

METROPOLIS BRITISH COLUMBIA

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

Working Paper Series

13-06

March 2013

Immigrant Integration and Religious Transnationalism: the case of the 'Highway to Heaven' in Richmond, BC

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MBC is supported as part of the Metropolis Project, a national strategic initiative funded by SSHRC and the following organizations of the federal government:

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- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)
- Canadian Heritage (PCH)
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)
- Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario (FedNor)
- Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSD)
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- Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC)
- Public Safety Canada (PSC)
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)
- The Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (Rural Sec't)
- Statistics Canada (Stats Can)

Metropolis BC also receives funding from the Ministry of Jobs, Tourism, and Innovation (JTI). Grants from Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria provide additional support to the Centre.

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IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AND RELIGIOUS TRANSNATIONALISM: THE CASE OF THE 'HIGHWAY TO HEAVEN' IN RICHMOND, BC

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Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Daniel Hiebert for his generous comments on an initial draft of the paper, to Vicky Baker and Elana Baxter for their administrative expertise at Metropolis BC, and to the cartographers at University College London and Onkar Buttar at Richmond City Hall for the maps. We also thank all the institutions on No. 5 Road and each of our interviewees for speaking with us and for participating in this project. Our hope is that this report will serve the community well, and if there are inaccuracies of representation, we would be delighted to learn where our portrayals can be sharpened.

Abstract

This paper draws on a case study of religious institutions on No. 5 Road in Richmond, British Columbia to explore the role of religious institutions in the process of immigrant integration. Colloquially known as the ‘Highway to Heaven’, No. 5 Road includes over twenty religious communities on a three-kilometre stretch of road, their location the result of a planning policy for an ‘Assembly District’ in the Agricultural Land Reserve. Drawing on interviews conducted with twenty-two out of twenty-four of the religious institutions as well as with policymakers and staff at Richmond City Hall from 2010 to 2012, we argue that integration is a complex term, which can be interpreted in a variety of different ways. We identify a range of different ways in which the religious institutions along No. 5 Road might define their activities as contributing to the integration of immigrants, and we discuss a range of practices that support integration. However, we argue that immigrant integration was not the primary planning objective, nor was it the main theological purpose for religious congregations. Nonetheless, we conclude that policy makers could draw on the range of activities we explore to use the road as an educational resource to promote public conversation about the intricate relationships between faith, migration, and the contested meanings of ‘integration.’

Keywords: immigration, religion, integration, agriculture, multiculturalism, contested meanings, Agricultural Land Reserve

Introduction: migration, religion and the politics of integration

This paper draws on research conducted on a distinctive transnational suburban religious landscape in Richmond, British Columbia, to explore the extent to which religious institutions aid in the process of immigrant integration. Known colloquially as ‘the Highway to Heaven’ by local residents, No. 5 Road is located on the boundary between the urban and rural sections of this city-suburb immediately south of Vancouver. It is one of ten such numbered roads in Richmond, No. 1 Road being furthest west, and No. 10 Road on the far east bordering New Westminster. No. 5 Road boasts over twenty religious institutions on a three-kilometre stretch, on a north-south corridor between Blundell Road and Steveston Highway that runs parallel to British Columbia’s Highway 99. A variety of traditions are represented—Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu—including two mosques, eight Christian churches (six of which are Chinese congregations), three Buddhist temples, two Hindu temples, a Sikh gurdwara, and six religious schools (see Figure 1). While two of the Christian churches date from the 1960s, the majority of the buildings were built more recently and relate to the migration processes that have shaped Richmond’s demography and wider (sub)urban landscape over the last four decades.

