinese, particularly the more recent immigrants. Angela Kan had this to add:

In the early days, it was very difficult because the community was not prepared. The host country was not prepared... I also talked to the media, that's where we fought for civil justice. The media was not very sympathetic. A lot of time when they talked about Chinese community it was just drugs and gangs.

In the end, SUCCESS’s dedication and determination to help immigrants, and its commitment to community development, began to win recognition from the Chinese community and society at large. During this stage, SUCCESS received a number of awards from the Chinese community, including the Community Service Award and Certificate of Merit from the Chinese Benevolent Association in 1980 and 1986 respectively. Another significant achievement was that during 1989 SUCCESS became a full voting member of the Chinese Canadian National Council, a national Chinese Canadian organization with 28 member chapters across Canada.

In the 1989 Annual Report, Wilfred Wan, then Chair of SUCCESS, reported that SUCCESS had by then become a mature and well-recognized establishment after 16 years of operation (Wan 1989, 7). Although demand for its services was growing and had become more complex, the staff members at SUCCESS, along with its volunteers, had capably proved themselves in serving the needs of the areas of settlement, adaptation, and integration. Wan also stated that, after working with the staff of SUCCESS for 4 years, he came to realize that Lilian To and her staff were “social workers in the true meaning of the profession.” They had always “tried their best, sacrificing their personal and family lives, to ensure that whatever task demanded of them will be dutifully fulfilled” (Ibid., 7). In

commenting on the influence of SUCCESS on Canadian society at large during this stage, Maurice Copithorne, a former Board member of SUCCESS, recalls:

At least in those days it wasn't that obvious. Of course it has become a tremendous influential organization. In those days, they weren't doing things like organizing meetings for the Prime Minister to meet, which they have done in more recent years. As I recall, completely concerned with social welfare. Secondly, they had a number of professional social workers involved. It was a very professional approach and I was always impressed.

Stage Three: Expansion and Transformation, 1989-1998

During Stage Three, with 1997 approaching, Hong Kong people were worried about the impending return of Hong Kong to China. Some of them had moved to Canada, and had taken up residence in the Lower Mainland. The 1990s also saw many Mandarin-speaking Chinese emigrating from Taiwan and Mainland China to Vancouver. They came from different linguistic backgrounds and their needs for services were different from immigrants from Hong Kong. Thus the new demographic changes created more opportunities for SUCCESS to grow and expand on a much larger scale than in the previous years. This stage was characterized by expansion and transformation of the organization.

According to Maggie Ip, founding Chair and Chair of SUCCESS from 1990 to 1992, many new immigrants arriving in Vancouver made the outlying areas such as Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody, and New Westminster their new homes (Ip 1991). In order to serve these new immigrants better, SUCCESS opened two new service centres: the Burnaby-Coquitlam Office in November 1991 and the Newcomers Integration Network for Tri-City (Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Port Moody) (NINT) in September 1993. This added to two other outreach offices SUCCESS had opened in Vancouver South and Richmond areas in 1986 and 1989. It was a demonstration of its community-based approaches to ensure accessibility and establish bridges for Chinese immigrants in their local communities. Among other things, the new Burnaby-Coquitlam Office offered family and youth counseling, immigrant orientation programs, and English language training. The NINT Program served both Chinese and non-Chinese. At that time, many immigrants from Korea and Iran who settled in the Tri-City areas had difficulties accessing programs and services from the mainstream. Their own ethnic communities could only provide them with limited support. SUCCESS received funding from the federal government to provide multilingual services to include non-Chinese immigrants.

As well, SUCCESS launched the Community Airport Newcomers Network (CANN) on October 15, 1992, which was intended to receive landing immigrants at the airport. Extensive research and consultation had showed a great need for a comprehensive post-landing/pre-settlement orientation and referral service for the sake of effective and efficient settlement. There was a call for proposals from Employment and Immigration Canada (later called Citizenship and Immigration Canada). A number of agencies submitted proposals and SUCCESS was selected. The project received funding from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) of Employment and Immigration Canada. The purpose was to help new immigrants go through the landing procedures and provide them with basic information and referral services upon landing.

