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***A Working Paper on Settlement, Integration,
and Welcoming Communities Domain in
British Columbia, 1996-2012***

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Metropolis British Columbia

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A WORKING PAPER ON SETTLEMENT, INTEGRATION, AND WELCOMING COMMUNITIES DOMAIN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1996-2012

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INTRODUCTION

Every year tens of thousands of immigrants and refugees choose British Columbia (BC) as their new home. The extent to which local communities are able to integrate immigrants, refugees, and minorities depends on a number of societal conditions, some of which can be effectively altered by government policies. The Settlement, Integration, and Welcoming Communities (SIWC) research domain of Metropolis BC focuses on the settlement and integration issues in, and the capacities of, local communities of British Columbia. The research priorities of this domain have been largely set, but not limited, to examine a) different public policy instruments that aim to enhance the capacity of cities and communities in BC to receive and integrate immigrants, refugees, and minorities; and b) issues and processes concerned with the settlement and integration of immigrants and refugees in communities of different regions of BC.

This working paper is a Capstone Project of Metropolis British Columbia (MBC) and, as such, aims to present a synthesis of some of the published working papers of our affiliated researchers in the SIWC domain in BC. Over the years 1996-2012, the name of the domain evolved from being simply the 'social' domain to the present term. The working papers are primarily used to disseminate the knowledge generated by research projects. The target audience has been federal and provincial government policy makers and funders; federal, provincial, and municipal NGOs, including immigrant service providing organizations, social and health professionals; and the general public. A typical working paper is 25-40 pages in length of text and supporting materials.

In phase three of the Metropolis project (2007-2012), the major federal partners identified six policy-research priorities: 1) citizenship and social, cul-

tural, and civic integration; 2) economic and labour market integration; 3) family, children, and youth; 4) housing and neighborhoods; 5) justice, policing, and security; and 6) welcoming communities. The final category focused on the role of host communities in attracting, integrating, and retaining newcomers and minorities and thus provided the foundation for the development of the MBC SIWC domain, which is unique in Canada. This domain intersects most strongly with provincial responsibilities of immigrant settlement and integration, and is therefore integral to the enhanced relationship between the BC Ministry in charge of settlement and integration issues and Metropolis British Columbia. All of the projects that have been funded in this domain speak directly to policy concerns of the BC government. The SIWC domain aims not only to enhance academic research capacity, but also to ensure that decision making, policy, practice, and research in the community NGO sector meets both federal and BC provincial research and policy priorities.

This paper, which synthesizes working papers published during all three phases of the Metropolis BC centre under the SIWC domain in Phase III and the former social domain, examines the scope of the methodologies, research dimensions, conclusions, and recommendations incorporated in previous working papers, and includes an appendix of the working papers considered. The work of the past fifteen years illustrates the tremendous value of academic and social science research on immigration and immigrant settlement issues, as well as the importance of sharing research papers and studies with frontline workers and policy makers in the field of immigrant settlement to inform planning, decision making, and program design.

SCOPE OF THE METHODOLOGY

Given the numerous published working papers on settlement, integration, and welcoming communities, it was necessary to focus our attention on the unique features of this domain within Canada¹. Specifically, we considered the focus of the SIWC domain on the settlement and integration issues in, and the capacities of, local communities of British Columbia. Settlement is the first step in the integration process following immigrant or refugee arrival to Canada. It is in this period that initial basic needs, such as obtaining housing, registering children in school, signing up for language training, accessing mainstream services, and understanding basic rights and responsibilities, are met.. Integration is a dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities. Welcoming communities are those which celebrate difference and diversity, and offer accessible resources, information and support for immigrants. Some argue that welcoming communities is an all-encompassing concept that incorporates issues related to settlement services, housing, employment, health, education, anti-racism initiatives, and public attitudes, to name a few. The SIWC domain has sought to promote and nurture research on welcoming communities from a settlement and integration perspective. Sites of settlement, integration and welcoming communities include neigh-

1 Following a request from the Co-Directors to highlight the research work of Metropolis BC over the years, each domain leader was invited to participate in a Capstone Project to review the working papers published in each of the respective MBC domains. A small committee was set up in April 2012 and we began to plan for the work. The committee included Miu Chung Yan from UBC (former SIWC domain leader, 2008-2010) and Jenny Francis (research assistant). In our meetings, we compiled a master list of potential working papers published by MBC since 1996 and reviewed a list of potential thematic areas that would be of interest to the settlement sector. Several weeks were spent reviewing the relevant working papers that could be included in our SIWC Capstone. The working paper published by Jamie Doucette (WP 05-S1) provided a valuable annotated bibliography of RIIM publications related to the settlement sector of Greater Vancouver from 1996 to 2004. Jenny Francis compiled an additional annotated bibliography from 2005 to 2012 based primarily on the MBC published working paper summaries and policy briefs. We met in person in June 2012 to review the summaries of 96 working papers, share our content analysis findings, and identify and prioritize research dimensions and trends in the published MBC working papers over the years. We consulted with the author of the Citizenship domain Capstone in order to avoid duplication of thematic research areas in our respective analyses.

bourhood houses, schools, community centers and private sectors, among others.