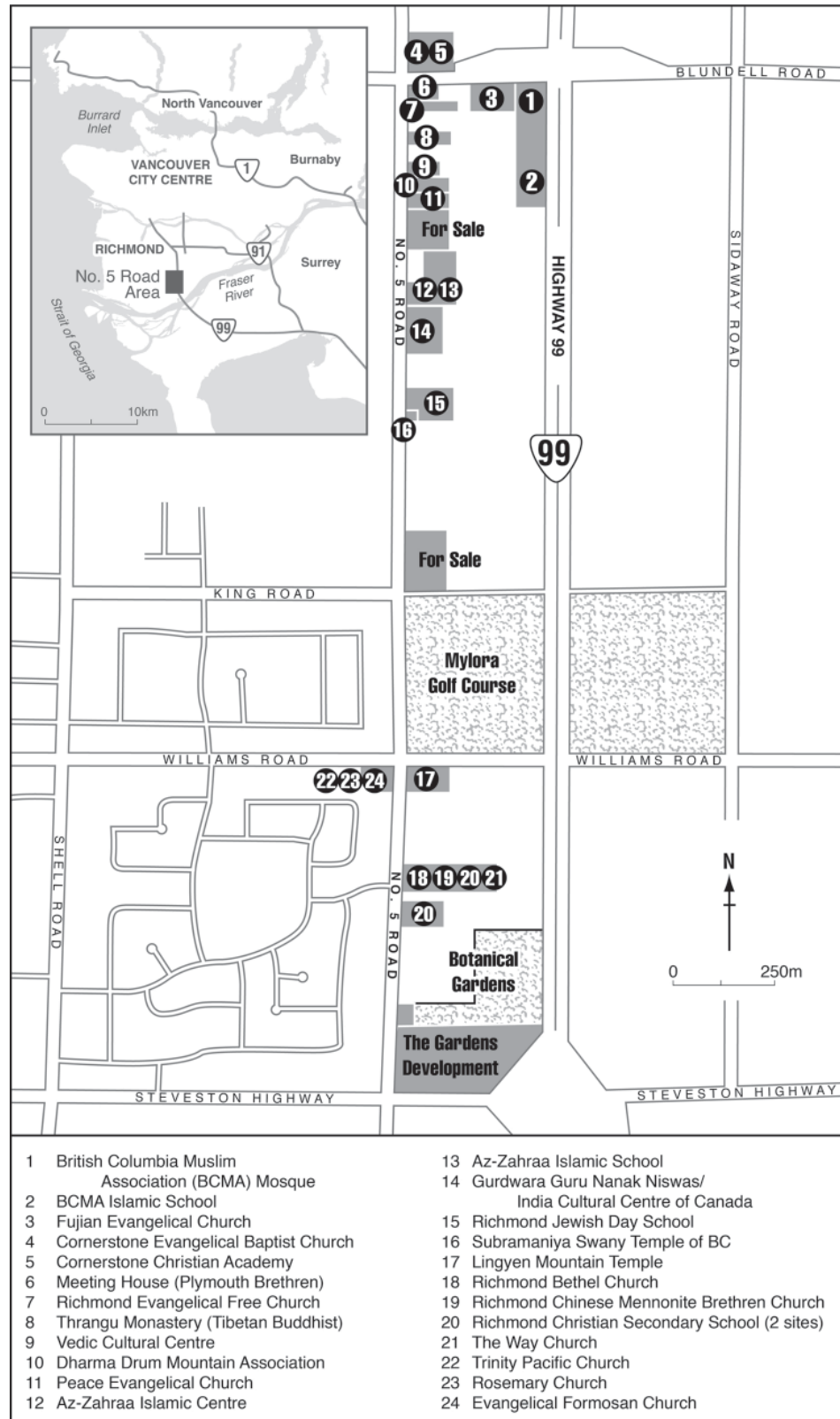


Figure 1: No. 5 Road, Richmond, Greater Vancouver Regional District

The research, funded by Metropolis Canada and conducted by the authors between 2010-2012, had three main objectives. First, we sought to analyze the emergence of this distinctive religious suburban landscape, considering the ways in which a specific set of planning laws was enacted to facilitate ‘assembly use’ within the policy rubric of British Columbia’s Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR). The ALR refers to land reserved by British Columbia’s Agricultural Land Commission (ALC) exclusively for agriculture since 1972 to discourage dependence on food imports in the case of either a natural disaster or a geopolitical turn of events (Hanna 1997; Garrish 2002). Second, the research aimed to explore the social, cultural, and religious activities of the faith communities located on No. 5 Road and their role in the social integration of immigrants. Third, the project asked how the religious and cultural diversity of the suburban landscape of ‘Highway to Heaven’ was explored or understood by local residents and visitors to Richmond, BC. In this paper, we focus only on our second objective, while other aspects of the research are discussed elsewhere (Dwyer et al. forthcoming; Dwyer 2011). We stress at the outset that our intention in researching No. 5 Road was not to suggest that the diverse faith communities along the road were *not* promoting integration or, indeed, that they *should* be doing more to promote integration for immigrants. Indeed, not all of the religious institutions along No. 5 Road have a constituency composed of recent immigrants, although even the more established congregations can often trace their origins to early migratory histories. Moreover, a wider study might have included all the different faith communities in Richmond rather than simply this small number clustered together on No. 5 Road. However, the choice of No. 5 Road as a site for our research was a deliberate strategy because of the ways in which it has made religious diversity visible, and also celebrated, in Richmond (see Dwyer et al. forthcoming). We would contend that this visibility has produced a discourse locally that focuses questions about immigrant integration and intercultural interaction in Richmond on the religious institutions along No. 5 Road partly because of the incongruity of their juxtaposition.¹

¹ This is a question that we reflect on further in our conclusion, but we foreground it here because we also want to make explicit the possibilities that our own research is complicit in this narrative of celebration and exoticisation.