Accordingly, CANN set up a multi-lingual kiosk at the Vancouver International Airport, offering group and individual orientations in 14 different languages: English, French, Filipino, Mandarin, Cantonese, Fukienese, Taiwanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Persian, Turkish, Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu. The kiosk provided direct services and referrals for general enquiries at the airport. The project provided a bridge for immigrants of many backgrounds to Canadian society. Unquestionably it was an opportunity for the newcomers to have a personal crucial first point of contact before a subsequent referral. The kiosk helped relieve the frustration and confusion of many newcomers arriving in Canada. As new immigrants awaited their landing papers to be processed by Immigration Officers, the airport reception team briefed them on Customs and Immigration procedures. Reception officers also assessed their needs and provided appropriate referrals.

As government policies shifted its emphasis to business and skill-oriented immigration, Greater Vancouver increased its intake of business and independent immigrants. A growing number of them required settlement services in business information and training to help them with their economic integration. In response, SUCCESS conducted a feasibility study for a Small Business Training and Development Centre in 1993, and developed training programs to meet their needs. In 1995, the organization formally launched this Centre, located on West Broadway. The purpose of this program was to prepare immigrants to start a business and become self-employed. When asked whether this new undertaking was in contradiction with SUCCESS's original mandate to help Chinese immigrants overcome language and cultural barriers, Thomas Tam, Program Director of Small Business Development and Training, stated:

I would like to say it is an extension of our service base on the same mandate. For new immigrants, we also help them to overcome cultural and language barriers in doing businesses or in getting employment. For the Canadian community at large, we help to bridge newcomers and local people, and eventually for the well-being of everybody. I think this is an extension of our services based on the old mandate.

The early 1990s brought a considerable influx of Mandarin-speaking immigrants mostly from Taiwan and Mainland China to the Lower Mainland. They called for increased services in Mandarin at the Society, particularly in the area of settlement services. In response, the Society hired and placed six Mandarin-speaking staff members in 1992 to provide Mandarin services and programs at each branch office. In addition, an Advisory Committee was established to address needs as well as program development for this group. As the population of Mandarin speaking residents in the Lower Mainland continued to grow, SUCCESS opened a Mandarin Service Centre in the Oakridge area in Vancouver in 1994. A second Mandarin Service Centre in Chinatown was established in July 1996 with support from the Hong Kong Bank of Canada.

Mason Loh, Chair of SUCCESS from 1994 to 1998, pointed out that the establishment of Mandarin service centres was not a unanimous decision. First, he commented on the debate over the necessity of singling out one language group and giving them preferential treatment. He argued that it was important to create space to make them feel comfortable and have a sense of belonging. Loh also maintained that, although SUCCESS was originally set up by and for Cantonese-speaking people primarily from Hong Kong, it should not restrict its programs and services to this group only. Furthermore, Loh claimed that this new initiative would gain more support for SUCCESS and benefit its own development. Loh further explains:

I personally say Mandarin services are going to be the biggest thing for SUCCESS in the next five to ten years. If the Hong Kong immigration numbers start to really drop, then we don't really need a lot of Cantonese abilities. We really need to have stronger Mandarin language capability to service the next wave of immigrants.

During 1995-1996, SUCCESS was faced with many challenges arising from shifts in community demographics, changes in government funding policies, and new dynamics in fundraising endeavours. The greatest challenge during this period was changes in government policies on employment training which resulted in the termination of almost all government funded employment and job-training programs for immigrants across the country. Funding for most of the highly successful employment training programs at SUCCESS was terminated by the end of March 1996, although these projects had achieved over a 90% success rate for gainful employment.