The working papers of the SIWC domain are drawn from a number of different disciplines reflecting a range of approaches and theoretical perspectives. The members of the domain [see appendix] and their disciplines (social work, education, sociology, anthropology, geography, women's studies, nursing, community and regional planning, public policy, etc.) included in this analysis can be found at the end of the working paper.

A number of trends in this domain have influenced the research on immigration, settlement, and integration. It is widely recognized that immigrants move through stages from settlement to adaptation to integration as they adapt to their new country. British Columbia is one of only three provinces in Canada to have signed an Immigration Agreement with the Federal Government to design and deliver federally funded immigrant settlement programming, which is provided by a variety of non-profit community-based agencies and public school districts. For example, the BC Settlement and Integration Program (BCSIP), formerly known as the BC Settlement and Adaptation Program (BCSAP), is the Government of BC program that receives federal funds to support organizations that provide settlement services to newcomers. Social service providers that serve the broader community may also receive funding in order to support the successful settlement and integration of new immigrants and refugees to BC. The SIWC research domain has been particularly interested in generating collaborative research between academic researchers and community organizations and, consequently, many of the working papers report the results of research undertaken through community-university partnerships. There is a particular focus on the use of qualitative research methodologies and methods to highlight the experiences and narratives of diverse

groups of immigrants and refugees across the province. Through a variety of research approaches from focus groups to interview-based case studies, researchers have tried to account for the ways in which a variety of factors influence settlement and integration in local communities.

There are a number of common concepts used in the working papers that deserve to be mentioned. For example, social capital is the ability to gain access to resources by virtue of membership in particular social networks and other social structures. Different social networks have different value within societies, and social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups. The concepts and role of social cohesion, social integration, identity and belonging, inclusion and exclusion, marginalization, local and transnational social networks, and an emerging 'super-diversity' provide the lenses for understanding newcomers' experiences in a significant number of working papers.

Issues of place emerge as another important factor, with a great deal of research on local communities in large urban areas such as Metro Vancouver, as well as in small- or mid-sized centers in BC. Municipal governments are increasingly exploring policies related to immigrant attraction and retention. However, in our review we have noted that there are few working papers in our domain that compare research findings across provinces or with other Metropolis research centres in Canada. Further, the research presented in the working papers tends not to focus on specific immigrant classes such as business class immigrants, Canadian experience class, or family class immigrants, although a number focus on the experiences of refugees.

The working papers included in our analysis are organized along five dimensions: settlement and integration at the community level (including family settlement, service delivery, and Canadian and immigrant perspectives);

ethno-specific settlement issues; gender issues; health, social services and well-being. For a list of the 61 working papers reviewed, please see the appendix.

SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL (INCLUDING FAMILY SETTLEMENT, SERVICE DELIVERY, AND CANADIAN AND IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVES)

Settlement and integration in local communities is the primary focus of this particular domain. Altogether we have identified 32 papers relevant to this core concern throughout the years. Several papers incorporate themes that are shared by a number of different papers. To illustrate the major themes of these papers on settlement and integration issues, we start by addressing a broader question: who are the immigrants? How newcomers experience settlement and integration and how they are perceived by the public provide additional important background information.

Nature of Immigrant Family

Since the beginning of the Metropolis Project, researchers have examined the immediate question of how immigrants experience the settlement process in Greater Vancouver. For example, Hiebert (98-15) reported the findings of 16 focus groups with immigrants of different age groups and genders, as well as with service providers and members of host communities in five different regions of Greater Vancouver. It was found that immigrants in particular areas might face challenges in entering the job market, arranging education for their children, and resolving intergenerational conflicts within the family. Meanwhile, when they needed help, immigrants seemed to reach out to a wide social network, both locally and transnationally.

