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Metropolis British Columbia Domain – “Housing and Neighbourhoods” Literature Review – 1996 - 2012

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Metropolis British Columbia

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

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METROPOLIS BRITISH COLUMBIA DOMAIN – “HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOODS” LITERATURE REVIEW – 1996 - 2012

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INTRODUCTION

In the early part of the 21st century, Canada's largest urban areas, including the City of Vancouver and its satellite suburbs, continue to experience dramatic demographic, economic, and cultural changes as a consequence of immigration. Canada and British Columbia, in fact, have been shaped and defined by immigration. In recent decades, however, changes in federal immigration policies have resulted in more heterogeneous immigrant flows than ever before. These new waves of immigration have transformed the demography, as well as the social, economic, and political structures, of Canada's urban and suburban landscapes, including its diverse housing markets.

The increasingly heterogeneous nature of immigration to Canada is mirrored in the settlement patterns of immigrants who have radically transformed the cultural and social geography of Canada's cities and suburbs. Immigrant groups settle in diverse patterns, with some concentrating spatially to form ethnic enclaves – initially in immigrant reception areas close to downtown, and later in the suburbs, or by going directly to these suburbs – while others are disseminated across the urban and suburban landscape. These complex settlement patterns have resulted in major challenges for policymakers from all levels of government, as well as civic and business leaders, as they attempt to develop strategies to facilitate immigrant settlement and the delivery of services to these new populations. Given the widespread recognition of immigration as a critical engine of economic growth in Canada, greater knowledge of the obstacles faced by immigrants and refugees, and visible minorities in particular, can help policymakers and business leaders support economic development through the promotion of a more responsive housing sector.

In recent years, there has been increasing attention paid to the relationship between access to affordable housing and the residential concentrations of newcomers and minorities on the one hand, and successful integration and inclusion on the other. For these individuals and families, it is not only the type of housing but also the neighbourhood in which it is found that impacts upon and helps to shape social networks, access to employment opportunities, participation in and access to public social spaces, the nature and availability of social services, and a general sense of security. As a result, scholars and policymakers are today seeking to better understand the relationship between housing, neighbourhoods, and immigrant integration into Canadian society. Within this context, British Columbia and its main city—Vancouver and suburbs, the main “port of entry” for new immigrants arriving in the province—have become an important “social laboratory” for Canadian and non-Canadian scholars interested in issues relating to immigrant settlement, housing experience, and integration into a new society.

OVERVIEW OF METROPOLIS BRITISH COLUMBIA (MBC) RESEARCH ACTIVITY 1996-2012

With regard to the rich and diverse published literature by MBC research affiliates in the research domain of “Housing and Neighbourhoods” for the period 1996–2012, the following themes/areas of research were identified: (a) Housing Careers/Barriers (Experiences, Situation, and Needs); (b) Social Geography of Immigrants/Minorities and Ethnic Neighbourhoods; (c) Neighbourhoods (Institutions, Settlement Services, etc.); (d) New Immigrants and Second-Tier Cities – Attraction and Retention Challenges; (e) Homelessness; (f) Concentration/Residential Geography; (g) Homeownership; and (h) Changing Residential Neighbourhoods.

TABLE 1. OUTCOMES BY PRIORITY THEME (1996–2012)

METROPOLIS WORKING PAPERS	
THEME	N=61
Housing Careers (Experiences, Situation, and Needs)	7
Social Geography of Immigrants/Minorities and Ethnic Neighbourhoods (Institutions, Settlement, Services, etc.)	12
New Immigrants and Second-Tier Cities: Attraction and Retention Challenges	9
Homelessness	5
Concentration/Residential Geography	4
Homeownership	8
Changing Residential Neighbourhoods/Gentrification	1
Miscellaneous	7
	8

Research affiliates with Metropolis British Columbia published important work between 1996 and 2012 dealing with a range of issues related to newcomers to Canada, the “housing and neighbourhoods” in which they decided to reside, and their integration into Canadian society. A total of 61 working papers were identified and included in this literature review/summary (Table 1). The publications covered a wide variety of geographic locations (study areas) in British Columbia as well as in other Canadian provinces; some of these publications reported local-level data (e.g., neighbourhood, city), while others cited regional/provincial-level and/or national-level data. Elements from these publications that may be of special interest to policymakers from the three different levels of government include literature that addresses specific governmental policies/programs; that describes comparative/longitudinal research; reports by immigration class; that offers information on identity markers (e.g., gender, age, migration indicators, religious, visible minority, citizenship...) and that makes use of important key datasets. A significant number of these publications used qualitative and/or quantitative research methods.

For the last sixteen years (1996–2012) academics, non-academics, and university students participated actively in the data collection, analysis, and publication of a wide/rich range of working papers that were financially supported by MBC dealing with immigration, housing, and neighbourhoods. Given the importance of immigration as an engine of social and political change as well as economic development, it is imperative that scholarship addresses the housing and neighbourhood experiences and outcomes of immigrants and refugees in our urban and suburban areas. The studies produced between 1996 and 2012 by research affiliates in our research domain explored some of the important links between immigration, settlement/neighbourhood integration, and housing markets in a rich and complex multicultural society.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH:

WORKING PAPERS PUBLISHED BY MBC RESEARCH AFFILIATES (1996-2012)

Between 1996 and 2012 research affiliates with MBC published a significant number of working papers on topics related to immigration, housing, and neighbourhoods in Canada. As expected, the large majority of these working papers focused on the province of British Columbia and, in particular, on its major urban area and “port of entry” — the city of Vancouver and its suburbs — for most immigrants arriving/settling in the province. The relationship between access to affordable housing and residential concentrations of newcomers and minorities on the one hand, and the successful integration and inclusion of these groups on the other, is a major concern for the authors of these publications.

Housing Careers (Experiences, Situation, and Needs)

For new immigrants and refugees, access to adequate and affordable housing is essential for their successful integration into Canadian society. In addition, housing is also a critical indicator of quality of life, health, social interaction, community participation, economic activities, and general well being. Refugees in particular face the greatest challenges of all newcomers and often find their housing choices constrained by many factors.

Some of the key questions addressed by scholars are: (a) What barriers do immigrants and refugees face in securing affordable housing in Canada? (b) Are they able to find affordable and suitable housing? (c) What coping strategies are they using? (d) What impacts are immigrant and refugees having on the housing markets in Canada? and (e) What are the major housing policy implications of the above? As many of the working papers suggest, the role of housing is much more central to immigrant and refugee integration than is commonly assumed. Housing is most people's single largest monthly expenditure, which, if unmanageable, can preclude other important expenditures. It can also necessitate activities (i.e., a second job) that potentially inhibit long-term integration via other activities such as skills upgrading, taking language classes, and other strategies. Two common findings span the diverse studies in this report: (i) that refugees face the most difficult housing circumstances of all newcomers to Canada; and (ii) that affordability is the single most significant barrier to housing, regardless of location.

Three studies—**Hiebert and Mendez (2008)**; **Hiebert, Mendez and Wyly (2008)** and **Teixeira (2012)**—present detailed analyses of recent immigrants' housing experiences in the Vancouver Metropolitan area and its suburbs, while another group of scholars—**Walton-Roberts (2001)**; **Waters**

(2001a); Hiebert and Ley (2003); and Ley and Kobayashi (2005)—explored the transnational behaviour of immigrants that settled in Vancouver (see Full Bibliography and Appendix A).

Social Geography of Immigrants/Minorities and Ethnic Neighbourhoods

The complex settlement and residential patterns of new immigrants and minority groups in Canada's major cities and suburbs (e.g., MTV) was the focus of attention for some scholars. Demographic projections by Statistics Canada suggest that over the next decade visible minorities will represent almost a quarter of the population of Canada and almost half the population of Toronto and Vancouver. These projections, combined with growing ethnic unrest in other regions of the world and a litany of smaller controversies in urban and rural Canada, suggest that issues related to the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants should be brought to the policy foreground.

In this vein, the work by social geographer Daniel Hiebert and his colleagues is relevant. Several working papers, including some useful atlases, were produced by Hiebert and his team—**Hiebert (1998); Cunningham, Hiebert and Klinkenberg (2000); Hiebert (2000); Hiebert, Klinkenberg and Oliver (2003); Hiebert (2005); and Hiebert, Schuurman and Smith (2007)**;—exploring in detail the changing social geography of immigrant settlement in Vancouver as well as in its increasingly diverse suburbs. In their work, **Ley and Smith (1997)** question the utility of “underclass theory” for understanding patterns of deprivation in Canadian cities, while **Rose (1999), Kwak (2004), and Mendez (2008)** focused their attention on the suburbanization of immigrant groups and on issues of racism and discrimination. Several aspects of immigrants’ socio-economic integration process were

the focus of attention for **Buzzelli and Newbold (2006); Cardozo and Pendakur (2008); Friesen and Krauth (2008); and Wu, Schimmele and Hou (2010).**

Neighbourhoods (Institutions, Settlement Services, etc.)

The increasingly heterogeneous nature of immigration to Canada and particularly to British Columbia over the last decades is mirrored in the diverse settlement patterns of immigrants who have radically transformed the cultural and social geography of British Columbia's main cities and suburbs (e.g., Vancouver). Immigrant groups often concentrate spatially to form ethnic enclaves—initially in immigrant reception areas close to downtown and later in the suburbs, or by going directly to the suburbs—while others are disseminated across the urban and suburban landscape. These complex settlement patterns have resulted in major challenges for policymakers from all levels of government, as well as civic and business leaders, as they attempt to develop strategies to facilitate immigrant settlement and the delivery of services to these new populations. Within this context see the work produced by: **Hyndman and Walton-Roberts (1999); Waters (2001b); Sandercock (2003a); Sandercock, Dickout, and Winkler (2004); Hiebert and Kwak (2004); Dickout (2004); Laurer and Yan (2007); Cavers, Carr, and Sandercock (2007); and Brunner, Hyndman, and Friesen (2010).**

New Immigrants and First-/Second-Tier Cities: Attraction and Retention Challenges

Canada's largest urban areas continue to experience dramatic demographic, economic, and cultural changes as a consequence of immigration. However, in recent years the settlement of newcomers in second-tier cities

and/or small/rural areas beyond Canadian gateway cities has received increasing attention both from governments and from scholars attempting to understand the complex dynamics of immigrant settlement and housing experiences in these areas. In the case of British Columbia, Victoria, Squamish, and the Okanagan Valley in the province's interior were the focus of attention by some scholars interested in the housing experiences of newcomers as well as in issues of attraction-retention of new immigrants to these regions (see, **Henin and Bennett (2002); Walton-Roberts (2004); Hyndman and Schuurman (2004); Teixeira (2010); and Aguiar, Tomic, and Trumper (2011)**).

Homelessness

For new immigrants and refugees, access to adequate and affordable housing is essential for successful integration into Canadian society. However, for growing numbers of new immigrants and visible minority groups and refugees in particular—all of whom are more likely to face significant housing affordability problems—homelessness is a risk. Another major challenge facing these groups in our urban and suburban areas is an increase in homelessness including forms of “hidden homelessness.” Within this context, the City of Vancouver and its suburbs has become an important “social laboratory” for scholars looking at issues of homelessness and “hidden homelessness” in BC (see **Fiedler, Hyndman and Schuurman (2006); Francis (2009); Kisson (2010); and Francis and Hiebert (2011)**).

Concentration/Residential Geography

The residential concentration of immigrants and visible minorities and its relationship to community building has acquired increased importance as a research focus in British Columbia's main cities, particularly in the city of Vancouver and its suburbs, the province's main reception area for new immigrants. This interest is not just a consequence of the high level of immigration to British Columbia in recent decades, but also a reflection of scholars' concern for the broader social structure in which new members of society are sorted into a stratified landscape. Immigrant residential clustering is a crucial aspect of the immigrant integration trajectory. From this perspective, ethnic communities may be seen as complex socio-political, geographical, and cultural structures that take shape over time through the migration process. Recent studies have pointed out that the factors contributing to residential integration are further complicated in a multi-ethnic context. Within this context see the work by: **Winders (2000); Burnley and Hiebert (2001); Hiebert and Ley (2001); Bauder (2001); Ley (2003); Teo (2003); Sandercock (2003b); and Smith (2004).**

Homeownership

While some newcomers (e.g., business class immigrants) have been settling in the major gateway cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV) and their suburbs in relatively high-priced housing, others—including new immigrants and visible minorities—are settling in lower-quality housing in neighbourhoods characterized by high rates of poverty. This latter group of newcomers face increased barriers to homeownership, as recent studies show that homeownership rates are declining with successive cohorts of immigrants due, in part, to waning income prospects (see, **Laryea (1999)**).

Changing Residential Neighbourhoods/Gentrification

Over the last decades, a different range of forces has radically transformed the socio-cultural landscape of our cities and suburbs. Among these is the increasing role and impact of international immigration upon housing markets/prices. Vancouver's property market has become increasingly "internationalized" since the mid 1980s, which, in turn, has driven increases in housing demand instrumental in shifting the "built environment of our cities." In this vein the work by **Olds (1996); Ley and Tutchener (1999); Ley, Murphy, Olds, and Randolph (2001); Bauder, Waters and Teo (2001); Edgington, Goldberg, and Hutton (2003) and Ley (2005)** is relevant.

Gentrification has also become an integral part of urban change. Gentrification in the form of neighbourhood revitalization has been receiving increasing attention as a way of reducing the social exclusion of residents in poor, inner-city neighbourhoods and of increasing social interaction between different classes and ethnic groups. At the same time, the scholarly literature suggests that the process may lead to more social conflicts, the displacement of poorer residents to lower quality housing and, ultimately, social polarization. More than ever before, responding to or controlling the negative consequences of gentrification needs to become an active part of public policy (see, **Ley, Tutchener and Cunningham (2001)**).