If the question of immigrant integration has been an enduring issue for Canadian policy makers and political thinkers since the advent of its multicultural policy (see Kobayashi 1993; Bissandooth 1994; Isin and Siemiatycki 1999; Sandercock 1998, 2003; Day 2000; Bourne and Rose 2001; Waters 2003; Ley 2003, 2005; Li 2003; Hiebert 2006; Preston et al. 2007; Bouchard and Taylor 2008; Good 2009; Maclure and Taylor 2011), the relationship between the formation of religious institutions and immigrant integration remains underexplored (Bramadat 2008; Bramadat and Seljak 2005, 2008; Bramadat and Koenig 2009; Hackworth and Stein 2011). For scholars of migration, an ongoing debate has been whether migrant religions comprise transnational worlds of their own, or if they constitute forms of integration into a host society (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Levitt 2007). Studies of immigrant congregational spaces portray considerable diversity but are often characterized as nodes where the migrant experience of uprootedness and resettlement was ‘theologized’ (Smith 1978) in a way that preserved home traditions for the second generation (Chong 1998; Warner and Wittner 1998; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 2002; Beattie and Ley 2003; Suh 2004; Chen 2008; Ley 2008; Lorentzen et al. 2009; Ley and Tse 2013). In particular, religious centres often serve as sources of social capital and civic engagement for immigrants (Beattie and Ley 2003; Ley 2008).² Current scholarship also emphasizes the dynamism of immigrant faith communities as the second generation challenges existing practices and seeks to shape worship in ways that relate to their hyphenated identities (Jeung 2005; Ng 2008; Kim 2010; Tran 2010a, 2010b; Tse 2009, 2011a; Yuen 2011). Indeed, Peggy Levitt (2007) sets the ‘transnational religious architecture’ that connects migrants in the Boston region to their various home countries within a theory of simultaneity, noting that while these communities preserve a home away from home, migrants also participate fully in wider North American society and share its values (see Levitt 2001, 2003; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Thus, transnationalism is described as a process of ‘both/and’ rather than ‘either/or,’ and religious institutions can simultaneously provide vehicles for local integration as well as channels through which members can connect to their places of origin.

² This is part of a wider debate about the role of religious communities in providing social care and filling gaps in social welfare left by neoliberal states (Hackworth 2012; Cloke and Beaumont 2012).