Most immigrants come to Canada accompanied by their immediate family members. Three papers explore the unique nature and challenges of immigrant families in the Lower Mainland. The everyday life of most members of immigrant families, particularly women and children, may be confined to the specific location of initial settlement, but their social networks can be transnational. This implies not only an internal renegotiation of the relationships among family members, but also their external adjustment to the local context, as indicated in a few papers (Creese et al.. 99-10; Waters 01-02, 01-10). Creese et al. (99-10) conducted sixteen focus groups with recently arrived immigrants, service providers, and second generation young adults in five districts of Great Vancouver. They found that immigration may unsettle the family relations, while education and employment opportunities in the host society have significant impacts on the renegotiation of gender and intergenerational roles within the family. Consistent with Heibert's findings above, immigrant families are part of complex networks which, as Creese et al. noted, may challenge the meaning of "family" among immigrant kinship groups.

Indeed, the social networks of contemporary immigrants are multifaceted in that they include local, translocal, and transnational aspects. Details of the translocal and transnational issues discussed in the working papers are included in the Capstone paper on Integration and Citizenship by Oliver Schmidkte. However, regarding settlement and integration issues, the transnational nature of immigrants has generated two unique but interrelated patterns of immigrant families in Vancouver. Waters's papers on astronaut families (01-02) and satellite kids (01-10) provide an exploratory picture of how immigrant families strategically employ their transnational networks to serve both economic (especially in terms of an overseas job for the father) and human (specifically, local education for the kids) capital purposes. Yet,

these two transnational settlement patterns have presented problems to some immigrant families, particularly mothers and children who are often forced to tackle emotional and sociocultural difficulties without having either their spouse or both parents around.

Perceptions of and about Newcomers

How immigrants experience the settlement process is inevitably affected by their neighbours and other members of the local community. Therefore, it is important to know how immigrants are perceived by people of the “host” community. Three papers (Rose 99-15; Mahtani and Mountz 02-15; Hiebert 03-06) looking at local residents’ perceptions were identified. Rose focused his study on Richmond, a city comprising over 60% foreign born residents. Data generated from interviews of 54 residents in the late 1990s indicate an ambivalent sentiment among local established residents regarding the rapid influx of immigrants to their community due to the multifaceted impacts on various areas of public life.

Mass media is perhaps a good barometer of public attitudes towards immigrants. Mahtani and Mountz conducted a content analysis of three newspapers in BC between 1995 and 2000. They found that the presentation of immigrants in print media was driven by social incidents that tended to result in negative portrayals of immigrants and immigration policy. The economic context was a major factor affecting the portraits. One of the suggestions made by the authors was to seek better understanding of public attitudes through regular opinion polls. Hiebert took up this suggestion and conducted a survey in 2001-2002 to examine how residents of five Vancouver neighbourhoods perceived newcomers in their communities. The results indicated a mixture of opinions. However, a major finding of this study is that the education level

and household income of respondents tends to be associated with positive attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism. Therefore, as Hiebert argues, one's socioeconomic status may exert a greater influence than ethno-racial background on one's attitude towards newcomers and diversity.

Community and Settlement Challenges

The idea of welcoming communities has received growing attention in the last decade and recently became an explicit policy objective of the BC government. The basis of welcoming communities is largely geographical in that where immigrants settle may impact their settlement and integration process. In the working papers, the location of settlement has been examined at two different geographical scales. Statistically, most immigrants tend to settle in large urban centres and these have consequently drawn the attention of most immigrant studies.

However, there have also been efforts throughout the years to explore the immigrant condition in smaller cities in BC. By analyzing data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), Hyndman and Schuurman (04-19) sought to understand settlement experiences in five medium sized cities in BC. They found that the size of the city indirectly affects employment prospects, the availability of personal social networks, education opportunities and access to a variety of lifestyles, all of which are critical to immigrants' settlement decision making processes.

Echoing Hyndman and Schuurman, Walton-Roberts (04-03) and Drolet et al. (11-19) also found that smaller cities are disadvantaged in terms of social and health service structures. Drolet et al (11-19) studied the needs of immigrant families in Kamloops. They note that employment and adequate health and social services are critical to newcomers' decisions to settle and remain

in a small city. Walton-Roberts's study (04-03) undertaken in Squamish and Kelowna generated a similar picture. As Schmidtke and Neumann (10-13) argue in their examination of the political inclusion of immigrants in Victoria, a lack of government support, particularly at the municipal level, further challenges the limited service infrastructure of a small city to meaningfully engage immigrants in the community. These researchers consistently and emphatically suggest that both provincial and municipal governments have an important role to play in coordinating the efforts of governments and local community organizations to ensure that appropriate social service, housing, and employment policies are in place to attract, engage, and retain newcomers in smaller size urban centres. Perhaps some lessons can be learned from the Hasting Institute (Brock 07-13), which showed how concerted government efforts helped strengthen the community capacity at an institutional level in the City of Vancouver.