WHERE FUTURE RESEARCH MIGHT BE NEEDED:

"Housing and Neighbourhoods" studies reported for our MBC domain have focused on different aspects of immigrants' housing experiences at the city/neighbourhood level and have a range of diverse policy implications. While overall our research domain moved in a positive direction, more research

is needed regarding the housing experiences of immigrants, refugees, and visible minorities in Canada's complex and increasingly unaffordable housing markets given the significant impact of immigration upon housing and neighbourhoods in our cities and suburbs.

Housing Affordability Problems, Homelessness, and "Hidden Homelessness"

What makes one newcomer's integration more successful than another? Does housing matter? These are questions of critical significance for the future of British Columbia's major cities and, indeed, for the country itself. Access to adequate, suitable, and affordable housing is an essential first step in the resettlement process for immigrants and refugees as well as members of visible minorities. The first of these research themes/challenges arises from the fact that newcomers are likely to face significant housing affordability problems. A number of factors influence immigrants' access to housing in Canada's urban markets including: economic disadvantages and housing costs; a lack of knowledge about the functioning of the housing market; a lack of fluency in English or French; lack of housing information; and racism and discrimination by landlords, private and non-private agencies, and real estate agents. It should be noted that, along with housing costs and low vacancy rates in certain Canadian cities and particularly in the major immigrant gateway cities (MTV), access to affordable housing becomes more difficult to attain. Another major challenge facing our urban and suburban areas is the increase in homelessness, including forms of "hidden homelessness." Within this context, Metro Vancouver and its satellite suburban cities deserve to be monitored more closely than they have been in the past for issues of unaffordability and homelessness/hidden homelessness.

More research is also needed on vulnerable households, (i.e., refugees and visible minorities or those spending at least 30 percent of their entire income on housing), and high-risk households (those spending at least 50 percent of their income on housing) which fall, to a significant degree, outside the standard narrative of a progressive housing career in metropolitan areas such as Vancouver and its suburbs. We need to determine to what extent immigrants/refugees are more vulnerable than Canadian-born citizens in the housing market. Are there differences between immigrant groups in this regard? If so, why? And what about members of visible minority groups within the immigrant population—do their experiences differ from those of immigrants as a whole? If so, why? Finally, the issue of housing affordability seems to be an increasingly common concern, particularly in mid-sized cities (e.g., the Central Okanagan Valley in BC's interior). There is a compelling need for more research about the role of immigrants in these smaller housing markets given that this topic has, for the most part, been "off the radar" for most Canadian scholars until very recently.

Settlement/Residential Patterns, Gentrification, and the Role of Institutions/Social Networks

A second related research theme/challenge concerns the complex settlement and residential patterns of new immigrants and minority groups in our major gateway cities (MTV) and suburbs. These complex settlement patterns have resulted in major challenges for immigrant settlement services as well as other community institutions. While some newcomers (e.g., business class immigrants) have been settling in the suburbs in relatively high-priced dwellings (e.g., Richmond), others are settling in lower-quality housing in neighbourhoods characterized by high rates of poverty (e.g., parts/neighbourhoods

of Surrey). Evidence also shows that some groups display high levels of residential segregation or clustering in certain neighbourhoods of our main cities and/or suburbs – clusters that can become urban or suburban “ghettoes” – and thus contribute to the segmentation of British Columbia’s housing markets and society in general. There is also a growing awareness among scholars of the cultural importance some immigrant groups attach to homeownership and their impact upon urban and suburban housing prices, as well as their settlement preferences with regard to where to live and work in the province’s urban areas vs. its rural areas and mid-sized cities. More research is also needed on how the physical and social geography of our cities and suburbs impacts on the delivery of services.

Closely related to these research themes/challenges is the impact of re-conversions/ densification and/or residential gentrification (high rents/housing prices) on older, established ethnic neighbourhoods in our main cities (e.g., Vancouver). These urban areas are ceasing to be, as a result, affordable areas for immigrants to live in, and thus are less functional as “ports of entry” (immigrant reception areas). This is particularly the case for newcomers and for one group of immigrants that remains largely unstudied by Canadian scholars – first-generation immigrant seniors – a group particularly vulnerable to gentrification given that housing was still inexpensive when they initially settled in inner-city neighbourhoods years ago (e.g., Vancouver). Now living on fixed incomes, these immigrant seniors often find themselves subject to gentrification forces. In spite of the extensive amount of research concerning gentrification, there has been surprisingly little consideration given to the intersection between it and ethnic groups/immigrant reception areas. As it is expected to become a very important aspect of public housing policy in the near future, gentrification is, accordingly, deserving of more research.

According to some scholars, there is also need for more studies on the role of community organizations in assisting access to housing as well as on the social dynamics of immigrants in ethnic enclaves in both our cities and suburbs. Within this context, the complex forces (social, cultural, economic) shaping the social geography of our cities deserve further research. This includes, in particular, the issue of social networks, which continue to be an important area of research in terms of our understanding of integration at the neighbourhood and community levels. This is an area of special concern in second-tier cities in British Columbia where support networks for immigrant settlement have traditionally not been as well developed as in Canada's major urban areas (MTV). Given that immigration is a widely recognized engine of economic growth, and that policymakers are increasingly interested in spreading this growth beyond Canada's major centres, it is clear that more research in this area with respect to second-tier cities is needed.

In sum, given the significant impact of immigration upon housing and neighbourhoods in cities, more research is needed at this stage regarding the housing experiences of immigrants, refugees, and visible minorities in order to better understand: (a) What makes one newcomer's integration more successful than another? (b) Does housing matter? and (c) Why are certain immigrant/refugee groups and visible minorities more successful than others in locating appropriate housing in suitable neighbourhoods in our cities and suburbs? What factors facilitate or prevent this phenomenon?

There is need for more research in British Columbia as well on the following issues: housing affordability problems; homelessness and hidden homelessness; the rise of multi-familial households and overcrowding; substandard housing and mental health issues; access to homeownership and the role of the business sector in providing loans; discrimination and access to housing

(rental/homeownership); settlement/ residential patterns and the role of institutions/social networks; human services and ethnic concentration and gentrification and public/housing policy.

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Carlos Teixeira

APPENDIX A: BRIEF SUMMARIES OF RELATED WORKING PAPERS

Housing Careers (Experiences, Situation and Needs)

Waters, J.L. 2001. The flexible family? Recent immigration and “astronaut” households in Vancouver, British Columbia. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01–02.*

This study examines the “intra-household” dynamics of “astronaut” families in Vancouver. The concept of the “astronaut family” refers to immigrant families from Hong Kong or Taiwan whose main “wage earner” returned to work in the home country, while the family continued to live in Canada. This arrangement was consistently represented, in the media, and in the literature on transnationals, as a strategy of mobilizing family, space, and time for capital gain. As Waters demonstrates through interviews with the spouses of astronauts in Vancouver, this representation belies significant intra-household dynamics. Waters shows that most of the families conceived of this arrangement before migrating. In other words, “astronauts” were not mitigating poor economic success in Canada by working overseas, as is often assumed by other analyses. These families were particularly motivated by their desire for cultural capital, in the form of their children’s North American education. Waters places particular emphasis on the gendered implications of this arrangement. On one hand, many of the spouses, newly confined to the domestic sphere, experienced the solidifying of traditional gender roles. Many expressed feelings of loneliness and isolation. In a number of cases, the long periods of separation had serious consequences for their marriage, culminating in affairs or divorce. On the other hand, however, Water reveals the increased “agency” of many of the spouses that accompanied the greater distance from their husbands. These women often created “new social worlds” in Vancouver,

and experienced greater freedom (35). This study thus challenges previous assumptions about migratory experience as reinforcing traditional gendered “structures of oppression” (35).

Walton-Roberts, M. 2001. Returning, remitting, re-shaping: Non-resident Indians and the transformations of society and space in Punjab, India. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01-15.*

Walton-Roberts examines the transnational activities of Non-resident Indians (NRIs) between Vancouver and Punjab, India. Punjab is a highly transnational space at the heart of many longstanding transnational linkages. In 1995, an estimated five million Punjabis were living overseas. Through a multi-cited research design, Walton-Roberts considers the networks of migrants between Vancouver and two Punjabi villages: Palahi and Dhesian Kahna. These two villages have become centers of NRI transnational networks. Walton-Roberts’ analysis explores the various ways in which migrants keep themselves linked to these villages. Some, for example, keep homes there and visit on a regular basis. Home maintenance provides a way for out-migrants to retain a “territorial link” (16) that allowed many of the NRIs to contribute to the family’s status and reputation in Punjab. Further, many NRIs expressed a desire to eventually return to these communities, perhaps in their retirement. Return was more often “myth” than reality, however, as financial constraints and new family ties in the host country often precluded retirement in Punjab (16). The NRIs were also actively involved in fundraising for community development projects in these two villages. Palahi’s reputation as a “model community,” for example, is largely attributable to overseas fundraising. Advances in communications technology have also facilitated the NRI’s activities. For example,

NRIs are kept abreast of news in the Palahi through a regular newsletter. Overall, this analysis demonstrates how “transnational networks contribute to the continuous nature of migration across an extended spatial and social field” (20). Walton-Roberts emphasizes the importance of recognizing this “field” for both the academic and policy realms.

Hiebert, D., and D. Ley. 2003. Characteristics of immigrant transnationalism in Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03-15.*

This study examines the socio-economic and ethno-cultural factors associated with the transnational activities of immigrants in Vancouver. Hiebert and Ley explore transnational linkages through a 2001 survey of 1479 immigrants in Vancouver. The study emphasizes the unevenness of transnational ties. Recent immigrants have more transnational ties than earlier ones. More well-established immigrants are more likely to travel to and host visitors from their home country. Transnationalism levels are also affected by immigration class. For example, Live-in-Caregiver respondents indicated a higher level of transnational communication, while refugees have low transnational links overall, with the exception of remittances. There were also differences across ethnic origin categories. For example, immigrants from India maintained a high degree of connection, while those of European origin did not. There are also clear differences within ethno-cultural groups. Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants maintained more contact with friends and family, while Cantonese speakers traveled home more frequently. Furthermore, most indicators of transnational linkages (i.e., keeping in contact with family and friends, traveling home) were only weakly correlated with education. Those with more education, however,

were more likely to run a business in the home country and to receive guests from their home country. Where homeownership is concerned, the relationship with transnationalism was complex. The effect of education on homeownership in the pre-migration country was not linear. More- and less-educated people are more likely to maintain their homes. Significantly, lower income families are more likely to keep properties in their home country. As the study suggests, this is likely due to the fact that higher income immigrants feel more securely established in Vancouver. The study also emphasizes the important role of Canadian citizenship on transnational connections, as those with citizenship exhibited fewer ties than those without.

Ley, D., and A. Kobayashi. 2005. Back in Hong Kong: Return migration or transnational sojourn? *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 05-09.*

This study focuses on “return migrants”—those who immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong but later returned to Hong Kong. The narrative of return migration, as Ley and Kobayashi show, has gained complexity in an era of Trans-Pacific mobility. European immigrants to America in the 19th century who “re-crossed” the Atlantic bear little resemblance to today’s hyper-connected, transnational migrant. Return migration is conceptualized as a “circular” process ending with re-integration into the homeland. This conceptualization belies the continuation of a transnational social space, which as Ley and Kobayashi show through focus groups, was characteristic of “return migrants” in Hong Kong. The study shows that, despite leaving Canada, many transnational migrants felt a strong sense of attachment to both places. Many had plans to retire in Canada. The study highlights the various ways in which

households employ a “strategic switching” between nations at various points in time (3). The authors emphasize that the concept of return migration does not adequately capture the continuous nature of the migration process for this group.

Hiebert, D., and P. Mendez. 2008. *Settling In: Newcomers in the Canadian Housing Market 2001–2005. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 08–04.*

Hiebert and Mendez look at the housing experiences of recent immigrants in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (2001–2005). The authors note that slightly less than 70 percent of immigrants to Canada landing in 2006 indicated their intended destination as one of Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver. These are places with low vacancy rates and, particularly in Toronto and Vancouver, high real estate prices and rental fees. This study was guided by several key research questions: (a) How are immigrants coping in the housing markets of Canada? (b) Are they able to find suitable housing, and at what cost relative to their financial resources? (c) What impacts are immigrants having on the housing markets of Canada generally and its three largest metropolitan areas in particular?

The study reveals some of the contours of a highly dynamic engagement of newcomers with the Canadian housing market during the first four years of their settlement. The most significant story is the remarkable improvement in their housing circumstances—by several relevant criteria—over time. Of course this favourable outcome was not universally experienced, and several groups in particular felt the impact of these problems more consistently than others, most notably refugees, and immigrants identifying as Black, Arab, and

West Asian. There are some hints that these groups, too, will see a marked improvement in their housing situations, but the larger story for these groups continues to be one of difficulty, lack of affordability, and (at least by the simple measure of crowding) inadequate housing for members of these groups.

Hiebert, D., P. Mendez, and Wyly, E. 2008. The Housing Situation and Needs of Recent Immigrants in the Vancouver Metropolitan Area. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 08-01.*

Hiebert, Mendez and Wyly (2008) provide a detailed analysis of the housing situation of immigrants in the Vancouver Metropolitan Area, with data drawn from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). The authors are able to make direct links between immigrant admissions policy and outcomes in the housing market since the LSIC, in contrast to the census, includes information about immigrants' class of entry.