Nonetheless, the contradictions between transnational lives and the possibilities of local integration remain a focus of political, policy, and popular discourse as suggested in two examples of public debate in Vancouver during our research. In 2011, the religion columnist of the *Vancouver Sun*, Douglas Todd, wrote an article questioning the role of Chinese churches in Vancouver as sites of immigrant integration (Todd 2011a). Citing local historian Li Yu's assessment of Christianity in Vancouver as a 'Chinese religion' (Yu 2010), Todd suggested that the celebration of traditional Chinese festivals in Chinese churches demonstrated that such communities could be better described as building ethnic enclaves instead of nodes where migrants could integrate. The Vancouver Chinese Evangelical Ministerial Fellowship was quick to respond, protesting that they were in fact Canadian because they rooted for local hockey teams, spoke English, and had joined Canadian Protestant denominations despite the Chinese ethnicity of their local congregations (Todd 2011b; Tse 2012). A second example concerned a newspaper column in which a Richmond citizen argued that Chinese migrants treated Vancouver as a 'vacation home' with no intention to 'integrate' (Lin 2011). This view was vigorously rebutted by Balwant Sanghera, a multiculturalism activist in Richmond who has played an important role in developing inter-faith initiatives with faith communities along No. 5 Road (Sanghera 2011). These disputes highlight the contested parameters of immigrant integration, revealing the ways in which 'integration' is discursively constructed, vigorously debated, and often difficult to apprehend (Ley 1995; Rose 2001; Waters 2003; Preston et al. 2007).³

In this paper, we challenge the notion that integration must be conceived as an 'either-or' process, highlighting how the religious institutions on No. 5 Road themselves conceptualize their work in integrating new migrants. The paper illustrates both the role of different religious congregations in providing cultural and spiritual community for their members, and the ways in which some of these activities might contribute to 'integration' for new migrant communities. At the same time, we argue that immigrant integration is not seen as the primary objective of

³ In the summer of 2012 Richmond Intercultural Advisory Committee initiated a survey about integration issues in Richmond, which was headlined by the provocative question 'Do you think Richmond looks Canadian?' (Greenholtz 2012).

the religious congregations located on No. 5, and they have a range of interpretations and understandings of ‘integration.’ While the clustering of religious buildings may provide visibility and impetus for initiatives that focus on integration or multiculturalism, this was not the primary objective of the road’s designation and formation as an ‘Assembly District.’ However, the range of understandings of integration we discuss might enable public education and conversation around the relationship among faith communities, migration, and discourses of integration.

We have organized our paper into four sections that unfold this argument. In the first part, we provide a context for the research in Richmond, sketching a history of how Richmond developed from an agriculturally based municipality to a distinctive ‘ethnoburb’ shaped by new migrations (Li 1998; Edgington et al. 2006; Ley 2010). Second, we outline the history of the religious institutions on No. 5 Road, analyzing the networks of migration and religious transnationalism that underpin the different institutions. We provide a table of all of the identifiable religious institutions on ‘the Highway to Heaven’ in this part of the paper (see Table 1) and explore the history of four of them in more detail. We then move to a third section where we explore the social, cultural, and religious activities of the different faith communities of No. 5. We reflect here on the ways in which such activities may or may not be seen as activities that facilitate ‘integration’ of immigrants, discussing in particular how respondents from the different faith communities characterize their own activities. In the fourth part of the paper, we reflect on the wider policy debates suggested at the outset. We both address concerns about faith institutions as ‘immigrant enclaves’ and reflect on the ways in which, either individually or collectively, the religious institutions along No. 5 Road might be mobilized in civic or national initiatives that seek to promote ‘integration.’ We discuss in particular initiatives like the program for ‘intercultural interaction’ developed in Richmond that draws some participants from faith communities on No. 5 Road. We conclude with a policy recommendation to use the religious corridor as a resource for public education, and as a means to inform the wider public about the relationships between faith, migration, and ‘integration’ in Canada.