The local suburban community is the most immediate locale in which most newcomers' activities are confined. After all, the daily activities of members of most immigrant families, particularly women and children, occur in their local community and this may also affect how people socially integrate into Canadian society. A few studies focused on the relationship between urban communities and immigrants. Zeng et al. (10-10)'s analysis indicates that first generation immigrants who tend to cluster in ethnic enclaves have a lower sense of belonging to Canada than all other immigrants.

However, why some immigrants tend to cluster in ethnic enclaves is a question that needs further exploration. Do multicultural neighbourhoods better foster a sense of belonging? Based on two different studies on immigrant women, Creese (05-06) found that economic exclusion in the local community has negative impacts on women's sense of belonging to the host

society. The negative experience of visible minority women led to the question of how genuine Canadian multiculturalism is, particularly when it comes to the provision of economic opportunities in the local community.

A welcoming neighbourhood is deemed critical to the settlement and integration of immigrants and their families. But what do we need in urban communities to facilitate interaction among neighbours who are also strangers to each other? Lauer and Yan's (07-07) study of neighbourhood houses in Vancouver provides empirical evidence of the bridging role of these long-standing place-based community organizations that bring people together and connect newcomers with other residents. The case study presented by Cavers et al. (07-11) provides an exemplar of how a local neighbourhood house can generate a sense of togetherness and citizenship among new and established residents.

Social Services and Immigrants

Almost all the working papers in the SWIC domain have highlighted the critical needs of immigrants who face a daunting task to re-establish a home in a new country. While their personal social networks help to meet some of their needs, with government funding and community charitable resources, many community-based voluntary organizations offer another vital source of support. The nature and function of these organizations is diverse. In Vancouver, neighbourhood houses, as indicated in the papers by Lauer and Yan (07-07) and Cavers et al. (07-11), are longstanding place-based community organizations serving immigrants for many decades. Meanwhile, religious institutions also play an important role not only in cultural preservation, but also in the delivery of settlement services such as language training, orientation, and host programs for immigrants in local communities (Beattie and Ley 01-19).

In Vancouver, the achievements of SUCCESS as a community organization that has grown from an ethno-specific organization serving only Chinese immigrants to a multicultural multiservice community organization is discussed in three papers (Guo 04-08, 06-04, and Kwak and Hiebert 07-5). However, while most of the studies look at services for adult migrants, based on an exploration of African youths' access to integration and settlement resources in Metro Vancouver, Francis (10-07) identifies a lack of targeted programs aimed at meeting their specific settlement needs.

The need in smaller urban centres may be even greater; several studies indicate that while the need for community services is high, immigrants' access to services is consistently difficult due to the size of the population and government resources and priorities (Walton-Roberts 04-03; Schmidtke and Neumann 10-13; Depner 11-14; Drolet et al. 11-19). The authors of these papers unanimously call for alternative policy and program measures to better serve immigrants who settle in these small urban centres. The need for alternative approaches is an important consideration in the provision of community services for different groups of newcomers, each of which may have unique characteristics that affects their needs. For instance, Khadka et al. (11-09) examined the unique experiences of refugee youth whose living and employment conditions are so unsettled that they require holistic and multi-entry programs designed to meet their specific needs. However, due to the heavy reliance on government funding, as Creese (98-12) discovered in the late 1990s, community organizations are subject to sometimes abrupt policy changes that can directly cause instability and uncertainty in the settlement service sector, and thereby indirectly affect immigrants' access to quality services. Because of this, the recent development of settlement service funding in BC is a critical moment that deserves great attention from the research community.

GENDER

Settlement experiences are gendered experiences. Three qualitative studies illuminate immigration, settlement, and integration as explicitly gendered processes that affect men and women differently. First, Creese and Dowling (01-04) take a comparative international perspective based on immigration, settlement, and integration experiences from Sydney and Vancouver to describe some of the ways in which immigration is a gendered process with differential consequences for male and female migrants. For example, men and women often enter a new country under different immigration classes, experience differential access to services, create and draw upon different social networks, and may experience places such as home, neighbourhood, or workplace in very different ways. Focusing on women's experiences, the authors find that the gendered effects of immigration, settlement, and integration were most keenly felt in relation to the dependent status (family and legal) of the women they spoke to, which had implications in terms of unmet settlement needs, economic disadvantage, difficulties with housing, and new cultural expectations around mothering. However, at the same time, immigrant women also shaped settlement, multicultural, and anti-racist policies and practices through political activism.