It was to be expected that the added responsibilities of SUCCESS would be matched by the provision of more facilities, foreseen earlier in 1988, when the Board of Directors approved in

principle a proposal to construct a permanent SUCCESS Social Services Complex. But it was not until 1992 that the City of Vancouver offered Block 17 between the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Garden and International Village, for the site of the complex which was to occupy some 26,000 square-foot (Loh 1995).

The complex was completed in 1998. Mason Loh pointed out that it had taken much time, work, and planning, and had the support of many volunteers including the Board members themselves. Also it involved much fundraising, which brought in the significant amount of \$5.4 million within a period of three years. The building, the first permanent home for SUCCESS, was indeed an achievement. It represented permanence and stability, would reduce general operating costs, accommodate seniors and youth alike, and above all, become a symbol of pride and create a sense of belonging. Wilfred Wan, a former Chair of SUCCESS, commented on the new social services building:

One of the biggest gains is the creation of the senior's centre. In the past, we had no space for seniors. They were running from one space to another, depending on availability. In this building, we gave them their own space and kitchen. In our next project, we may even have additional space for them. That was one of our best gains in this new building. The same goes for a centre for the youth, which we dedicated the space to as well.

The work of SUCCESS in the building of its Social Service Complex was indeed commendable. But far from being complacent, the organization tackled the need for a Multi-Level Care Facility Project in Chinatown, which was approved at the same time it approved the New Service Building. The objective was to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate services for a growing population of seniors. Progress with the construction of the building was slow until the Provincial Government approved the construction and provided \$12.2 million for the construction of a 108-bed Multi-Level Care Facility. The major difficulty was securing provincial funding. Both Mason Loh (1995) and Lilian To (1995) projected further organizational expansion with the completion of this project and the New Social Service Building.

During the past years, SUCCESS has continued to build bridges on both sides. Regular consultations and presentations were made to schools, parents, and community groups to promote social awareness and inter-group relations. The Society has taken the initiative to cooperate with other agencies in joint workshops, conferences, and programs. Job Development staff was placed in eight community centres and neighborhood houses in Richmond and Vancouver to develop “bridging” services. Similarly the Board of Directors, staff members, and volunteers continued to work with other organizations such as the Police, AMSSA (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies & Service

Agencies of BC), the Multicultural Health Coalition, Canadian Ethnocultural Council, and other ethnic and community groups to address issues of multiculturalism, racism, employment equity, and media relations. SUCCESS has also taken an active role in advocacy in the areas of immigration and social policies, health care policies, education policies, and the family and child protection regulations. Equally the Board of Directors and staff members served on over twenty committees of the City Council, the School Board, government departments, and social service organizations. Lilian To explains the importance of building bridges on both sides.

Our clients should not be focusing only on the immigrant population, our clients should also be the mainstream. We have to have the employers be willing to hire immigrants before they can even get a job. We have to work with employers and help them understand where the immigrants come from, and help them to understand they can contribute to their businesses. So our target now is not only immigrants, but also mainstream communities. I have to say that there is still a lot of work we have to do with mainstream organizations, mainstream communities, or mainstream employers. That is our target now.

Major Changes in SUCCESS

SUCCESS experienced tremendous changes between 1973 and 1998. These changes were manifested in the growth of the organization, the expansion of programs and services, and changes in its mandate. First, the fiscal growth of SUCCESS during its first 25 years was most evident. When it was founded in 1973, the organization only employed four full time professional social workers. By 1998, it had a professional team consisting of over 200 people. At its initial stage, it was funded by less than 100,000 dollars a year; when it reached its 25th anniversary, its annual budget has reached 8 million dollars. The number of clients receiving its programs and services skyrocketed from its initial 2,000 client contacts a year to over 200,000 by 1998. Physically, the organization has grown from the very beginning in a 300-square foot office in Chinatown to an organization with multiple satellite offices in the Greater Vancouver area with headquarters in a 26,000-square foot Social Service Building of its own.