Despite the fact that Vancouver stands out as the most expensive housing market in Canada, the broad story is that most immigrants experience a progressive housing career there. As the authors note, this pattern begins early, with a relatively high rate of ownership among newcomers given their level of income. The authors suggest that this constitutes an "immigrant effect" in the housing market; that is, immigrants either draw upon wealth that they transfer with them to Canada or channel very high proportions of the income they receive in Canada (or both) in order to purchase housing quickly. LSIC demonstrates that, out of the 25,000 or so immigrants and refugees that arrived in Vancouver during a one-year period, some 5,000 became owner-occupiers within six months. Aggregate statistics on homeownership corroborate this point well: first-generation immigrants own over 200,000 of the

approximately 460,000 owner-occupied dwellings in the Metropolitan Area. The Vancouver real estate market would look quite different if immigration were dramatically increased or curtailed. This being said, the authors also note the large number of immigrants in the rental market, with data strongly suggesting that immigrants in this sector are living in dwellings that are quite small relative to the number of persons in the household. Their analysis of households at risk reveals, above all, that immigrants are more vulnerable in the housing market—whether owners or tenants—than the Canadian-born.

Teixeira, C. 2012. *The Housing Experiences and Coping Strategies of Recent Immigrants in the Suburbs of Vancouver (Surrey and Richmond)*. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 12-03*.

While immigrants continue to arrive in Canada's traditional metropolitan gateway areas, recent data from the Canadian Census has sparked significant interest in immigrant dispersal to new destinations outside major urban centres, especially the suburbs. Rapid population growth and concentration of immigrants and minorities in the suburbs has led to an increasing demand for scarce affordable rental housing. This study evaluates the housing experiences and coping strategies of recent immigrants in Richmond and Surrey, two fast-growing outer suburbs of Vancouver, where the immigrant population has rapidly increased in the last decades and where there is a short supply of affordable rental housing, including public and social housing. This study uses data from seven focus groups with 88 recent immigrants and 15 interviews with key stakeholders, conducted in Vancouver, Richmond, and Surrey in 2010. The evidence indicates that this new group of immigrants faces numerous difficulties (e.g., high rents, overcrowding, poor-quality housing) in

the rental housing market. Most immigrants were spending more than 50% of their monthly household income on housing, putting them at risk of homelessness. The study's findings suggest that the housing crisis affecting Surrey and Richmond—a limited supply of affordable rental housing and high living costs for many new immigrants—make these two cities a unique and challenging region of Vancouver in which to settle. Funding from all levels of government (federal, provincial, and local) to stimulate the creation of both for-profit and non-profit housing is urgently needed. The shortage of appropriate housing services and programs is also a major gap in the settlement services in the region.

Social Geography of Immigrants/Minorities & Ethnic Neighbourhoods

Ley, D., and H. Smith. 1997. Is there an immigrant “underclass” in Canadian cities? *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 97–08.*

Ley and Smith question the utility of “underclass theory” for understanding patterns of deprivation in Canadian cities. Underclass theory was developed to explain the “spatial overlap of multiple forms of disadvantage” that prevents access to “opportunity structures that facilitate upward mobility” (5). Ley and Smith begin this paper by reviewing the “underclass” literature. As they explain, the theory was popularized by William Julius Wilson. Wilson emphasized the confluence of a series of social and economic processes, which, over time, produced areas of “acute disadvantage” in African American inner-city neighbourhoods in the U.S. These areas typically had higher concentrations of unemployment, single-parent female-headed households, crime, and welfare receivership, as well as low levels of education. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, a number of U.S. researchers warned that neighbourhoods were increasingly falling into this state of underclass. As Ley and Smith illustrate,

underclass theory was also applied by British and European researchers, but with a slightly different focus. British researchers were more concerned with long-term unemployment, while European researchers focused on the relationship between immigration and deprivation.

In this study Ley and Smith apply the methodology used in several U.S. underclass studies (Ricketts and Sawhill 1988; Hughes 1989; 1990) to Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. They find very weak support for “underclass theory” in these Canadian cities. Only two census tracts (one in Montreal and one in Toronto) showed evidence of four overlapping categories of deprivation (unemployment, female-headed households, welfare, and low education level). Ley and Smith do find a strong relationship between crime and deprivation (27).

The authors also analyze the spatial concentration of poverty across these cities. They find that poverty areas (defined as 40% or more) of the inner city are typically surrounded by other areas of poverty, while poor areas in the suburbs were more spatially isolated (i.e., Scarborough) (28). Overall, they find that immigrants were “over-represented in multiply deprived census tracts,” particularly in Toronto (34). Nevertheless, these tracts were still classified as heterogeneous, and most residents were “native born” (35). Further, between 1971 and 1991, in Toronto and Vancouver, evidence of an urban “underclass” grew weaker.

Hiebert, D. 1998. *The Changing Social Geography of Immigrant Settlement in Vancouver. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 98-16.*

Hiebert examines the shifting pattern of immigrant settlement in Vancouver over the 25-year period from 1971–1996 through census data. During this period, broadly speaking, the level of immigration increased, source countries shifted, and immigrants settled in new patterns throughout Vancouver. In 1971, 85% of Vancouver residents had European origins, while only 26.4% were born outside of Canada. The 1971 data showed, however, that Vancouver's population had already begun to change significantly, as only 62.6% of immigrants arriving in the ten years prior to 1971 were from European countries (7). Immigrants initially chose to settle in the inner city, eventually moving to the suburbs with upward mobility (8). During this period, European groups were variably segregated (the Portuguese and Jewish communities, for example, were highly concentrated). The Chinese population was concentrated around Strathcona, but the "upwardly mobile" had also begun settling in the Oak St. area. Japanese, South Asians, and Caribbean/African groups had lower levels of residential isolation. Overall, most immigrants lived within the city, and the suburbs were mainly white. Between 1971 and 1986, there was a marked increase in immigrants with non-European ethnic origins, including a tripling of the Chinese Canadian population. The Indo-Canadian population increased five-fold (12). The percentage of Vancouver residents with Asian origins grew from 5.4% in 1971 to 18% in 1986. Furthermore, the spatial distribution of the Chinese population had grown considerably. By 1986, 30% of Chinese lived in the suburbs. Policy changes in the 1980s, which raised immigration levels and placed more emphasis on skills, had a significant impact on the social geography of Vancouver, which began attracting large numbers of investor immigrants, particularly from Hong Kong. From 1986–1996 there was a dramatic increase in immigrants with Asian origins. Over 25 years, Hiebert finds that Vancouver underwent a "segmented multicultural process" as the

“ethnocultural composition” of its municipalities became more concentrated. These changes necessitated new strategies in the provision of social services and the education system.

Rose, J. 1999. *Immigration, Neighbourhood Change, and Racism: Immigrant Reception in Richmond, BC. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 99–15.*

Post-structuralist scholars have largely ignored the category of “whiteness” while actively working to deconstruct other racial categories (i.e., “Chineseness,” “blackness,” etc.). Rose interviews long-time residents of Richmond, BC about their attitudes towards neighbourhood change in the period preceding 1986 and after. He examines the ways in which residents framed the shifting context in which they lived, focusing on race, culture, and ethnicity in Richmond. Of Rose’s 54 interviewees, 34 were Caucasian, nine were Chinese, and nine were Japanese.

When asked about their reasons for settling in Richmond, all three groups of respondents cited “affordable housing” as a key factor influencing their decision. Participants also expressed other interests, including being nearer to downtown and being close to place of work. The Japanese participants also stressed social networks and being close to family or friends. Whites, similarly, mentioned social circles. The Caucasian group stressed the rural qualities of Richmond —pastoralism, quiet streets, etc.—as being important. However, the other two groups did not emphasize rurality (14). Also specific to the Caucasian group was the draw of amenities. Caucasians emphasized schools, places to shop, and community centres. These amenities were not themes of the other two interview groups.

Overall, pre-1986 Richmond was described similarly across the three groups: as rural and spacious with many trees and big backyards (15). Its “sense of community” and “neighbourliness” were also recurring themes (16) across groups. Pre-1986 Richmond was also seen as a place of harmonious racial and cultural relations, although some minorities remembered instances of “polite” discrimination (19). Although there was some concern voiced about the “development” of Richmond during this period, most statements about development were positive (i.e., public transportation). The Caucasian group was generally more concerned about developments such as malls (21) and decreases in wildlife (22). Overall, all participant groups had positive memories of pre-1986 Richmond.

There was more concern expressed about development post-1986. All groups felt that the pace and scale of development had abruptly increased (23). All groups were positive about the increase in amenities available in Richmond during this time (27). Some of the Caucasian participants framed the increase of the Chinese population as bringing a positive “energy” and cosmopolitanism to Richmond that they valued. Some also were positive about the “monster homes” (28). Nonetheless, Caucasian and Japanese participants did complain about Chinese immigrants, associating them with “negative developments” such as “monster homes,” pressure on the local school system to provide ESL at the expense of other curricula, the increase of “Chinese-only signage,” concerns about the failure of Chinese to integrate into the local community, and an overall decrease in “neighbourliness” (33). Several participants also stressed feeling excluded from certain spaces, such as the Asian malls. Interestingly, the Japanese and Chinese participants were also negative about immigration. Japanese participants, for example, emphasized that Chinese immigrants did not speak English. Chinese participants cited racial intolerance

as a result of increased Asian immigration. Many of the Chinese participants distinguished between themselves (long-term residents) and recent immigrants, labeling newcomers as displaying “opulence” or being “too private” and un-sociable (36). These interviews, however, also uncovered an affinity between recent and long-term Chinese in Richmond, including a “sense of Chinese identity” and “pride” (37), as well as economic opportunities created by the growing Chinese community for people who are Chinese or who speak Chinese languages (38).

Overall, all participants saw cultural differences between themselves and recent immigrants, but most people repeatedly qualified and “questioned their own generalizations” (41). Rose emphasizes how difficult it is to discern “implicit meanings” in certain narratives about cultural difference. Residents had moved to Richmond for many reasons. Some development was welcomed, but there were also concerns expressed. Rose warns against painting all anti-development rhetoric as “anti-immigrant” or racist in Richmond, as some “development concerns have a life of their own and should not be diminished to the status of a ‘front’ for racist expressions” (55). Participants’ reactions to the increase in Chinese immigrants in Richmond after 1986 were “ambivalent,” expressed both positively and negatively at different times. Rose emphasizes the wide ranges of resident responses (51), which must be seen as a spectrum, rather than showing the “host community” as monolithic, homogeneous, and “uni-dimensional” in attitude (51).

Hiebert, D. 2000. *Cosmopolitanism at the Local Level: Immigrant Settlement and the Development of Transnational Neighbourhoods. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 00–15.*

Hiebert explores the relationship between transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in the everyday lives of recent immigrants in Vancouver. He draws on various theorists of transnationalism, emphasizing the ways in which “groups develop identities based on movement and connection across space” and defines cosmopolitanism as the “openness to all forms of otherness” (6). Hiebert is principally concerned with the ways in which the two concepts are connected and how they manifest at the neighbourhood scale. Through interviews with recent immigrants, he reveals the “uneven” nature of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism across groups, genders, and generations. For example, Chinese and Indo-Canadian young adult participants described how they “re-treated” from cosmopolitan behaviour as they became adults. They expressed an increasing desire to visit their country of origin or to learn the languages of their parents (18). Overall these interviews unsettle the assumption of cosmopolitanism “as an end state” (19) suggesting that there may be a discordance between transnationalism and the development of cross-cultural interaction.

Kwak, M. J. 2004. An exploration of the Korean-Canadian community in Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04-14.*

This study examines the experiences of the growing Korean-Canadian community in Vancouver. Through participant observation, interviews, and quantitative analysis of the 1996 and 2001 Census, Kwak’s illustration of the city’s population is one of significant recent transition. The study first examines the settlement patterns of the Korean community in Vancouver. Generally, this population is found to be spread out across the city with a few nodes in the suburbs of Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Surrey. The suburbanization of this population is associated with recent cohorts. In addition, the

downtown and Westside are shown to attract significant proportions of Korean international students. Kwak calls for further research on the housing patterns of the Korean-Canadian community in Vancouver.

Kwak highlights distinct socio-economic patterns between older and more recent immigrants. The new cohort of permanent immigrants from Korea has more qualifications and greater financial capital. Korean families frequently straddle the Pacific by engaging in transnational business and familial arrangements. This transition has introduced labour market competition. Underemployment and unemployment are persistent problems among Koreans in Vancouver. This study also emphasizes the need to broaden our conceptions of immigrant communities in order to understand the role and experiences of temporary Korean migrants in Vancouver. One effect of this rise of temporary migration has been the increased involvement of Korean entrepreneurs in the recruitment of international students.

Hiebert, D. 2005. Migration and the demographic transformation of Canadian cities: The social geography of Canada's major metropolitan centres in 2017. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 05-14.*

This study considers the implications of Statistics Canada's population projections for 2017 for the social geography of major Canadian cities. Immigrants have mainly settled in Canada's three largest cities: Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, and settlement patterns have become increasingly suburban. The projections suggest the continuation of these patterns. In Toronto, for example, several census tracts in the northeast suburbs are predicted to have immigrant concentrations above 75%. The trend toward suburbanization of Montreal and Vancouver's immigrant populations will also continue. The pro-

jections also suggest a polarizing trend in which some groups will become more concentrated than others and some more marginalized. If the predictions are correct, Toronto's South Asian population will increasingly overlap with indicators of poverty. The projections ultimately paint a highly "variegated" social geography, which, Hiebert emphasizes, is likely to pose significant challenges for service providers in the future. He concludes by stressing the need for government intervention to support these providers, as well as a concerted effort to remove labour market barriers.

Buzzelli, M., and K. B. Newbold. 2006. Immigrant rites of passage: Urban settlement, physical environmental quality and health in Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 06-12.*

This study examines the relationship between immigrant settlement patterns, environmental hazards, and immigrant health. The relationship between racial minorities and environmental health hazards (i.e., toxic waste facilities, pollution) in the U.S. has been well documented. In Canada, research has shown that upon arrival immigrants are healthier on average than the native-born population. Over time, however, they become less healthy, perhaps as their lifestyles become more Western. This study employs data from the 1996 National Population Health Survey and multi-level modeling to consider the effects of urban air pollution, which is highly spatially varied, using asthma as an indicator of immigrant health. The central question concerns the degree to which spatial patterns of air pollution (measured as "total suspended particles" or TSP) overlap with patterns of immigrant settlement and health. The multi-level model allows the authors to connect environmental effects and individual-level health indicators. The study indicates a relationship between

TSP and income, as higher TSP concentrations are found in East Vancouver and lower concentrations in West Vancouver. Immigration, however, is not significantly related to TSP. Concentrations of TSP do not predict the occurrence of asthma among immigrants. The authors emphasize the methodological limitations of reliance on aggregated data, and call for future research, particularly on inter-group differences not captured by their model.