Similarly, Walton-Roberts and Pratt (03-13) demonstrate that, contrary to popular stereotypes, patriarchal traditions are not the sole factor shaping immigrant experiences and decision-making processes, thereby challenging the stereotype of the patriarchal immigrant family. In order to better understand the nature of modernity in relation to immigrant settlement in Canada, they illustrate their findings through an investigation of the ways in which class, gender, and sexuality affect the experiences of a modern Indian immigrant

family. By maintaining an explicit focus on how gender and class relationships are altered through migration, this study disrupts persistent Canadian perceptions that immigrants tend to be more patriarchal than liberal western families. The authors conclude that family objectives in migration to Canada are more complex than seeking a more “modern” or “progressive” society, or simply better economic prospects.

Complexity is also evident in the process of becoming Canadian for the teenage girls interviewed by Dyck and McLaren (02-08). “Becoming Canadian” for these girls does not fit well with traditional models of assimilation or multiculturalism that assume unilinear unidirectional adaptation. Instead, feminine identity should be understood as ever-changing and closely related to everyday life and the people with whom newcomers interact. For example, the school is not simply a site of “becoming Canadian” in the strict sense; rather the process is negotiated in a variety of interactive spaces, including homes and neighbourhoods. Although the girls report experiencing racist language in schools, they look forward to being “Canadian,” while also retaining important aspects of their cultural heritage, and saw the process of “becoming Canadian” as being characterised by tension, struggle, and excitement. In contrast, their mothers report feeling isolated from what goes on in the schools, and attempt to mediate their daughter’s schooling through social networks and private tutoring. The family home was perceived by the girls to be a safe space of moral guidance in the context of a surrounding popular culture that includes notions of highly sexualized femininity that was unsettling for most of the girls.

All of the above mentioned authors caution that failure to consider the gendered nature of migration produces an incomplete account of the effects of immigration. Consequently, the dearth of studies investigating immigration

to BC through a gender lens indicates a significant gap in the literature and important future research direction.

HEALTH

Ten papers are included in this section, indicating the importance of health in settlement experiences. At the same time, the fact that several of these studies could have been included in multiple sections of this Capstone (such as settlement services or specific ethnic experiences) points to the variety of ways in which health and access to health services intersects with other aspects of settlement and integration. Some of these connections are highlighted in the discussion that follows.

Large survey-based studies of immigration and health that seek to deepen understanding of the relationships between immigration and health care in Canada include investigations based on the National Population Health Survey of the social determinants of health in Canada's immigrant population (Dunn and Dyck 98-20), and studies of health care utilization patterns generally (Globerman 98-08). A key finding of these studies is that immigrants and the Canadian-born use health care resources in similar ways. The overall pattern of health care utilization across immigrant and native-born Canadians primarily reflects the age differences of individuals within these populations; younger immigrant groups tend to use fewer health care resources than older immigrant groups. Over a lifetime, immigrants generally use the same level of health care resources as the native born, even though they generally fare worse economically compared to the Canadian born, possibly indicating significant barriers to accessing health services or different conceptions of health. However, according to these studies, immigrants are both more likely than non-immigrants to report poor health status, and also less likely to report

unmet needs for health care. Thus the authors conclude that the findings related to socioeconomic factors defy a simple explanation, given the complexity of immigrants' experiences. For example, immigrants were more likely to live in a major city, less likely to be wealthy, more likely to have no schooling or advanced degrees, more likely to be married, less likely to be living in a nuclear family household, less likely to be in paid employment, and more likely to experience low levels of social support.

More specifically, Wu and Schimmele (04-18; 05-15) look at health care use patterns among "later stage" immigrants and at the connections between immigration status and unmet health care needs using the 2000-2001 Canadian Community Health Survey (Cycle 1.1), British Columbia component. Their findings indicate that later stage immigrants utilize fewer health care resources than either non-immigrants or immigrants whose age at immigration was less than 45 years. In general, unmet needs are increasing, though it is difficult to tie this down to one primary variable. For example, the authors identify both lack of fluency in English and membership in a low-income household as barriers to health care utilization. . However, despite some differences among groups, chronic conditions are generally the strongest predictor of health care utilization. This is significant because the research also finds that when relative health and illness is taken into account, later-stage immigrants tend to have a lower prevalence of chronic health conditions. However, there is evidence that spending a longer time in Canada (where eating habits and activity levels change over time) can have negative health effects on migrants, with the result that the "healthy migrant effect" attenuates over time. Put another way, recent immigrants have fewer unmet health needs than the Canadian-born population (a finding that contradicts the previous study), but this advantage decreases over time.