Important changes occurred in SUCCESS's programs and services. In the 1970s, its lack of resources limited its provision to basic settlement services such as language interpretation and information services. By the 1990s, it was providing a whole range of programs including airport reception, settlement services, language training, counseling services, small business development and training, employment training and services, and group and community services. It was no longer just a single-focus organization providing only settlement services; it has become a well-established multi-service community organization. Its early approach was to help immigrants through language

interpretation and providing information. It has now developed a holistic approach, helping immigrants become competent, socially, culturally, linguistically, and economically. Twenty-five years ago, anybody who needed its help had to travel to Chinatown; it has now decentralized its programs and services to suburban areas.

Changes that were not as noticeable as the former two were those in its mandate. SUCCESS was established in 1973 as a demonstration project, which was supposed to end in three years. Its mandate was mainly to help non-English speaking Chinese immigrants through providing basic immigrant settlement services with the assistance of bilingual social workers who could speak both English and Chinese. Its situation in 1998 demonstrated that SUCCESS had become a multicultural and multiethnic organization. Its clientele comprised immigrants from non-Chinese ethnic backgrounds, including those from mainstream society. To reflect the demographic changes of its clients, its professional team has also become ethno-culturally inclusive. Their programs and services were made available in many languages other than Cantonese and English.

The changes that took place in SUCCESS touched many aspects of the organization. SUCCESS has grown exponentially and strong enough to be noticeable not just in the Chinese community but also in mainstream society. These changes made the organization less marginalized than during its early stages. In an interview, Mason Loh explained:

We are reaching out in our work. We are reaching out to the mainstream, the media, government, all around... Today it [SUCCESS] is no longer just a community group. I think you can safely say that it's part of the institutions of Vancouver. SUCCESS is large enough. When it does something, it is noticeable not just in the Chinese community, but in the mainstream as well.

Many social forces have contributed in the evolution of SUCCESS. First, the profile of immigrants changed owing to changes in Canadian immigration policies, such as the adoption of the 'points system,' the introduction of the business immigrant category, and the opening of the immigration division in the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. One consequence of the most recent policy change was the increase of professional and business immigrants, especially those from Taiwan and China. Second. The needs of newly arrived immigrants differed from their early counterparts and SUCCESS responded to meet these changing needs. Another force that influenced the changes in SUCCESS was government funding. Through funding requirements, the government encouraged SUCCESS to extend its programs and services to other ethnic communities. Other elements that contributed to the changes in SUCCESS included an internal democratic electoral system, professionalism, a politically neutral stand, and timing. Finally, most important of all, SUCCESS had a dedicated team, including early founders, board members, volunteers, and staff members. It was

their shared compassion, empathy, dedication, and common experience that were formative influences in propelling SUCCESS to its current stage.

Social Contributions

This study demonstrates that during its first twenty-five years of existence, SUCCESS contributed tremendously to the ethnic Chinese community and Canadian society at large. Its contributions touched both practical and theoretical fields of immigration, citizenship, and integration. Its social impact was extensive.

SUCCESS has had a great impact on the Chinese community itself. First, Chinese immigrants benefited immensely from its programs and services. By providing culturally and linguistically appropriate services, SUCCESS has increased the access of Chinese immigrants to settlement and other social services, which they were entitled to but deprived of, owing to the failure of mainstream social service agencies. It has been instrumental in filling the gap between immigrant community and government services. Furthermore, it helped create a safety network, a home, and a community to which Chinese immigrants felt they belonged. In addition, it helped form a united front among immigrants fighting for social justice and equity in social services, immigration, and other government policies. Similarly it helped immigrants develop a critical consciousness while educating them about their citizenship, rights, and responsibilities. Most remarkably, SUCCESS has played a significant role in increasing citizen participation. To many immigrants, SUCCESS was a stepping-stone for them to be integrated into mainstream society. As a transitional institution, it has helped immigrants ease the process of settlement, adaptation, and integration.