Hiebert, D., N. Schuurman, and H. Smith. 2007. Multiculturalism “on the ground”: The social geography of immigrant and visible minority populations in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, projected to 2017. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 07–12.*

This study considers the social geography of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver using Statistics Canada projections for 2017 along with census data from 2001. Given the high degree of residential segregation of African Americans in the U.S., and the

This study considers the social geography of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver using Statistics Canada projections for 2017 along with census data from 2001. Given the high degree of residential segregation of African Americans in the U.S., and the marginalization of visible minority immigrant populations in the French suburbs, there has been increasing concern about the socio-spatial tendencies of immigrants and minorities in Canada. The study finds that the overlap of visible minority and immigrant populations with indicators of socio-economic indicators is only weakly supported by the data in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. Immigrants and minorities in Canada do not exhibit the same patterns of segregation and ghettoization seen in France or the United States. Furthermore, neighbourhoods with high immigrant pop-

ulations are shown to be relatively heterogeneous, both in an ethno-cultural and socio-economic sense. The authors caution against the use of sensationalist narratives about racial segregation in the Canadian context.

Wu, Z., C. M. Schimmele, and F. Hou. 2010. Social Integration of Immigrants and their Children in Canada's Urban Neighbourhoods. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 10-10.*

The success of immigrants and their pathways of integration into mainstream society depend a lot on factors related to their life stage at immigration, their host communities, and their racial status. This shifts the emphasis off of individual-level characteristics and on to geographic units, social interactions, and social groups. Wu, Schimmele, and Hou address two aspects of the social integration process. The first concerns how immigrants are conceptualized and emphasizes the need to define immigrants in terms of generational cohorts. The second aspect concerns the location where immigrants settle. Evidence indicates that local contexts are a predictor of immigrant success. In particular, the literature suggests that spatial assimilation is a major indicator of structural integration.

There is a paucity of research on the intersection of immigrants' generational status, racial status, and their location of settlement. Do these intersections explain patterned differences in social integration? There are good reasons to believe that ethno-racial status and patterns of settlement (spatial concentration) affect the integration of immigrants.

This study focused on patterns of differences in social integration between generational cohorts of immigrants, focusing on two outcomes: the immigrant's sense of belonging or feeling of being out of place in Canada. This

examination unpacked this relationship in terms of the context of immigration, looking at neighbourhood-level effects and racial differences. The main problems concerned whether (a) generational status influences integration; (b) individual-level characteristics account for this relationship; (c) neighbourhood context affects (mediates and moderates) generational differences in integration; and (d) the relationship between immigrant generation and social integration differs between whites and visible minorities. The study's core finding is that the relationship between immigrant status and integration is not straightforward but depends on a combination of factors, including intersections between generational status, place of residence, and racial status.

Cardozo, A., and Pendakur, R. 2008. Canada's Visible Minority Population: 1967–2017. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 08–05.*

The goals of the paper are to examine the changing place of visible minorities in Canada within the context of recent demographic, social, political, and economic changes and to highlight the related policy initiatives that have occurred over the last four decades. The authors find that, in general: (a) visible minorities, even those born in Canada, earn less than workers belonging to the white majority. Some of the gap can be explained by education or labour market choices such as hours of work, but a substantial portion of the gap remains even after controlling for these characteristics; (b) the earnings differentials faced by visible minorities are persistent. They are not based on age and they do not disappear from one census period to another; (c) the gap is very different by gender. Visible minority women do not face the same magnitude of earnings discrimination as men do. However, it should be noted

that this is in large part due to the fact that women, generally, are more concentrated in low-wage sectors of the economy where there is less room to discriminate by income; (d) there is also evidence to suggest that immigrants have seen their place in the labour market deteriorate, particularly through the 1990s.

The authors argue that discrimination and racism has a profound negative impact on minorities and newcomers, creating a dichotomous society prone to large-scale inequality, exclusion, and resentment. Second, large-scale immigration will invariably create some level of disequilibrium in society, whereby “mainstream” and “new arrival” communities jockey for influence and power for defining the societal norms. They note that Canadian governments have attempted to address the social policy dimensions of this issue through a range of human rights and multicultural policies with varying levels of success.

Friesen, J., and Krauth, B. 2008. *Enclaves, Peer Effects, and Student Learning Outcomes in British Columbia. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 08–08.*

With respect to integration, the market tendency to settle in local enclaves in host cities may have significant consequences for immigrants’ economic success and ultimately integration into their new society. Whether these consequences are beneficial or harmful is a matter of extensive debate in the Canadian literature. One important characteristic of enclave neighbourhoods is that they tend to produce enclave schools. Friesen and Krauth (2008) use data on elementary school students in British Columbia to investigate how the home language and other characteristics of a student’s same-grade schoolmates influence that student’s academic achievement. The authors find that

attending an “enclave” school provides a slight net benefit to Chinese home-language students and a large net cost to Punjabi home language students. The results are consistent with a simple model of peer effects in which the academic achievement of peers is much more important than their home language.

Mendez, P. 2008. Immigrant Residential Geographies and the “Spatial Assimilation” Debate in Canada, 1997-2006. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 08-07.*

With respect to immigrants and visible minorities, Mendez discusses research published between 1997 and 2006 on the residential separateness of immigrants and ethnic and visible minority groups in Canadian metropolitan centres. Specifically, he reviews findings and conclusions that relate to the ongoing debate over the validity of the assimilationist assumptions regarding the typical social and spatial trajectories of newcomers. A Canadian immigrant underclass thesis is generally rejected, but some evidence emerges to suggest a potential bifurcation of the assumed pattern of socio-spatial mobility. The traditional assumptions would hold for most groups, yet significant exceptions would justify an alteration of the model, essentially de-linking social from spatial mobility in the case of certain groups.

Neighbourhoods (Institutions, Settlement Services, etc.)

Hyndman, J., and M. Walton-Roberts. 1999. Transnational migration and nation: Burmese refugees in Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 99-07.*

Hyndman and Walton-Roberts couch their analysis of Burmese refugees in Vancouver within the broader methodological and theoretical framework of transnationalism. They are both supportive and critical of this theoretical field. While on one hand, such theories successfully unsettle the state as the primary unit of analysis in migration; they also often give primacy to economic and cultural processes at the expense of the “social” and “political” (9). The authors apply the lens of transnationalism, with a particular focus on these latter processes, to 50 qualitative interviews with Burmese refugees in Vancouver. Their central question concerns the meaning of transnationalism for “immigration policy in general, and experiences of refugee resettlement in particular” (9). Through these qualitative interviews, the authors stress the barriers faced by this group in the Canadian labour market due to their lack of knowledge of either of Canada’s official languages. Although the Canadian government provides language training for refugees, devoting the needed time to these classes often comes at the expense of earning much-needed wages. Significantly, the Burmese expressed a variety of “transnational connections” (18) which they used to provide social support to family members back home as well as to politically engage with their home society (such as fundraising and other human rights advocacy). The authors also include a methodological discussion outlining the importance of conducting research in partnership with community groups (in this case, the Burmese Democratic Organization in Vancouver). Ultimately, Hyndman and Walton-Roberts stress the need to broaden the language of migration studies to incorporate the actions of migrants across borders. They emphasize, in particular, the importance of examining conditions in migrants’ home societies in order to better understand their situation in the host society.

Waters, J. L. 2001. Migration strategies and transnational families: Vancouver's satellite kids. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01-10.*

The term "satellite kids" came into use in the 1990s to describe young adults, aged 13–22 years, who lived in Vancouver while their parents lived overseas. As Waters explains, the satellite kids embodied the new wave of highly mobile immigrant families from Hong Kong and Taiwan. They became a topic of significant media attention in Vancouver and a subject of concern for the Vancouver school system. Satellite kids were often portrayed as wayward, vulnerable to gang recruitment, and requiring "babysitting" by the school system. Through in-depth qualitative interviews with 15 satellite kids, this study examines the motivations behind the "satellite" arrangement and its implications. Waters frames her research within the literature on Pacific Rim migration, transnationalism, as well as "household migration strategies" (6). Vancouver experienced a large influx of immigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1990s. While dominant media accounts portrayed this group as an "immigrant overclass" who used their high degree of trans-Pacific mobility to generate wealth, Waters emphasizes the importance of cultural capital. Education, a form of cultural capital, was the main reason these immigrants chose to move to Canada. Parents placed a symbolic premium on education in Vancouver, which was valued for being "Western," as well as more accessible than school in Hong Kong or Taiwan (20). Parents left children in Vancouver, often alone but sometimes in the care of a guardian, to continue their education while the parents returned to do businesses overseas. Waters highlights the unintended and ironic consequences of the satellite arrangement—with no parental supervision, teens were less diligent about schoolwork and attending class. Significantly, Waters explores the emotional ramifications of the satel-

lite arrangement for the teens who often expressed “loneliness” and a sense of “abandonment” (25). Waters’ analysis emphasizes the ways in which this strategy of “accumulation” on the part of the parents was undermined by the very nature of the strategy.

Sandercock, L. 2003. Integrating immigrants: The challenge for cities, city governments, and the city-building professions. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03–20.*

In this study, Sandercock explores the relationship between multiculturalism and contemporary planning. As she highlights, “difference” poses a set of challenges for urban planning that derive, in particular, from the “embeddedness” of the legislative system and planners within the values and “norms” of the majority (7). Further, racism and xenophobia are often aired through debates about urban development. Sandercock highlights housing as an area of significant challenge for urban planning. Housing is of the utmost importance to immigrants, who often struggle in the housing market and may occupy sub-standard housing, as well as an area of contact with difference. Sandercock considers approaches to these issues through the practices of Vancouver, Sydney, Frankfurt, and Rotterdam. Vancouver’s Collingwood Neighbourhood House is also shown as a successful example of intercultural community-building. The study emphasizes the importance of urban integration policies that operate in conjunction with activities at other scales (i.e., at the national and provincial levels). Sandercock also highlights the need for the education of city planners so that they can better understand their own potential biases in order to recognize difference constructively. Ultimately,

Sandercock emphasizes the importance of the urban scale for the reformulation of more inclusive citizenship practices.

Sandercock, L., L. Dickout, and R. Winkler. 2004. The quest for an inclusive city: An exploration of Sri Lankan Tamil experience of integration in Toronto and Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04-12.*

This study is the third instalment of a four-part series by Leonie Sandercock (and colleagues) on the relationship between multiculturalism and urban planning. In this paper Sandercock et al. examine the experiences of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Toronto and Vancouver. Drawing on a rich set of in-depth interviews with Tamil migrants, organizations, and city officials, Sandercock et al. consider the extent to which the Tamil experience can be characterized as one of multicultural citizenship. This conception of citizenship is local, and centers on substantive engagement with everyday spaces, the freedom to express one's identity, feelings of belonging, and the degree to which the exercise of a "right to the city" and "participation" in it are possible (3).

The study begins by outlining the trajectory of Tamil settlement in Toronto, which is divided into four phases. The first phase consists of a mainly professional class of Tamils who emigrated before the 1983 conflict in Sri Lanka. The number of Tamils arriving in Canada increased dramatically after 1983, most of them being refugees. In phase two, this group settled in Toronto's St. Jamestown neighbourhood, which gradually became known as "Little Jaffna." As more refugees arrived, there was a significant increase in both Tamil organizations and businesses run by Tamil entrepreneurs to serve this population. Over time, Tamils began settling in several other areas of the city, including

Regent Park, where public housing was made available. In the third phase, the Tamil population became more suburban, settling in Scarborough and North York. The fourth phase is marked by the politicization of the Tamil community, a topic that is further elaborated in the final installment of the series. A stark contrast is drawn between patterns of Tamil settlement in Vancouver, where the much smaller Tamil population is dispersed and only a small number of Tamil organizations exist. The community is also much less politicized.

Housing is a major problem for Tamil seniors, many of whom have limited mobility and are isolated in small apartments. The study highlights the lack of Tamil seniors' homes in Toronto as well as cultural issues with mainstream services such as "Meals on Wheels." The feeling of confinement in a "cooped up" apartment was also expressed by female participants who felt isolated and also unwelcome in spaces outside of their temple or home (19). Across generations, the Tamil migrants expressed feelings of exclusion from spaces outside of the ethnic community. Furthermore, Tamil spaces and neighbourhoods in Toronto are conceptualized as being "back home" rather than "at home" Canadian spaces (23). A number of participants noted the irony of the government's encouragement of their ethnic organizations, as they have a diminishing effect on their integration into Canadian society. Sandercock et al. highlight this paradox, which suggests that "the very policies that acknowledge and encourage cultural diversity may also discourage efforts by ethno-cultural groups to integrate" (29). Sandercock et al. argue that these feelings of exclusion indicate that multicultural citizenship is weak and that more work needs to be done, particularly on the part of the "host community," to foster multiculturalism (38).

Hiebert, D., and M. J. Kwak. 2004. Transnational economies of export education. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04–15.*

Increasing numbers of students are seeking international education opportunities. This study examines the growing “export education” sector in Vancouver, which has become important for the city’s Korean community. Hiebert and Kwak consider this new phenomenon, emphasizing the interconnectedness between export education, tourism, immigration, and entrepreneurship (4). Through census data and qualitative interviews with 17 key informants, the study considers the experience of the Korean entrepreneurs involved in the export education sector.