Buzzelli and Newbold (06-12) also find immigrant status is “protective” of health in the specific sense that immigrants have lower rates of asthma than the Canadian born. Their findings are based on the results of a multivariate analysis including multi-level logistic regressions of data related to environmental quality in urban settings. Using neighbourhood socioeconomic and air pollution data, as well as individual socioeconomic and health data, they show that particle levels in the air were not as significant a predictor of asthma as individual factors such as immigrant status or gender.

Turning to the accounts of particular groups of immigrant women, Dossa (01-16; 99-18) draws on interviews with immigrant women and service providers, as well as personal observations of the social and religious life of the Iranian community on Vancouver’s North Shore to show how narrative representations of mental health and life stories can be used in mental health research. Biomedical models of care tend to ignore the structural and social issues in women’s lives, seeing them only in terms of deficits such as being unable to find work because they do not have the required qualifications. However, the women described experiences of racialization that impacted on their well-being and left them feeling vulnerable. The findings suggest that there can be therapeutic benefits to thinking about mental health in different ways than in the traditional Western model. Similarly, Dyck (04-05) shares South Asian women’s accounts of health, illness, and everyday life. Based on findings from a case study of a group of primarily Sikh women who migrated from the Punjab region of India, the author identifies some of the health needs and experiences of immigrant women in BC and describes how the management of health and illness features in women’s everyday lives. The work of Dyck and Dossa complement studies of Sri Lankan Tamil experiences of integration in Toronto and Vancouver (Sandercock, Dickout and Winkler 04-12)

and migrant stories from Iranians in Vancouver (Swanton 05-21), which are included in the “ethno-specific experience” section of this paper.

Focusing on another aspect of women’s health experiences, Janssen and Desmarais (10-15) examine intimate partner violence disclosed by women attending maternity care services at Richmond General Hospital during the prenatal period, hospitalization for delivery, or a postpartum home visit. They report that women are more comfortable disclosing violence in the antepartum period using paper forms, although these are not anonymous, compared to speaking in person with a nurse. Among 60 percent of this group, violence ceased during pregnancy and the early postpartum period and later resumed. These findings support maternity health provider assessment for violence after the initial postpartum period.

Finally, based on the wide variety of research-identified health care needs, Anderson, Tang and Blue (99-14) examine the importance of incorporating cultural plurality into health systems renewal. Drawing on observation, interviews, and documents within a health care institution in Western Canada, the authors investigate the ways in which policies aimed at making health care more accessible are negotiated in the everyday realities of hospital settings, especially in regards to cost containment. Additionally, they query how understandings of culture in health care are taken up in the restructuring of Canada’s health care system. They find that, overall, how a patient’s culture is interpreted depends on the lens through which the health professional views the patient. In addition to the barriers to health care access mentioned in the studies described above, Anderson, Tang and Blue note that where interpreter services are unavailable, patient care sometimes fell short.

Overall the research on health and immigration shows that, while immigrants in general have fewer health concerns than the native born, their needs are just as diverse; and this must be taken into account in order to understand the barriers that immigrants face in accessing adequate health care. One of the key conclusions that arise from the SWIC working papers looking at health in the context of immigration is that access to health care is a cornerstone of successful integration. Consequently, a critical feature of welcoming communities is the provision of culturally sensitive and relevant health care that meets the diverse needs of all members of the community, including immigrants.

PARTICULAR ETHNIC GROUPS' SPECIFIC SETTLEMENT ISSUES

Canada has an ethnically diverse source of immigrants. Due to different reasons of migration and ethno-cultural background, different ethnic groups may experience the settlement and integration process differently and differential reception of immigrants from various regions by members of Canadian society. These different experiences have drawn attention from researchers throughout the years. These include "one off" studies of people from the Burmese, Bhutanese, Afghan, Iranian, Acehnese, Kosovar, Tamil, Korean, and Jewish communities; studies looking at the experiences of immigrants from the Chinese and Filipino communities, which are the focus of several papers; and studies of larger collectivities of people from Europe, Africa, and Latin America. The papers reflect the diversity of immigration to BC while also pointing to the dominance of particular groups.