Another important aspect of SUCCESS's contribution to the Chinese community is its instrumental role in raising the profile of the Chinese in Vancouver. The outstanding performance of SUCCESS testifies to how an ethnic community can fulfill itself. SUCCESS has demonstrated to the larger society that the Chinese were no longer just an isolated group confined to Chinatown. Instead, the group has become an outreaching community, willing to contribute to the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of Canadian life. SUCCESS challenges the argument that immigrants were a social drain.

SUCCESS represented a new type of ethnic organization. Its active role in the Chinese community reshaped the well-established social order. The study supports Ng's (1999) argument that, by the end of the 1980s, SUCCESS, CBA, and CCC formed a tripod relationship among ethnic

Chinese organizations in Vancouver. In the 1990s, it seems that the Chinatown Merchant Association became a new member of this circle and formed a quadruple relationship. Roy Mah (1998), a World War II veteran, a community activist, and the retired editor of *The Chinatown News*, argues that, in recent years, these four organizations have worked together to “safeguard the interests and welfare of our community” (Ibid., 75).

Furthermore, through its community development events and activities, SUCCESS has contributed to sensitizing the mainstream organizations about their service approaches, even changed public attitudes towards immigrants. It has helped to enhance mutual understanding between immigrants and mainstream society, hence shortened the social distance between the two groups. As a mode that was originally developed from an ethno-specific community, SUCCESS also provided assistance to other ethnic communities, especially those that did not have the necessary resources. Its services have extended beyond immigrants to mainstream society.

Finally, SUCCESS has provided a financially affordable model for the government to provide community services while maintaining social control. It is testimony to how a community organization and government can work together to serve the community. SUCCESS is not only an exit for immigrants to step into mainstream society, but also an important entrance for government agencies and mainstream organizations to approach a hard-to-reach ethnic community. SUCCESS has played a significant bridging role between the immigrant community and Canadian society at large.

References

- Anderson, Kay J. 1995. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Chow, W.S. 1976. The Chinese Community in Canada Before 1947 and Some Recent Developments In *Ethnicity in the Americas*, ed. Frances Henry, 115-35. Chicago: Mouton.
- Con, H., R.J. Con, G. Johnson, E. Wickberg, & W.E. Willmott. 1982. *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.
- Ip, Maggie 1974. Chairman's Report. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Second Annual General Meeting Report*, 1-4. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- . 1991. Chairman's Message. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1991*, 7-8. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Kan, Angela 1985. Executive Director's Report. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1984-1985*, 6-7. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Knowles, Valerie 1997. *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Lai, Andrew 1985. Chairman's Report. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1984-1985*, 4-5. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Lee, Eugene 1988. Chairman's Remarks. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1988*, 4-7. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Leong, Philip 1976. Chairman's Report. In *SUCCESS Third Annual General Meeting Report*, 1-4. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Li, Peter S. 1998. *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Loh, Mason 1995. Chairman's Address. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1994-1995*, 4-5. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Mah, R. 1998. Vancouver Chinatown: Civil Rights Inspired a Community. In *Mission Possible: Celebrating 25 Years of S.U.C.C.E.S.S. (73-77)*. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Matas, David 1996. Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy. In *Perspectives on Racism and the Human Services Sector: A Case for Change*, ed. Carl. E. James, 93-102. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ng, W.C. 1999. *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power*. Vancouver, UBC Press.
- SUCCESS. *Annual General Meeting Reports of 1974, 1975, 1976, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998*. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Tan, Jin, and Patricia E. Roy. 1985. *The Chinese in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- To, Lilian Executive Director's Reports of 1988, 1989 and 1995. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Wan, Wilfred 1989. Chairman's Remarks. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1989*, 7. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Whitaker, Reg 1991. *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Wickberg, Edgar 1979. Some Problems in Chinese Organizational Development in Canada, 1923-1937. In *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 11, 1: 88-98.
- Wilking, Sandra 1986. Chairman's Report. In *S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Annual Report 1986*, 2-4. Vancouver: SUCCESS.
- Willmott, William E. 1969. Some Aspects of Chinese Communities in British Columbia Towns. *BC Studies* 1: 27-36.
- . 1970. Approaches to the Study of the Chinese in British Columbia. In *BC Studies* 4: 38-52.
- Wong, Siu-lun. 1992. *Emigration and Stability in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: the University of Hong Kong.