Hiebert and Kwak demonstrate how a “relatively permissive regulatory environment” has allowed for a wide range of entrepreneurial endeavours (20), including everything from the development of language training facilities to the provision of international student homestays. Housing figures prominently in this discussion given that international students spend a significant amount of money on housing, and entrepreneurs have become active in this area as well. Generally, the students initially seek out “homestays” set up by their schools before eventually finding their own apartment. Students from K-12 are required to have a legal guardian in Vancouver at a yearly cost of \$4,000–6,000 (another area of opportunity for entrepreneurs).

The study warns, however, that a lack of proper management makes this sector highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the international demand for education. The authors caution against putting too much stock into what is, essentially, an area of “volatile demand” (33). The study also emphasizes the need to re-evaluate the utility of the division between temporary and permanent migrants. International students, for example, are considered temporary mi-

grants, and therefore cannot access services designated only for 'immigrants' (33).

Dickout, L. 2004. The quest to negotiate equitable civic engagement: Response of Toronto's Sri Lankan Tamil community to social development planning in Canada's largest multicultural metropolis. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04-17.*

This study examines the relationship between social development planning and the Sri Lankan Tamil community in Toronto. Toronto's ethno-cultural diversity has expanded significantly over the last several decades. At the same time, the province has shifted responsibilities for social development planning onto the city level, in the absence of a commensurate shift of resources. These overlapping processes have raised new challenges for urban planning in Toronto. Metropolitan Toronto amalgamated in 1997. Shortly thereafter, the City introduced a new "Social Development Strategy" (SDS) (8) that emphasized civic engagement and participation as key goals of democratic community building. This study considers how the SDS impacted the Tamil community, in particular, through an evaluation of the activities of the Canadian Tamil Congress. Founded in 2000, the CTC focuses on developing participation and civic engagement within the Tamil community. A series of focus groups conducted by the CTC revealed a number of obstacles to participation. In particular, Dickout emphasizes the "limited mandate" of community planners to help new community organizations. They are unable, for example, to fund new organizations. Instead, the City typically funds larger, more well-established coalition organizations. As the authors emphasize, however, this practice puts relatively new and less-embedded immigrant groups, like the Tamils, at a sig-

nificant disadvantage. The CTC was not able, for example, to receive funding from the City under this framework. Ultimately, the study emphasizes that while the City of Toronto has made significant advances in building its capacity for community development in the area of civic engagement; its current mode of operation may in fact encourage “isolationist tendencies” among new immigrant groups.

Lauer, S.R., and M.C. Yan. 2007. Neighbourhood houses and bridging social ties. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 07–07.*

This study examines the effect of Neighbourhood House participation on the social networks of immigrants in Vancouver. Neighbourhood Houses are multi-service organizations that provide a number of services to immigrants as well as to the community as a whole. Lauer and Yan frame their study within the literature on immigrant social networks and participation in voluntary associations. The former literature emphasizes the importance of social ties outside of the ethnic community to a “sense of belonging” and “attachment” in the host country (8). The latter suggests that participation in voluntary associations has two main outcomes: associations either “sort” individuals into groups of “similar” people or will be “integrative,” and therefore encourage diverse social ties. Lauer and Yan conducted a survey of 351 immigrant participants in nine Neighbourhood Houses in Vancouver. Their analysis shows that immigrants who engaged in “targeted” activities at these Houses were more likely to have diverse social networks than immigrants who used the Houses in more “general” ways (i.e., for socializing). In other words, “general involvement” does not support the formation of “cross-ethnic helping ties” (30). The study thus stressed the importance of “type of involvement” on social networks (30).

Cavers, V., P. Carr, and L. Sandercock. 2007. How strangers become neighbours: Constructing citizenship through community development. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 07–11.*

This working paper consists of a manual outlining the mandate, values, and activities of the Collingwood Neighbourhood House (CNH) in Vancouver. In the neighbourhood of Collingwood, 70% of residents speak English as a second language. Collingwood also has a significant low-income community and faces challenges related to homelessness. The CNH was formed based on the need to forge shared values in a neighbourhood undergoing change. The CNH centres around a series of core values including “family”; “vision”; “relationship building”; “reciprocity”; “collaboration and cooperation”; “leadership and development”; “respect”; “integrated approaches”; “intercultural diversity”; “capacity building”; “creativity”; “accessibility”; “celebrations”; “advocacy”; and “social justice.” A major focus of the CNH is developing the skills and capabilities of clients so that they, in turn, can assist others. The CNH is a place where all people can find support, but also a place where people are given tools and confidence to participate in the community. As a non-governmental organization, the CNH has a considerable degree of freedom when it comes to community development programming. The organization also partners with other service providers and supports various projects in the community. The study emphasizes the important role that local neighbourhood organizations such as the CNH can play in the development of belonging, citizenship, and shared values.

Brunner, L. R., J. Hyndman, and C. Friesen. 2010. Aceh-Malaysia-Vancouver: Settlement Among Acehnese Refugees Five Years On. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 10–12.*

Ideally, the Canadian government, researchers, and/or service providers would trace the settlement outcomes of government-assisted refugees (GARs) from various countries over time, but such data is expensive and challenging to collect at the national scale. In an effort to fill this gap, Brunner, Hyndman, and Friesen conducted a study of GARs from Aceh, Indonesia in 2005 (one year after most had arrived) and again in 2009 to ascertain settlement outcomes in the areas of housing, official language acquisition, employment, and participation in Canadian society. This qualitative case study consists of 75 surveys and 50 semi-structured interviews conducted between May 2009 and November 2009. While the 2009 findings are only a snapshot of social and economic relations among the Acehnese at the time, they offer the fullest available picture of how these GARs are doing, what their concerns, priorities, and challenges are, and what Canadian policies do to facilitate or hinder their aims as new Canadians and permanent residents. More than five years after their arrival, a number of official language and employment issues persist. Spousal sponsorship has proven a salient goal for the majority of men who are still single. Working towards, saving for, and waiting for such relationships to materialize may well be impeding this group's integration aims in Canada. In outlining the struggles faced by the Acehnese, the authors aim to stress refugee resilience rather than pathology. The interviews included moments of joy and stories of success as well as of struggle and hardship. Although these former refugees, now citizens and permanent residents, may be resilient, they still require ongoing settlement support, access to employment, and English

language classes, much of which is no longer available to many of them in Metro Vancouver due to their new citizenship status.

New Immigrants and Second-Tier Cities: Attraction and Retention Challenges

Henin, B., and M. R. Bennett. 2002. Immigration to Canada's mid-sized cities: A study of Latin Americans and Africans in Victoria, BC. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 02-22.*

There is a gap in knowledge about the integration process in mid-sized cities in Canada. This study analyzes the experiences of immigrants from Latin America and Africa in Victoria, BC, who began arriving in the early 1980s. This study is principally concerned with the challenges posed by the characteristics of Victoria (i.e., its economy and demography) on the ability of immigrants to integrate. Through 60 qualitative interviews with first-generation immigrants, the study demonstrates several major barriers to integration in Victoria. The study shows that finding employment is the biggest barrier. Immigrants undergo a significant de-skilling when they move to Victoria, often working in low-paying jobs well below their level of skill and experience. Job opportunities are also minimized by a lack of work experience in Canada and language ability. A number of participants felt that there were no opportunities for them to "advance" (9).

Housing was also a barrier. Most of the immigrants surveyed could not afford to buy a home (36% were homeowners). Most cited low salaries and high mortgages as obstacles to entering the housing market. The study also finds some evidence of discrimination in the housing market (a small number of participants complained that their rental applications were overlooked). Latin Americans and Africans are both relatively dispersed across Victoria. Because of their relatively small numbers, it is difficult to seek help from their commu-

nities. The study also emphasizes Victoria's lack of experience as a host society for immigrants. Latin Americans complained of discrimination in employment. Both groups emphasized that they had been "insulted" in certain spaces (i.e., during soccer matches, in stores). African men, in particular, experienced more harassment by the police. These barriers have significant implications for retention. Many of the participants (and Africans in particular) expressed a desire to relocate to a larger city, or to their home countries.

Walton-Roberts, M. 2004. Regional immigration and dispersal: Lessons from small-and medium sized urban centres in British Columbia. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04-03.*

The regionalization, or dispersal, of immigrants away from the major urban centres of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, has been identified as a major goal of federal policy in Canada. Regionalization is framed as spreading both the "benefits" and "burdens" of immigration across Canada. Walton-Roberts examines issues surrounding the attraction and integration of immigrants in small- and mid-sized cities through the case studies of two municipalities in British Columbia: Kelowna and Squamish. The study shows that while neither city made significant efforts to either attract or retain immigrants, Squamish appears to be more successful in its integration of immigrants. As Walton-Roberts demonstrates through focus groups and in-depth interviews, the city's specific economic and social environment is crucial for immigrant settlement. For example, despite the fact that Kelowna is larger than Squamish, immigrants had a much harder time entering Kelowna's service-dominated labour market. Sikh immigrants, for example, enjoyed both labour market opportunities in Squamish (and nearby Whistler) and a social network built through

family immigration. Housing is highlighted as a key area of conflict in both communities, where the issue of “secondary suites” arose. In both communities, immigrants felt they were unfairly “picked on” by the municipality, suggesting the need for sensitivity training of municipal employees (19).

The study also reveals a contradiction between national policies encouraging dispersion and provincial reductions to public services outside of major cities in British Columbia. Reductions in public services are particularly significant for immigrants in smaller communities where there are not likely to be immigrant-specific service organizations. Coordination is needed between all levels of government. Further, labour shortages in certain sectors (i.e., services) are growing in many smaller communities. This challenge is not addressed by national immigrant selection strategies. Walton-Roberts emphasizes the need for lower levels of government to play a greater role in immigrant selection. Finally, the study suggests that regionalization policies “scapegoat” immigrants for the failure of governments to develop successful regional economies outside of the major cities (28). Walton-Roberts encourages governments at all levels to stop framing the concentration of immigrants in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal as a problem. Instead, more funding should be devoted to developing robust “social, environmental, and physical infrastructure” to support immigrant settlement and integration in these cities, while at the same time supporting regional economic development.

Hyndman, J., and N. Schuurman. 2004. Size matters: Attracting new immigrants to Canadian cities. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04-19.*

Canada's small- and medium-sized cities have demonstrated an increasing interest in attracting immigrants. This interest is usually framed as a need to "spread the wealth" associated with immigration (16). Data from the Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) show that immigrants are attracted to the major cities of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal because of the presence of "family and friends," job opportunities, as well as "education" and "lifestyle" (12). This study uses a "desirability" index to examine the attractiveness of five of British Columbia's medium-sized cities: Kelowna, Nanaimo, Prince George, Prince Rupert, and the Capital Region District (CRD).

The study finds that "size matters." Immigrants are most attracted to larger cities in the study (the Capital Region District which includes Victoria and Kelowna). The presence of other immigrants and "family and friends" is a key factor in the attraction and retention of immigrants. The authors highlight the "tautological" implication here: medium-sized cities need immigrants in order to attract immigrants. The study suggests that one way around this cycle would be for the government to encourage movement outside of the TVM through, for example, tax credits.

Housing data are not included in LSIC's index. The study finds, however, a strong, positive relationship between housing costs and the desirability ranking of the cities. More desirable cities had higher average home prices. Victoria, for example, had the highest prices. Prince Rupert was the least desirable city and also had the lowest prices. This relationship indicates that immigrants are not dissuaded by high housing costs (7).

Teixeira, C. 2010. Housing Immigrants and Newcomers in Central Okanagan, BC. ***Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 10-03.***

Immigrant and refugee housing is becoming a growing concern in small- and mid-sized cities such as Kelowna, Vernon, and Penticton in the Central Okanagan region of interior British Columbia. The real estate market in this region is one of the most expensive in Canada. Housing affordability determines who can afford to move to Central Okanagan and who, due to lack of housing choices, cannot settle in this region. Immigration has been identified as an engine of economic growth; therefore, the fact that newcomers, including immigrants and refugees, face barriers in securing affordable housing in this area has policy implications of interest to politicians, planners, and community workers.

This study examines the housing experiences and coping strategies of new immigrants in the Central Okanagan Valley and, with input from both immigrants and key informants, makes policy recommendations to improve access to affordable housing for immigrants in the region. This study uses data from eight focus groups with 53 new immigrants and 35 interviews with key informants conducted in Kelowna, Vernon, and Penticton in the summer of 2008.

The findings suggest that all levels of government must cooperate in order to address the affordable housing crisis in the Central Okanagan by funding affordable housing construction, regulating and cooperating with developers, facilitating dialogue between landlords and renters, and/or supporting community organizations. Municipal governments have neither the resources nor the constitutional powers to deal with this issue on their own. Although support from the Province of British Columbia has been strong, a contribution from the federal government has been lacking.

Aguiar, L.M. L., Tomic, P., and R. Trumper. 2011. Mexican Migrant Agricultural Workers and Accommodation on Farms in the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 11-04.*

Despite the ongoing mistreatment of foreign farm workers in British Columbia, the latter have little recourse to get their grievances addressed. Few organizations lobby on their behalf (Butkovsky and Smith 2007) and governments often ignore recommendations to improve their well being (CBC News 2010). Farmworkers face an uncompromising neoliberal state that promotes de-regulation and peer pressure as a way to govern industry (Aguiar 2004). In fact, abuses may become even more common as farmers accelerate neoliberal agricultural practices (Piche 2008; Preibisch and Grez 2010). In the last few decades, many farms have consolidated into large enterprises, invested in new technology, drastically cut wages, increased recruitment and employability of foreign migrant workers to cut costs, and imperiled the family-owned farm in order to gain competitive advantage in the global market (Binford 2004; Choudry . 2009; Preibisch 2007). In many parts of Canada the family farm is disappearing: “the portrait of the farmer who relies on his family and neighbours to help bring in the harvest no longer reflects reality for the vast majority of agriculture operations in Canada” (Choudry . 2009: 59). At the same time, farmers and agricultural business organizations vehemently resist social justice groups’ campaigns to organize farm workers into NGOs such as Justicia for Migrant Workers BC or trade unions like the United Food and Commercial Workers’ Union (UFCW) (Butkovsky and Smith 2007; Wilson 2007). In this study of accommodations for foreign migrant workers on Okanagan Valley farms, we begin with a brief overview of the structural changes experienced by the agricultural sector in the Okanagan over the last

decade in the context of globalization and neoliberalism. The second section profiles the background to the Seasonal Adjustment Workers' Program and briefly describes the nature of the program. In the last section, we discuss the housing facilities of Mexican migrant agricultural workers in the Okanagan Valley. The study's findings are based on a one-year qualitative research project with interviews of officials from government, farmer organizations, farmers, community organizations, and Mexican migrant farm workers in the Okanagan Valley in British Columbia. Thirty interviews were conducted between June and November 2008 in various locations in the Okanagan (from Coldstream in the North to Oliver in the south of the valley). The interviews were taped and later transcribed by research assistants. The research team visited several farms in the valley at different times to see first-hand the accommodation facilities available for migrant workers.