A number of papers look at methods of researching immigration, settlement, and integration, asking questions about how researchers come to know about migrants' experiences, and urging recognition of research participants as producers of important context-specific knowledge. For example, Hyndman

and Walton-Roberts (99-07) challenge conventional research protocols by suggesting that community research collaboration can itself actually contribute to supporting the settlement and integration process. Similarly, Swanton (05-21) emphasises that stories about migration, dislocation, exile, and resettlement can be told in various ways (i.e. in films, books, statistics, conversations, the media), and that such stories provide important insights into how people make sense of both migration and the immigrants who undertake it. However, the author cautions that each style of storytelling provides only one part of the picture; and therefore it is important to reflect critically on the stories and question to what extent they provide full or partial insight into particular aspects of the migration process. Finally, Dossa (06-02) employs the stance of “the wounded storyteller” (the term reflects the substantive and unequal connections between the global North and South) in everyday life in order to illustrate the means by which immigrant scripts bridge the longstanding analytical divide between notions of political economy and human agency. She argues that this stance has the potential to affect a paradigm policy shift from perceiving elderly women as a social burden (the neoliberal paradigm) to viewing them as persons engaged in claiming their civil rights, here and there.

A second group of papers focuses more closely on the settlement and integration needs, barriers, and experiences of immigrants from diverse origins. Specific topics include intermarriage in shaping the geographies of Jewish belonging (Jackson 07-09); the wide gap between the promise and practice of multicultural citizenship as experienced by Tamil immigrants, particularly women, youth, seniors, and those of lower economic classes (Sandercock, Dickout and Winkler 04-12); the perceived lack of settlement services in the context of wider societal discrimination that results in delayed integration for members of Latin American communities (Recalde 02-19); language profi-

ciency, skills recognition, and gender and race based discrimination as major obstacles to employment for immigrants from Africa and Latin America (Henin and Bennett 02-22); the importance of “fitting in” with their peers while standing up for themselves in relation to students and teachers in the context of intergenerational tensions and low academic expectations and achievements among African teenage immigrants (Creese, Kambere and Masinda 11-16); and new forms of Korean-Canadian entrepreneurship (Kwak 04-14).

Another set of papers examines the outcomes of deliberate resettlement strategies for Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) from protracted refugee situations. Sherrell, Friesen, Hyndman and Shrestha (11-11) find that for Bhutanese GARs in Coquitlam the planning process and partnerships established in the months preceding the GARs’ arrival facilitated increased flexibility in responding to problems and challenges. To further improve outcomes, the authors call for enhanced early intervention support services and a specialized pre-departure Canadian Orientation Abroad program for refugee youth and young adults. In another study, based on interviews with GARs from Kosovar settled outside the Lower Mainland, Sherrell, Hyndman and Preniqi (04-06) suggest that the strategy of settling extended families together is an important one that may shape the likelihood of staying on in a small- or mid-size city. The authors urge that the retention of immigrants in small to mid-size cities requires a comprehensive approach including: the provision of services, the development of welcoming attitudes, and adequate employment prospects for immigrants and refugees. Finally, two papers investigate the experiences of Acehnese GARs one year and five years from their date of arrival. McLean, Friesen and Hyndman (06-07) identify a gap between the services intended for the first year of support to refugees and those actually provided. Their policy recommendations include: that refugees receive a “preparation package” with

basic settlement and cultural information prior to arrival; additional support in the housing search; support funding available for two years; and the provision of English language training before departure. Stemming from the gaps they identified in the initial study, Brunner, Hyndman and Friesen (10-12) find that five years later, low levels of employment and official language skills persist, while family reunification policies are proving difficult to negotiate.

In addition, five papers examine the experiences of Chinese migrants in Vancouver. Guo and DeVoretz (05-08) provide an overview of the characteristics of Chinese immigrants to Canada between 1980 and 2001 based on census data and outline some of the policy implications of demographic changes. One aspect of which is that migration between Hong Kong and Vancouver has become more distinct in recent years. In a related study, Edgington, Goldberg and Hutton (03-12) investigate the consequences for Vancouver of large scale immigration and flows of finance from Hong Kong. At the local and neighbourhood level, the Chinese population in Vancouver has expanded geographically from its original location in Chinatown to a series of ethnic-specific suburbs. In terms of social integration, the authors find that despite the many challenges involved, Hong Kong residents are widely perceived to have added a new and dynamic chapter to the history of Vancouver given that they brought large amounts of human and financial capital into the region along with a new set of links connecting Vancouver with Asia-Pacific cities.

The remaining three papers on Chinese immigration to BC look at settlement experiences and how they affect the decision to leave or stay in Canada, and differences between "stayer" and "returnee" groups in terms of demographics, education, income, motivation, and satisfaction (Guo and DeVoretz 05-20; Teo 07-02; Deng 07-03). Generally speaking, the primary reasons Chinese immigrants moved to Canada include the pleasant natural environ-

ment, enhanced opportunities for children's education, and acquiring citizenship and social capital. However, a major issue is the difficulty many professionally trained Chinese immigrants experience in having their foreign credentials recognized. Related to this, the most critical issue is that of finding employment that reflects educational qualifications and work experience. Also, language barriers prevent immigrants from finding jobs, accessing social and health services, and pursuing further education and training. The main factors motivating a return to Hong Kong were higher-paying jobs, greater job security, job promotion opportunities, and family reunification.