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
02-01	Galina Didukh	Immigrants and the Demand for Shelter	01/02
02-02	Abdala Mansour, Nicolas Marceau and Steeve Mongrain	Gangs and Crime Deterrence	02/02
02-03	Harald Bauder and Emilie Cameron	Cultural Barriers to Labour Market Integration: Immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia	02/02
02-04	Brian Geiger	Clothing Demand for Canadian-born and Foreign-born Households	01/02
02-05	Dan Hiebert	Canadian Immigration and the Selection-settlement Services Trade-off: Exploring Immigrant Economic Participation in British Columbia	02/02
02-06	David W. Edgington and Thomas A. Hutton	Multicultural and Local Government in Greater Vancouver	03/02
02-07	Steven Vertovec	Religion in Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism	03/02
02-08	Isabel Dyck	Becoming Canadian? Girls, Home and School and Renegotiating Feminine Identity	05/02
02-09	Parin Dossa	Modernization and Global Restructuring of Women's Work: Border-Crossing Stories of Iranian Women	03/02
02-10	Barry Edmonston	Interprovincial Migration of Canadian Immigrants	03/02
02-11	Handy Gozalie	Immigrants' Earnings and Assimilation into Canada's Labour Market: The Case of Overachievers.	04/02
02-12	Isabel Dyck and Arlene Tigar McLaren	"I don't feel quite competent here": Immigrant Mothers' Involvement with Schooling	05/02
02-13	Geraldine Pratt	Between Homes: Displacement and Belonging for Second Generation Filipino-Canadian Youths	06/02
02-14	Kangqing Zhang and Don DeVoretz	Human Capital Investment and Flows: A Multiperiod Model for China	07/02
02-15	Minelle Mahtani and Alison Mountz	Immigration to British Columbia: Media Representation and Public Opinion	08/02
02-16	Kathrine Richardson	Sieve or Shield? NAFTA and its Influence within Cascadia	06/02
02-17	Don J. DeVoretz, Zhongdong Ma and Kangqing Zhang	Triangular Human Capital Flows: Some Empirical Evidence from Hong Kong and Canada	10/02
02-18	Deirdre McKay	Filipina Identities: Geographies of Social Integration/Exclusion in the Canadian Metropolis	10/02
02-19	Aranzazu Recalde	Recent Latin Americans in Vancouver: Unyielding Diverse Needs Versus Insufficient Services	08/02