Homelessness

Fiedler, R., Hyndman, J., and N. Schuurman. 2006. Locating spatially concentrated risk of homelessness amongst recent immigrants in Greater Vancouver: A GIS-based approach. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 06-10.*

Housing is crucial to the settlement and integration of immigrants. The housing experiences and trajectories of immigrants in the housing market are highly variegated. Recent immigrants, faced with high housing costs and low vacancy rates in Canada's major cities (as well as potential discrimination) are more likely to be "precariously housed" and at greater risk for homelessness (5-6). This study uses GIS to examine the relationship between immigration, housing, and poverty. As the authors show, a great deal of academic and policy research in Canada is based on census data, aggregated at the level of

the census tract. This level of analysis, however, has significant limitations for understanding the spatial dynamics of concentrations of poverty and housing precariousness. In particular, the census tract is shown to provide, as Fiedler . put it, “too aggregate a picture for social difference” (3). This study employs a “dasymetric approach” to cartographic representation of census data, using “municipal land use data, remotely sensed imagery and high-resolution small-area census data” (4). It also uses a postal survey to further probe residents’ housing experiences. The study reveals highly localized patterns of deprivation and poverty in Vancouver that overlap with immigrant status and risk of homelessness. These patterns cannot be captured through the use of aggregate data at the census tract level.

Francis, J. 2009. “You Cannot Settle Like This”: The Housing Situation of African Refugees in Metro Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 09–02.*

Francis focuses on a visible minority group that has been off-radar for most scholars: African refugees. Her study examines the housing situation of African refugees in metropolitan Vancouver. The study’s central finding is that African refugees are facing a profound availability and affordability housing crisis in Vancouver that forces them to accept substandard housing that is neither suitable, nor adequate or affordable, and that these unstable conditions are both symptomatic and generative of other problems. Based on interviews with 61 African refugees as well as ten representatives of Immigrant Serving Agencies—eight of whom also immigrated from Africa—this study provides an overview of the challenges African refugees face in accessing suitable and affordable housing in urban Canada, identifies gaps in service provision, and

concludes with several policy recommendations. Of particular interest is the finding that while coming as a refugee of any class confers disadvantages, these are exacerbated as a result of persistent stereotypes related to being African/Black. While the author concludes that, in terms of vulnerability to homelessness, the risk for African refugees in Vancouver is extremely high, this finding is of clear interest to urban researchers and policymakers in other Canadian metropolises as well.

Kissoon, P. 2010. (Dis)Advantages of Illegality: The Refugee Claimant Trajectories and Housing Experiences of Non-Status Migrants in Vancouver and Toronto. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 10-11.*

Refugee claimants have been identified as an immigrant sub-group at high risk of homelessness. For a number of reasons, the refugee-determination process may include periods of illegal immigration status or statuslessness. Without status, refugee claimants are doubly vulnerable because they are “underground” and excluded from many of the protections and services that someone with status might access, i.e., emergency shelter services, social housing, social assistance, food banks, work permits, and provincial health insurance. Periods of statuslessness usually occur upon an immigrant’s arrival before his or her claim is submitted or at the end of the process if the claim fails.

These periods without status are arguably the points during the refugee process when migrants are the most vulnerable. But no research has been done on how they manage to survive in the phases before and after the refugee claim, or on the impact of shifting degrees of statuslessness on housing

stability and the risk of homelessness. To address this gap, Kisson examines migrants' experiences in two of Canada's largest immigrant reception areas and its most expensive rental housing markets: Vancouver and Toronto. Both cities are struggling to provide safe, affordable housing in the midst of high rates of homelessness, social housing shortages, and precariousness exacerbated by global economic insecurity. However, on average, BC receives just five percent of refugee applications compared with 60 percent in Ontario, and the landscape of NGOs, political advocacy, and municipal responsiveness towards each population reflects this.

This research relies on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 34 migrants and 27 key informants in Toronto and Vancouver. Migrants were also given an opportunity to partake in a component of the research that allowed them to document their experiences living without status through photography and photo elicitation—a "photo voice." Research findings indicate: (a) In both cities, homelessness is sometimes an accidental pathway to the refugee determination system because a person's story of persecution and need for protection may incidentally surface with frontline shelter and settlement workers. Frontline workers are in a position to sensitively elicit migrants' stories and, where applicable, educate them about their right to claim asylum; (b) In other cases, the refugee claim may be a strategy to stabilize situations of dire destitution due to a lack of programmed alternatives, routes to regularization, or access to resources and entitlements for persons without legal immigration status; (c) Protracted periods of hidden homelessness were common amongst migrants who were hesitant about facing the refugee claim process; (d) Hidden homelessness and episodic homelessness were characteristic of housing experiences both before a refugee claim and following a negative decision; (e) Experiences of destitution were intensified by im-

migration legal fees and application fees; and (f) There is greater need for gender sensitivity, examination of the racialization of statuslessness, and the deleterious effects of both on mothers and mothering and the lives of children cared for in Canada and left abroad, by all levels of government and service providers.

While immigrants continue to arrive in Canada's traditional metropolitan gateway areas, recent data from the Canadian Census has sparked significant interest in immigrant dispersal to new destinations outside major urban centres, especially the suburbs. Rapid population growth and concentration of immigrants and minorities in the suburbs has led to an increasing demand for scarce affordable rental housing. This study evaluates the housing experiences and coping strategies of recent immigrants in Richmond and Surrey, two fast-growing outer suburbs of Vancouver where the immigrant population has rapidly increased in the last decades and where there is a short supply of affordable rental housing, including public and social housing. This study uses data from seven focus groups with 88 recent immigrants and 15 interviews with key stakeholders, conducted in Vancouver, Richmond, and Surrey in 2010. The evidence indicates that this new group of immigrants faces numerous difficulties (e.g., high rents, overcrowding, poor-quality housing) in the rental housing market. Most immigrants were spending more than 50% of their monthly household income on housing, putting them at risk of homelessness. The study's findings suggest that the housing crisis affecting Surrey and Richmond—a limited supply of affordable rental housing and high living costs for many new immigrants—make these two cities a unique and challenging region of Vancouver in which to settle. Funding from all levels of government (federal, provincial, and local) to stimulate the creation of both for-profit and non-profit housing is urgently needed. The shortage of appropriate housing

services and programs is also a major gap in the settlement services in the region.

Francis, J. and D. Hiebert. 2011. *Shaky Foundations: Precarious Housing and Hidden Homelessness Among Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants in Metro Vancouver. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 11–18.*

The report is based on findings from the Metro Vancouver portion of a large comparative national study that, for the first time, applied a single systematic methodology to the study of three groups of newcomers (economic immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers) in Canada's three major immigrant and refugee receiving centers, Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The study also updates research undertaken prior to the current economic downturn when acquiring good jobs and, therefore, housing may have been easier. The main questions guiding this study were: What are the housing circumstances of newcomers, specifically refugees, to Metro Vancouver, including the barriers they face to securing adequate, suitable, and affordable housing?

Adolescent immigrants and refugees from sub-Saharan Africa face significant challenges. Drawing on results from 185 surveys and five focus groups, the report finds that immigration category and housing outcome are closely linked in that people who enter Canada through humanitarian streams are more likely than economic immigrants to lack the resources needed to find and maintain adequate and affordable housing. Overarching themes dominating the lives of both refugee claimants and sponsored refugees include poverty, substandard housing that is also unaffordable and often overcrowded, and homelessness, both hidden and absolute. At the same time, by focusing on

people using settlement services, the report reveals a subset of economic immigrants who struggle alongside refugees to obtain adequate housing.

The report identifies several critical issues for policy, including: the availability of affordable rental housing; access to subsidized housing, including transitional housing for refugee claimants; the need for a centralized, reliable Housing Resource Centre; the mandate of immigrant serving agencies; monthly RAP amounts and the requirement for GARs to repay the transportation loan; and orientation services for GARs.

Concentration/Residential Geography

Winders, J. 2000. Immigration to Vancouver: An Analytical Review." *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 00-14.*

Winders reviews the literature on immigration to Vancouver from the 1960s to 2000. She demonstrates that while early narratives on immigration saw immigrants as "problems to be solved," most research now focuses on the experiences of immigrants themselves. Winders identifies three major areas of research on immigration in Vancouver. First, the relationship between immigration and the labour market has been a key area of inquiry. The broad theme connecting studies in this area is that "immigrant labour market activities take quite different forms in different places" (10). A second area of inquiry has been to focus on two large immigrant groups in Vancouver, namely the Indo-Canadian and Chinese communities. Although important research has been conducted, the focus on these two groups has precluded a "finer-grain analysis" (17) to more fully understand the impact of immigration at the neighbourhood scale in Vancouver. The third area of research Winders identifies focuses on the "implications of immigration to the city," including their relationship to neighbourhoods, the housing market, and the provision

of social services in the city. In this area, researchers have done well to challenge “monolithic” perspectives of immigrant families, emphasizing instead their “heterogeneity” (22). As a final note, Winders calls for research outside of the two dominant immigrant groups in Vancouver.

Burnley, I., and D. Hiebert. 2001. Emerging patterns of immigrant settlement in Metropolitan Sydney and Vancouver: The needs for new concepts and models. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Papers 01-07.*

Burnley and Hiebert consider the relevance of the Chicago School assumptions for patterns of immigrant settlement in Sydney and Vancouver. The Chicago model assumed that immigrants initially settle in the inner city, moving outwards with time and increased status. It follows, therefore, that immigrant services would be most needed in the inner city. Burnley and Hiebert trace and compare the patterns of immigrant settlement over time for Sydney and Vancouver. In 1971, the two cities exhibited relatively similar patterns, which were in line with the Chicago School assumptions. Immigrants generally settled in the inner city where housing was cheaper, or settled near to particular “resource sectors” (i.e., South Asians in Vancouver). This picture began to change in the 1970s, with rising immigration levels, increased diversity, and official multiculturalism in both contexts. Furthermore, as the middle class began to place more value on “inner city living,” the inner city began to gentrify (10). The proportion of immigrants living in the inner city decreased, while immigrants began moving in large numbers to the suburbs where they created “new ethnic settlements” (11). Refugees also had specific suburban

patterns. The suburbs became the “new reception centres for lower-income immigrant communities” (11).

Over time, Sydney and Vancouver developed specific geographies of immigrant settlement. Both exhibited a “multi-nodal” social geography with suburban centres of reception. Similarly, in both cities, certain suburbs became more discursively associated with one ethnic group or another. Nevertheless, indices of segregation reveal these neighbourhoods exhibited a high degree of diversity (16). The authors find no evidence of “exclusive” ethnic communities in either Sydney or Vancouver, although some groups have higher levels of concentration. Overall, the authors emphasize the complexity of this social geography, which is also influenced by income. Ultimately the analysis **reveals** the falsity of the Chicago School’s assumptions in the Vancouver and Sydney contexts. As a final note, the authors emphasize the significance of their findings for the provision of settlement services.

Hiebert, D., and D. Ley. 2001. Assimilation, cultural pluralism and social exclusion among ethno-cultural groups in Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01–08.*

The goal of assimilation has been abandoned in Canada (at least discursively), in favour of immigrant integration. Proponents of integration often argue that integration differs from assimilation because it places equal responsibility on members of the host society to adapt to newcomers. In this study, Hiebert and Ley examine the extent to which the characteristics of immigrant groups have indeed “converged.” Do they exhibit similar socio-economic characteristics to the native-born population in Vancouver, or are there “socio-cultural” divisions? If such divisions do exist, what are their implications?

Through census data from 1991, the study focuses, in particular, on the trajectories of European and non-European ethno-cultural groups in Vancouver. The study illustrates the “complex amalgam of assimilation and multiculturalism” shaping Vancouver’s social geography (32). In general, there is evidence of “convergence” between European and non-European immigrants, particularly with respect to education and household size. There are, however, important differences between and within these two broad categories. For one, residential and occupational segregation diminishes considerably more over time for European groups, who become less segregated than the native-born population in just a decade. For non-European groups, segregation indicators weaken only slightly. Use of the “mother tongue” at home is more likely among the non-European groups as time passes. The question remains as to whether this “cultural persistence” is positive or the result of social exclusion. The study also shows that, on the one hand, visible minorities have lower individual incomes that do not reach the city’s average income levels with any length of time, suggesting social exclusion in the labour market. On the other hand, visible minorities have higher household incomes than European-origin groups, and eventually surpass the Metropolitan average.