Three papers investigate the settlement experiences of Filipino immigrants in Vancouver. Two papers written in collaboration with the Philippine Women Centre focus on women's experiences, including through the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) and inclusion/exclusion more generally (McKay and Philippine Women Centre 02-18; Pratt and Philippine Women Centre 03-18). The third paper explores the feelings of Filipino-Canadian youth around dislocation and stereotyping, as well as the influence of Filipino culture on identity formation and community organizing in order to understand how young Filipino-Canadians experience their identities, and to what extent they feel they belong in Canada (Pratt 02-13). Taken together, the studies reveal that, despite significant benefits, the LCP program involves personal costs in terms of stigmatization, downward occupational mobility, and family dislocation. Women who did not enter under the LCP also report feeling stereotyped and denied a sense of belonging in Canada. Meanwhile, Filipino youth experience extremely complex and vulnerable situations of belonging, largely due to the live-in caregiver programs that attracted their mothers to migrate to Canada. In response to social isolation based on systemic racism, many youths reinvented their identity as both Filipino and Canadian and found support in orga-

nizing together with other Filipino youth who had experienced similar feelings of dislocation. Overall, the authors conclude that, although official multiculturalism does not offer an easy solution to exclusion, it does afford a space in which Filipino women and youth may place themselves within the nation.

Finally, most of the above papers focused on a specific ethnic group. One exception is Hiebert and Ley (01-08), which compares the settlement experiences of immigrants of European and non-European origin using special tabulations of the 1991 census. Comparing European and non-European origin immigrants, the study found a gradual convergence of European and non-European origin minorities (visible minorities) that was more complete for some aspects of settlement and less complete for others. For example, while personal incomes were lower for visible minorities, household incomes were generally higher, and after the first decade of settlement a smaller proportion of households of non-European origin minorities than European groups fell below the low-income threshold.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The discourse on immigrant integration in both academic and policy circles is rich with research on monitoring and measuring immigrant outcomes. Much is known about which human capital characteristics help immigrants to integrate. However, there is a need to better understand the characteristics of host communities that best integrate newcomers, and what attributes help communities to attract and retain immigrants. The successful integration of immigrants into a community can include a number of economic, social, cultural, and political factors, including employment opportunities, social networks and access to services (e.g., health, language training, schooling and recreation). Many cities have active programs to attract and retain immigrants

to support a variety of economic, social, and demographic goals. There may also be a need to enhance existing anti-racism initiatives in order to address the existence of persistent negative stereotypes that may also affect settlement and integration experiences. Whether an immigrant chooses to settle in a certain community or not depends on the relationship between the interests of the immigrant and the characteristics of the community.

While some Canadian metropolitan areas receive a large number of immigrants and refugees, there is significant secondary migration of immigrants once in Canada. Initial settlement patterns and the secondary migration of immigrants have implications for federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal policies and for providing settlement services and funding, making it crucial to better understand the factors that make some communities more successful at integration and retention than others. Additional pan-Canadian research would be welcomed to further explore and enhance communities' ability to integrate and retain immigrants in diverse locations.

In BC, the Settlement, Integration, and Welcoming Community domain aimed to enhance academic research capacity, contribute to decision making leading to improved policies, practice and research in the community and NGO sector, that met both federal and BC provincial research and policy priorities. It is our view that research conducted in this domain as featured in the working papers included in this Capstone paper successfully contributed to this goal and policy objectives. In fact, we anticipate that future research will be required to continue to better understand the settlement and integration experiences of immigrants in BC and elsewhere in Canada. Drawing from our survey of working papers, there is much research to be done on the gender dimensions and impacts of immigration, social determinants of health, and community and settlement challenges. Specifically, the termination of the BC

Agreement may lead to new funding and programming arrangements which may have implications for both large urban centers and smaller communities². Despite the dissolution of MBC, there is still a great need for continuous collaborative efforts to examine settlement, integration and welcoming communities in BC in the future.

² On April 12, 2012, Citizenship and Immigration Canada announced that it is unilaterally terminating the Canada-BC Immigration Agreement, which gives BC the ability to develop and deliver immigrant settlement and integration programming based on unique provincial dynamics. The CIC office that will oversee BC immigrant services will be located in Calgary, Alberta. The settlement sector will be undergoing a period of transition in the upcoming years, and it can be argued that such change has been a constant feature of the immigration landscape in Canada.

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