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
02-20	Gillian Creese and Edith Ngene Kambere	“What Colour is Your English”?”	11/02
02-21	Kate Geddie	Licence to Labour: Obstacles Facing Vancouver’s Foreign-Trained Engineers	11/02
02-22	Bernard Henin and Michelle R. Bennett	Immigration to Canada’s Mid-Sized Cities: A Study of Latin Americans and Africans in Victoria, BC	12/02
02-23	A. Charlton, S. Duff, D. Grant, A. Mountz, R.Pike, J. Sohn and C. Taylor	The Challenges to Responding to Human Smuggling in Canada: Practitioners Reflect on the 1999 Boat Arrivals in British Columbia	12/02
03-01	David Ley	Offsetting Immigration and Domestic Migration I Gateway Cities: Canadian and Australian Reflections on an ‘American Dilemma’	01/03
03-02	Don DeVoretz and Kangqing Zhang	Citizenship, Passports and the Brain Exchange Triangle	01/03
03-03	Johanna L. Waters and Sin Yih Teo	Social and Cultural Impacts of Immigration: An Examination of the Concept of ‘Social Cohesion’ with Implications for British Columbia	01/03
03-04	June Beynon, Roumiana Ilieva, and Marela Dichupa	“Do you know your language?” How Teachers of Punjabi and Chinese Ancestries Construct their Family Languages in their Personal and Professional Lives	01/03
03-05	Daniel Hiebert, Jock Collins, and Paul Spoonley	Uneven Globalization: Neoliberal Regimes, Immigration, and Multiculturalism in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand	02/03
03-06	Daniel Hiebert	Are Immigrants Welcome? Introducing the Vancouver Community Studies Survey	03/03
03-07	Yan Shi	The Impact of Canada’s Immigration Act on Chinese Independent Immigrants	04/03
03-08	Roger Andersson	Settlement Dispersal of Immigrants and Refugees in Europe: Policy and Outcomes	03/03
03-09	Daniel Hiebert and Ravi Pendakur	Who’s Cooking? The Changing Ethnic Division of Labour in Canada, 1971-1996	03/03
03-10	Serviy Pivnenko and Don DeVoretz	Economic Performance of Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada and the United States	03/03
03-11	Don J. DeVoretz, Sergiy Pivnenko, Diane Coulombe	The Immigrant Triangle: Québec, Canada and the Rest of the World	05/03
03-12	David W. Edgington, Michael A. Goldberg, and Thomas A. Hutton	The Hong Kong Chinese in Vancouver	04/03
03-13	Margaret Walton-Roberts and Geraldine Pratt	Mobile Modernities: One South Asian Family Negotiates Immigration, Gender and Class	09/03
03-14	Leonie Sandercock	Rethinking Multiculturalism for the 21 st Century	10/03

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
03-15	Daniel Hiebert and David Ley	Characteristics of Immigrant Transnationalism in Vancouver	10/03
03-16	Sin Yih Teo	Imagining Canada: The Cultural Logics of Migration Amongst PRC Immigrants	10/03
03-17	Daniel Hiebert, Lisa Oliver and Brian Klينenberg	Immigration and Greater Vancouver: A 2001 Census Atlas (Online format only)	10/03
03-18	Geraldine Pratt (in collaboration with The Philippine Women Centre)	From Migrant to Immigrant: Domestic Workers Settle in Vancouver, Canada	11/03
03-19	Paul Spoonley	The Labour Market Incorporation of Immigrants in Post-Welfare New Zealand	11/03
03-20	Leonie Sandercock	Integrating Immigrants: The Challenge for Cities, City Governments, and the City-Building Professions	12/03
04-01	Rosa Sevy and John Torpey	Commemoration, Redress, and Reconciliation in the Integration of Immigrant Communities: The Cases of Japanese-Canadians and Japanese-Americans	02/04
04-02	Don DeVoretz and Sergiy Pivnenko	Immigrant Public Finance Transfers: A Comparative Analysis by City	02/04
04-03	Margaret Walton-Roberts	Regional Immigration and Dispersal: Lessons from Small- and Medium-sized Urban Centres in British Columbia	02/04
04-04	Don J. DeVoretz, Sergiy Pivnenko, and Morton Beiser	The Economic Experiences of Refugees in Canada	02/04
04-05	Isabel Dyck	Immigration, Place and Health: South Asian Women's Accounts of Health, Illness and Everyday Life	02/04
04-06	Kathy Sherrell, Jennifer Hyndman and Fisnik Preniqi	Sharing the Wealth, Spreading the "Burden"? The Settlement of Kosovar Refugees in Smaller B.C. Cities	02/04
04-07	Nicolas Marceau and Steeve Mongrain	Interjurisdictional Competition in Law Enforcement	03/04

For information on papers previous to 2002, please see our Website

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/research/policy>

Back issues of working papers are available for \$5 from

Vancouver Centre of Excellence: Immigration, WMX4653, Simon Fraser University, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C, Canada V5A 1S6. Tel: (604) 291-4575 Fax: (604) 291-5336

E-mail: riim@sfu.ca

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/>