Bauder, H. 2001. The visible minority category and urban analysis. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01-09.*

The aggregation of non-white racial groups under the category “visible minority” in the 1996 Census was intended to indicate racial discrimination in Canada. In this study, Bauder provides a critique of the category and its application in urban analysis from a social constructivist perspective. Through an analysis of indices of dissimilarity in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal,

Bauder demonstrates the limitations of the category “visible minority” for analyzing patterns of urban segregation. “Visible minority” is a highly constructed category. It imposes a dichotomy (whites versus non-whites) that reifies the “invisible mainstream” in Canada (5). Race and experiences of discrimination are contextual, as racial categories are differentially constructed at different scales. This study compares indices of dissimilarity for the “visible minority” category with those of ethnic and racial groups. Bauder finds evidence of “moderate” segregation of visible minorities, with Montreal being the most and Vancouver the least segregated. This aggregate indicator, however, belies the high degree of variation across groups and for different cities. Japanese and blacks, for example, register among the highest levels of dissimilarity in Toronto, but have low levels in Vancouver. The study shows that the aggregation of groups under the visible minority umbrella imposes a problematic categorization that masks differences in experience.

Ley, D. 2003. *Offsetting immigration and domestic migration in gateway cities: Canadian and Australian reflections on an “American Dilemma”*. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03–01*.

The positive relationship between immigrant influx and domestic out-migration in major U.S. cities such as Los Angeles and New York has become known as the “American dilemma.” Among U.S. scholars, domestic out-migration is portrayed as either a strategy of “cultural avoidance” or is attributed to shifts in the labour market (3). The former explanation sees the “offsetting” trend as a symptom of “white flight” or “demographic balkanization” (see Frey 1994). The latter juxtaposes the stability of immigration levels with fluctuations in the economy. While immigration remains the same, domestic migrants

are more likely to seek employment in another location in times of economic recession. Ley considers the applicability of the “balkanization” hypothesis in Toronto and Sydney, two gateway cities that also register high immigration and domestic out-migration levels, and whose media commonly borrow the U.S. narratives of “cultural avoidance” (5). The study finds that domestic out-migration in these two cities results from the increases in property values generated by immigration. The higher property costs had two major effects on domestic residents. First, lower income residents were no longer able to afford living in the cities. Second, retirees and “empty-nesters” “cashed in” in order to “buy low” elsewhere (14). Immigrants are more willing to bear higher property costs in order to live near communities of co-ethnics and to engage in a number of mitigating strategies (i.e., sharing a home). In the period from 1989–1990, both out-migration and property values were at their highest, while unemployment was low. These findings challenge the explanatory power of the labour market explanation and “cultural avoidance” theses in the Canadian and Australian contexts.

Teo, S. Y. 2003. *Imagining Canada: The cultural logics of migration amongst PRC immigrants. Metropolis British Columbia Working Papers 03–16.*

Teo considers the perceptions of Canada and of international migration more broadly by immigrants from the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Teo is principally concerned with the role of “imagination” in the “cultural logic of migration” (6). Through 78 in-depth interviews with PRC households, and textual analysis of information about migration available to them, Teo examines the ways in which information about Canada is mediated by both the

producers and the receivers of the information. Teo found many migrants to have incomplete information about life in Canada. The lion's share of content (i.e., guidebooks, television shows) about overseas migration was about the United States rather than Canada. Further, in phone conversations, family members, not wanting to "lose face" would only report the "good news" of their life in the new country. Importantly, however, Teo demonstrates even when having access to a plethora of "truthful" sources (family members, on-line chatrooms, the media, previous immigrants) about the difficulty in finding employment in Canada, migrants filtered warnings through a specific "cultural logic" of migration. For example, migrants might "self-except," believing that they themselves would be able to surmount barriers in the labour market that others could not. Teo argues that migration must be seen as a "socially and culturally embedded" process, bound up in the imaginations of the migrants. Their "perceptions of the destination and the cultural discourses surrounding immigration" are "firmly grounded" in the "contexts" in which they live. (3).

Sandercock, L. 2003. Rethinking multiculturalism for the 21st century. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03-14.*

This paper is the first in a four-part series by Leonie Sandercock (and colleagues) on the relationship between multiculturalism and urban planning. The goal of the paper is to examine multiculturalism from a theoretical perspective. Sandercock begins by comparing existing scholarship on multiculturalism. By contrasting, in particular, the perspectives of Richard Sennett, James Donald, Ash Amin, and Annick German, as well as the British Home Office, Sandercock raises important questions about the kind and extent of intercultural interaction desirable in a multicultural society, and in what types of spaces this kind

of politics can flourish. While Sennett (1994) argues that intercultural interaction is a desirable social good, he provides few answers regarding the context in which it should take place. In contrast, Donald (1999) emphasized the need for acceptance of “unassimilated otherness” (7). Amin (2002) argues that meaningful interaction occurs in “banal” but “shared spaces” such as schools and the workplace. Germain, on the other hand, maintains the value of living among difference. Housing and neighbourhoods figure prominently in this discussion. For example, Amin contests dominant British narratives about mixed housing in the wake of the 2001 “race riots” in the UK. The subsequent report of the British Home Office urged the use of mixed housing to combat what it perceived as the root of the problem: deprived cultural minorities living “parallel lives” (13).

Sandercock’s own “multicultural perspective for the 21st century” emphasizes the mutually constitutive nature of identity and difference. All people are “culturally embedded,” but their identities constantly change through their interaction with others. In other words, intercultural interaction is important for the cultural “growth” of all parties. Sandercock also emphasizes the importance of the “right to the city” and the “right to difference” as underlying principles of multiculturalism (23).

Smith, H. A. 2004. The evolving relationship between immigrant settlement and neighbourhood disadvantage in Canadian cities, 1991-2001. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04-20.*

Smith explores the connection between poverty, indicators of deprivation, and patterns of immigrant settlement in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal in the decade between 1991 and 2001. The study’s findings refute the applica-

bility of the “urban underclass” thesis for Canadian cities. The analysis shows, however, a trend towards the spatial overlap of immigrant neighbourhoods with multiple markers of deprivation. A greater percentage of immigrants resided in “multiply disadvantaged” neighbourhoods in 2001 than in 1991 across all three cities (5). Nevertheless, the study emphasizes important differences across the cities. Toronto experienced a strengthening of the socio-spatial relationship between immigrants and disadvantage. At the same time, however, most immigrant neighbourhoods exhibited a wide range of economic heterogeneity, even when there were higher concentrations of specific ethnic groups (i.e., Scarborough and Markham). In Vancouver, there was an increasing amount of overlap between poverty and immigrant settlement, but not with indicators of deprivation used in the study. Montreal experienced a greater degree of association between disadvantaged and immigrant neighbourhoods, but this pattern was less suburbanized than in Toronto and Vancouver.

The study highlights the influence of housing availability on these trends. In Montreal, for example, private rental housing is concentrated on the Island of Montreal, with detached housing being more prevalent in the suburbs. This pattern influences the propensity of immigrants to live in the city, and may preclude them from settling in the suburbs. In Toronto and Vancouver, areas of public housing coincide with high immigrant populations. As support for public housing has waned, an important avenue for future research concerns the degree to which the decreasing availability of affordable housing and the shifting geography of affordable housing will impact the “development of alternative housing and coping strategies on the part of the immigrant residents themselves, or an exacerbation of the deprivation experience altogether” (30). Smith concludes by highlighting the importance of qualitative research in this

area, particularly given the limitations placed by census tract (and aggregate data) focused inquiries.

Homeownership

Laryea, S. A. 1999. Housing ownership patterns of immigrants in Canada. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 99-19.*

Laryea examines the housing ownership rates of immigrants in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver using data from the 2001 Census. He focuses on the factors affecting homeownership patterns (4). Laryea adapts methodology developed by Chiswick (1978) and Borjas (1985) to model labour market participation, adapting it to the housing market. Laryea focuses on “household maintainers” between the ages of 25 and 64. The study found that in Vancouver, Asian immigrants were the group most likely to own a home. In Toronto and Montreal, European and U.S. immigrants groups were the most likely homeowners. Laryea finds that it takes immigrant groups, on average, a decade to resemble the homeownership patterns of their Canadian-born cohorts (26). This average, when broken down, reveals distinct differences between immigrant groups. For example, it takes European and U.S. immigrant less time to “catch-up” to Canada-born homeowners (three years), compared to six years for Asian immigrants. Significantly, African and Caribbean-born immigrants never “catch up,” and continue to have the lowest rates of homeownership in all three Canadian cities (26). Overall, Laryea reveals that across Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, the probability of homeownership is affected by a wide range of complex factors, including length of time in Canada, age, and household type. Laryea concludes by emphasizing the need to provide special assistance to groups struggling in the housing market.

*Changing Residential Neighbourhoods/Gentrification***Olds, K. 1996. Developing the *Trans-Pacific Property Market: Tales from Vancouver via Hong Kong. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 96-02.***

Vancouver's property market became increasingly "internationalized" in the mid- to late-1980s. Capital flows between Hong Kong and Vancouver became increasingly connected in the lead-up to Hong Kong's handover to China. Olds draws on the case of the Concord Pacific Place project in downtown Vancouver to highlight the key factors driving Hong Kong developers to "extend their reach over space in downtown Vancouver" (5). Drawing on Appadurai's (1990) five "scapes" of the "global cultural economy," (26) Olds argues that the development of Pacific Place must be seen as a "social and cultural construct" that not only signifies economic goals but also the "nature of Hong Kong-based overseas capitalism" as well as the personal goals and interests of the Li family (15). The primary shareholder involved in the \$3 billion purchase of the 1986 Expo Lands was Li Ka-shing, one of Hong Kong's wealthiest developers. On the one hand, Olds demonstrates the "material goals" of the Li family: establishing a "base" in North America allowed the family to "diversify their portfolio" as well as increase "returns." On the other hand, as Olds emphasizes, social and cultural motivations are pivotal to understanding the family's decision to buy the Expo lands. Li's son Victor, then in his early 20s, was being prepared to follow in his father's footsteps. The Concord Pacific Place development was a "strategic" purchase that would allow Victor to prove himself a worthy heir to his father's real estate legacy. Vancouver was reputed to be a city with an "open social structure" that permitted Chinese developers to quickly become "respected players" in the economy (26). The purchase also

provided a foothold for developers in Canada at a time of great economic uncertainty in Hong Kong. Ultimately, the acquisition of this urban mega project allowed the Li family (and Victor especially) to establish a personal and financial base in Vancouver (26).

Ley, D., and J. Tutchener. 1999. Immigration and metropolitan house prices in Canada. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 99-09.*

Ley and Tutchener examine the relationship between immigration and house prices across eight metropolitan areas in Canada from 1971 to 1996. Using data from the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), they compare prices across Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Ottawa, Calgary, Halifax, Hamilton, and Victoria. Housing market fluctuations are typically analyzed through multiple regression models (the "hedonic price equation model"), whereby price is predicted by a series of related variables. Following Maher (1994), the authors stress the limitations of this commonly used model, particularly for understanding housing market patterns in Vancouver and Toronto. Their evaluation of Canada's housing market pays particular attention to geographical scale, the effect of neoliberalism on international property markets in the 1980s and 1990s, and the context of labour and immigration in Canada (6). In 1971, the housing markets across these eight Canadian cities displayed considerable "price convergence" (9). From 1971 to 1996, however, the housing markets of these cities "diverged" (26) considerably. This divergence was particularly true for Vancouver and Toronto from the 1980s onward, a time during which they experienced "rapid inflation" as well as higher degrees of fluctuation than the other cities. Several major factors are identified in the rapid inflation of Vancouver's property market post-1986, including the impact

of World Expo 1986 on the international image of Vancouver, the Li acquisition of the Expo lands and subsequent condominium development, and increased immigration generated from uncertainty about Hong Kong's handover to China. The correlation analysis shows that international migration, in particular, drove increases in housing demand in Vancouver and Toronto post-1986. There is a strong correspondence between immigration and housing prices. Toronto and Vancouver diverge, however, because of the differences in immigration categories in the two cities (Toronto receives more refugees, while Vancouver more business immigrants). Overall, the authors emphasize the complexity of the effect of immigration on housing prices (27).

Ley, D., P. Murphy, K. Olds, and B. Randolph. 2001. Immigration and housing in gateway cities: The cases of Sydney and Vancouver. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01-03.*

Housing is one of the biggest obstacles for immigrants in both Canada and Australia. Ley et al. compare the relationship between immigration and housing in the cities of Vancouver and Sydney. They find that immigrants play a strong role in creating the demand for housing and are instrumental in the shifting "built environment of cities" (3). In both Australia and Canada it is becoming increasingly difficult for immigrants, on average, to afford a home (5). Furthermore, immigrants are "under-represented" in public housing and over-represented in the private rental market (6). These patterns are further stratified by country of origin. There are clear differences across cities in Canada and Australia in the length of time it takes immigrants to "catch up" and surpass native-born rates of homeownership. In Vancouver, for example, this period is only five years, compared to 15 in Toronto and Montreal (7). In

Vancouver, Toronto, and Sydney, there is a strong correlation between housing prices and immigration (9). Sydney's housing market more closely resembles Toronto's than Vancouver's.

The authors stress the differences in immigration composition across the cities. Vancouver's "higher price trajectory" relates to its higher proportion of business-class immigrants (10). Ley et al. emphasize the effect of local variability in the relationship between immigration and the housing market (12). The authors also consider "land use conflicts" as another way of examining this relationship. There were fewer signs of conflict in Sydney than in Vancouver, where there was strong opposition to the construction of "monster homes" (14). Ley et al. call for more research on the role of the "host society" in immigrant reception (15). They also examine the internationalization of the property market. There has been an increase in "trans-Pacific" capital flow that has affected both Vancouver and Sydney (16).

Bauder, H., J.Waters, and S. Y. Teo. 2001. Impacts of immigration on British Columbia: Population, labour markets, housing markets and international linkages. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01-17.*

This report was prepared originally for the BC Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration. The report reviews the literature on immigration to British Columbia, examines the characteristics and trends among immigrants arriving in BC, and highlights areas of key importance and challenge for policymakers. In particular, the authors stress the need to take into account the "economic, demographic, and geographic" effects of immigration in BC in debates about the province's "absorptive capacity." The report also

reviews the literature examining the relationship between immigration and the housing market and makes a series of housing-specific recommendations. In terms of immigrant experiences, housing often poses a significant barrier, as immigrants must spend a high percentage of their total income on housing (27% in 1996); they employ a range of mitigating strategies in this context, such as sharing a home and overcrowding. Despite these obstacles, the rate of homeownership among immigrants in Vancouver is relatively high. Further, most immigrants live in homes constructed after 1981. The report also emphasizes the impact of immigrants on British Columbia's housing market, given its increasing internationalization in recent years.

The report highlights several "issues of concern" with respect to the topic of housing (93). For one, increases in immigration levels will likely affect the housing market both in terms of property value increases, as well as by increasing the potential for conflicts surrounding property development (i.e., "monster homes"). The authors also stress the need to further examine differences in homeownership rates across groups (i.e., immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean have lower rates) and to formulate policies to account for potential systemic biases in the housing market.

Ley, D., J. Tutchener, and G. Cunningham. 2001. Immigration, polarization, or gentrification? Accounting for changing house prices and dwelling values in gateway cities. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 01-20.*

Ley et al. examine changes in the housing markets of Vancouver and Toronto from 1971 to 1996, with a particular focus on the relationship between immigration, social polarization, and gentrification. They draw on a va-

riety of data sources, including the Canadian Census, as well as Toronto Real Estate Board and Greater Vancouver Real Estate Board records. In both cities, their analysis shows a “deepening of value” in the central business districts and already wealthy “older areas of housing” (i.e., north of the Toronto CBD and Shaughnessy in Vancouver) (8). The intensification of wealth in certain areas was evident from 1971 to 1986, but weakens in the period from 1986 to 1996. Significantly, immigration is found to have an inconsistent effect on property values in Toronto and Vancouver. In Toronto, the relationship is weakly negative, while in Vancouver it is positive. The complexity of this relationship is further revealed by the analysis of the ethnicity variables and property values. The relationship is positive for the Chinese, but negative for British in Vancouver, while British had a weak but positive effect in Toronto. The authors emphasize the need for analysis at multiple spatial scales.

Edgington, D.W., M. A. Goldberg, and T. A. Hutton. 2003. *The Hong Kong Chinese in Vancouver. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03-12.*

Changes to Canadian immigration policy in the 1970s and 1980s were designed to attract business class immigrants to Canada. These changes, coupled with the financial and political uncertainty associated with the lead-up to the 1997 Sino-British Joint Declaration in Hong Kong, precipitated a significant increase in immigration from Hong Kong in the 1980s and 90s. Between 1986 and 2000, immigrants from Hong Kong comprised one-fifth of incoming immigrants in British Columbia. As Edgington et al. emphasize, this group was distinct from previous waves of Chinese immigration because of their skills, wealth, and residential and transnational patterns. Through census data from

1996 and qualitative interviews with city officials, business experts, and settlement workers, this study examines the impact of immigration from Hong Kong on Metro Vancouver. Broadly speaking, the new immigrants from Hong Kong were associated with an influx of capital into Vancouver and increasing linkages between the two financial sectors. This new wave of immigration also had a significant impact on the social geography of Vancouver. The study details the changing patterns of Chinese settlement in Vancouver from the 1960s onwards. The suburb of Richmond was transformed as increasing numbers of immigrants from Hong Kong chose to settle there.

The new patterns of settlement had important implications for Richmond's development, particularly with respect to housing. For one, there was an increasing demand for homes. This demand was seen as driving up property values in Vancouver. There were also cultural conflicts surrounding home construction and renovation (i.e., the removal of trees and the construction of "monster homes" with flat roofs), as well as concerns about the impact on the local school system. The study highlights city council's successful community-based approach to the "monster homes" conflict (21). Overall, the study finds that Hong Kong immigrants have largely been viewed as a positive force in Vancouver because they created "opportunities both for themselves and for the city" (33). The authors urge the government of British Columbia and Vancouver to support multiculturalism in order to facilitate the benefits of immigration for Vancouver.

Ley, D. 2005. Post-multiculturalism? *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 05-18.*

This study highlights the continued importance of multiculturalism in Canada despite what is perceived as its “international withdrawal” (8). Serious questions have been raised about multiculturalism in both the academic and policy realm. Ley argues that the strengths of multiculturalism are ignored when the policy is reduced to “symbolism” when it has also played a vital role in Canada as an equity policy and as a policy of recognition. Ley develops this argument through the conflict over “monster homes” in Vancouver. In the 1990s, immigrants from Hong Kong purchased homes in the “old-elite” neighbourhoods of Kerrisdale and Shaughnessy typified by immaculately landscaped lawns and neo-Tudor style homes. The immigrants who moved into these neighbourhoods were not wedded to this landscape, seeing instead the land for its value, and often tearing down the homes to build new ones in a style they preferred (typically modern, larger, with less emphasis on landscaping). These “monster homes,” as they became known, led to a proposal to limit the maximum size of homes in these neighbourhoods. The monster home conflict was resolved, however, through a multicultural planning process that allowed both sides to air their grievances through the language of property rights. In particular, the immigrants from Hong Kong maintained their property rights as rights of citizenship. A compromise was reached after both sides made concessions (the maximum height restriction would be waived in cases where the new house conformed to the European style). Ley argues that this case brings to light the need for “some form of multicultural governance” in plural societies increasingly shaped by immigration (3).

*Miscellaneous***Lewin-Epstein, N., and M. Semyonov. 1999. Migration, ethnicity, and inequality in homeownership. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 99-23.***

Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov examine patterns of homeownership among immigrants in Israel. Homeownership is an important marker of integration. Owning one's home is important as it provides not only shelter and security but also functions as a symbolic marker of achievement and "well-being" (3). Theoretically, full housing market assimilation occurs when the immigrant population reaches parity with the native born in the probability of homeownership. Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov analyze data from Israel's Family Expenditure Survey (FES) from 1975 to 1993 using logistic regression. They are principally concerned with factors that might "stratify" homeownership, focusing in particular on ethnicity and years since migration (YSM). They find that homeownership rates are high overall (around 80% for immigrants and the native born). This finding is attributed to the state's active support of housing as a tool of nation-building. Both ethnicity and YSM are significantly and positively correlated to homeownership. Among immigrants, those from North Africa are the least likely to own a home. The longer an immigrant has resided in the country, the more likely they are to own a home. The authors also emphasize the significance of the "opportunity structure" at the time of arrival (18). Immigrants who arrived just after Israeli independence were more likely to become homeowners than immigrants who arrived after the mid-1980s, when controlling for other factors. In the years following independence, there were more units of housing available, due to both the emigra-

tion of Palestinians from the territory as well as the state's activity in housing construction.

Hayfron, J. E. 2000. The housing market outcomes of immigrants in Norway. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 00-09.*

Hayfron analyzes patterns of homeownership among immigrants in Norway. Norwegian census data from 1980 and 1990 reveals a significant transition from rental housing to homeownership for both the native born and immigrants during this period (rather than to public housing). Homeownership rates of immigrants and native-born Norwegians converge over time, suggesting that immigrants become integrated into the Norwegian housing market. Further, Hayfron finds that immigrants exhibit a "homeownership propensity effect" (13).

Hiebert, D., J. Collins, and P. Spoonley. 2003. Uneven globalization: Neoliberal regimes, immigration, and multiculturalism in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03-05.*

Hiebert et al. compare immigration policies in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. As the study shows, the three countries exhibited remarkably similar trajectories in their policies until the 1990s, when Canada placed more emphasis on temporary migration while increasing permanent immigration levels. As well, multiculturalism remained firmly entrenched in Canadian society. In Australia, however, temporary migration levels were raised at the expense of the permanent immigration category, and the country also implemented changes to its multiculturalism policy. New Zealand, which has

a bicultural framework, retained its emphasis on permanent migration. All of these changes were framed by each country as economic strategies. The study emphasizes the importance of recognizing that the pressures of neoliberal globalization do not necessarily invite policy “convergence.” Rather, the debates over immigration as economic strategy were very different depending on national context.

Anderson, R. 2003. Settlement dispersal of immigrants and refugees in Europe: Policy and outcomes. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 03-08.*

In the European Union, refugees are often framed negatively as a “burden” on member states which must be distributed evenly. This narrative influences public sentiment towards refugees, and may preclude their successful integration. In this study, Anderson examines European dispersal policies. One of the major objectives—evident in the UK, Sweden, and the Netherlands—of these policies is to prevent residential clustering of refugee populations. Significantly, however, there are considerable differences in the settlement patterns of refugees among these three member states. While clustering is evident in the British context, immigrant neighbourhoods in Sweden, for example, typically have high levels of ethnic diversity. Anderson is principally concerned with questioning dispersal policies. As he shows, dispersal policies are often couched in the assumption that residential concentration is inherently negative. As a number of scholars have shown, however, the “congregation” of immigrants, refugees, and minorities, can also have a positive effect on their integration. Anderson argues that refugees’ freedom of settlement

should not rest on policy and academic interpretations of whether or not segregation is negative or positive.

Anderson evaluates the commonly stated goals of dispersal policies. He finds that although several of these goals are justified (such as the spread of costs associated with refugees, or balancing “housing capacity”), dispersal policies can have serious consequences that may outweigh their benefits. For example, he highlights the high cost of dispersal policies, suggesting the need for “budget mechanisms” to offset areas requiring more resources than others. What’s more, dispersal is often seen as a strategy of fostering “social interaction.” He warns, however, that it may in fact amplify “isolation.” Ultimately, Anderson shows that most of the underlying goals of dispersal are morally dubious and their effects on integration questionable.

Sherrell, K., and J. Hyndman. 2004. *Global minds, local bodies: Kosovar transnational connections beyond British Columbia. Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 04–10.*

This study examines the transnational activities of Kosovar refugees in British Columbia. This group was given refugee status in Canada in 1999. Sherrell and Hyndman conducted focus groups of Kosovar refugees across British Columbia. The central question of this study concerns the extent to which they maintained connections overseas. The study finds that the Kosovars engaged in significant transnational activity with Kosovo, maintaining connections to family and friends in Serbia and Montenegro. The authors distinguish refugee transnationalism from other forms of transnationalism. The case of the Kosovars is further specified by the “uncertain” political future of Kosovo. As a return “home” was not safe, their “home” was newly constructed

through a “social field that straddles the borders of both BC and Kosovo/a” (16). Ultimately, Sherrell and Hyndman emphasize the effect of these specific forms of transnationalism for the settlement and integration of refugees in Canada. These refugees’ sense of attachment to Canada was constructed through this transnational field.

Landau, L. B. 2005. Urbanization, nativism, and the rule of law in South Africa’s “Forbidden: cities. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 05-05.*

This study examines the rise of nativism in South Africa. Since the end of apartheid, South Africa’s major cities have attracted increasing numbers of non-nationals and black South Africans, two groups that were formerly excluded. These new populations have transformed the social geography of South African cities like Johannesburg, the focus of Landau’s story. In some areas of Johannesburg, the population of non-nationals approaches 25%. The growing number of asylum seekers has been accompanied with a rise in nativism. Faced with irregular migration, the state has become increasingly engaged in practices that directly contravene its commitment to human rights “inclusive cosmopolitanism” (5). Landau argues that the South African state has created “zones of exception” within which it is acceptable to actively exclude non-nationals. These exclusionary practices range from detention and deportation to “prohibitive fees” for residency applications (12). Further, although non-nationals are guaranteed health and education rights, their access to them is often limited by fees and long wait times (14).

Creese, G. 2005. Negotiating belonging: Bordered spaces and imagined communities in Vancouver, Canada. *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 05-06.*

This study examines the experiences of female immigrants of colour in Vancouver, British Columbia through the results of a five-year longitudinal study as well as a series of focus groups with female immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. Creese focuses, in particular, on the ways in which this group negotiates the “boundaries” of citizenship and “belonging” in Canada (6). The study shows that a sense of belonging was highly related to material inclusion in Canada. While multiculturalism and inclusion are significant narratives in the Canadian story, this group of immigrants often faces limitations of inclusion on the ground. Discursively included within the nation, these immigrants face real material exclusion in their everyday lives (5). This exclusion manifests itself, in particular, through labour market obstacles due to lack of Canadian experience, accented English, and deskilling. Thus, while discourses of immigration centre on constructions of the “good citizen” as a positive contributor to the Canadian economy, many immigrants are “disempowered” by labour market exclusion (10).

Teo, S. Y. 2007. Vancouver’s Newest Chinese Diaspora: Settlers or “Immigrant prisoners?” *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper 07-02.*

This study considers the experiences of immigrants from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in Vancouver through the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora. Immigrants from the PRC have not been a focus of this literature. Many scholars have focused on the transnational strategies of hyper-

mobile immigrants from Hong Kong. The label “Chinese diaspora” flattens the highly varying experiences of different groups of Chinese immigrants. Through focus groups and interviews with skilled PRC immigrants in Vancouver, Teo emphasizes the distinct experiences of increasing numbers of skilled immigrants since 1995. In particular, this group faced a decreased standard of living upon immigration to Canada. Participants often likened the hardship of immigrating to past experiences in China. Teo emphasizes the serious challenges facing immigrants from the PRC in the labour market. Immigrants often experience unemployment, underemployment, and deskilling due to a lack of credential recognition, poor English skills, and a lack of Canadian work experience. These PRC households have developed a number of household “coping strategies” (for example, one partner studies while the other spouse works). Sometimes, these strategies are transnational in nature. In contrast to research by Waters (2003), however, immigrants from the PRC typically did not plan for a spouse to return to China to work as an “astronaut” before they immigrated. The metaphor of the “immigrant jail” was commonly used to describe immigrants’ first few years in Canada. For some, their situations ameliorated after “doing time,” while others contemplated leaving Canada (16).