Richmond, BC: a multicultural suburban municipality

The ‘Highway to Heaven’ is a stretch of road in Richmond, a suburb in Metro Vancouver, that currently divides the primarily rural portion of the city east of No. 5 Road and Highway 99 from its more urban residential western half. Located immediately south of the city of Vancouver and separated from the city by the Fraser River (see Figure 1), Richmond was primarily an agricultural municipality between the 1860s and the early 1950s (Kidd 1927/2007; Ross 1979, 1989; Lee-Son and Sturmanis 1994). An exception was the fishing community in Steveston, developed by industrialists who hired Japanese and Chinese labour migrants from the late 1890s (Marlatt 1975; Marlatt and Minden 2001; Miki 2004). Richmond grew rapidly from the 1960s, as its commercial sector expanded, shaped by its proximity to the international airport, and residents moved from downtown Vancouver to a more affordable and desirable residential area (Rose 2001; Ray et al. 2002; Edgington et al. 2006; Good 2009). Since the 1990s, Richmond has increasingly been identified as a significant centre for Chinese-Canadian settlement and cultural activities; census figures suggest that 43% of Richmond’s population is of Chinese heritage (Statistics Canada 2007). This diversity includes long-term residents in Canada, but a majority are more recent immigrants to Canada resulting both from geopolitical circumstances in the wake of the Hong Kong handover in 1997, and a pro-immigration policy focused on attracting capital from a ‘business’ and ‘investor’ class (Olds 1996; Mitchell 2004; Ley 2003, 2004, 2008, 2010).

Richmond is now one of the most ethnically diverse places in Canada. The 2006 Census reported that 63% of Richmond’s 175,000 residents comprised a ‘visible minority’ – the highest municipal proportion in Canada – with 43% of the total population being of Chinese heritage (Statistics Canada 2007). Fifty-four percent of Richmond residents indicated that they are immigrants to Canada, with over 23,800 newcomers coming to Richmond between 1996 and the first four months of 2001. Of Richmond’s total population, 15% were born in Hong Kong, 10% in the People’s Republic of China, and 5% in Taiwan. Migrants from the Philippines, India, Ukraine, Pakistan, United States, Iran, and South Korea have also arrived since 1996, further diversify-

ing Richmond's population. There are also Indo-Canadians, many of whom are now second or third generation, and Japanese Canadians, the latter having been resident in Richmond since the 1880s.

If Richmond's ethnic diversity provides evidence for the increasing suburbanization of Canada's immigrant population (Hiebert et al. 2006), the settlement of migrants from Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan in Richmond is often a direct rather than a secondary move from residence in a more central Vancouver location (Edgington et al. 2006; Ley 2010). The importance of Vancouver for Hong Kong Chinese migrants and the complex, familial circuits of transnational living produced are documented by Ley (2010) in his book *Millionaire Migrants*. The emergence of Asian-themed shopping malls and restaurants in Richmond, including the popular Richmond Night Market, suggests that Richmond might be considered a Chinese 'ethnoburb' (Li 1998, 2006, 2009; Edgington et al. 2006; Good 2009; Pottie-Sherman 2011). Geographers have documented the ways in which debates about migrant integration and urban change have been configured around the restructuring of the urban landscape with newer forms of private property (see Olds 1996; Ley 1995, 2010; Mitchell 2004), including the case of Richmond (Ray et al. 2002). However, aside from select case studies in urban Montreal (Germain and Gagnon 2003), suburban Toronto (Agrawal 2008, 2009; Hackworth and Stein 2011), and London's suburbs (Dwyer et al. 2012; Shah et al. 2012), there has been little work on how new religious landscapes have emerged in Canadian suburbs, much less how they negotiate the discourses of Canadian integration.

Such work is important, for while British Columbia is one of the most secular parts of Canada, immigration has been significant in producing considerable religious diversity. As a report from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2005: 10) notes,

Immigrants have brought to Vancouver several religions that are virtually absent among the Canadian-born. One-quarter of immigrants as a whole and an even larger share of

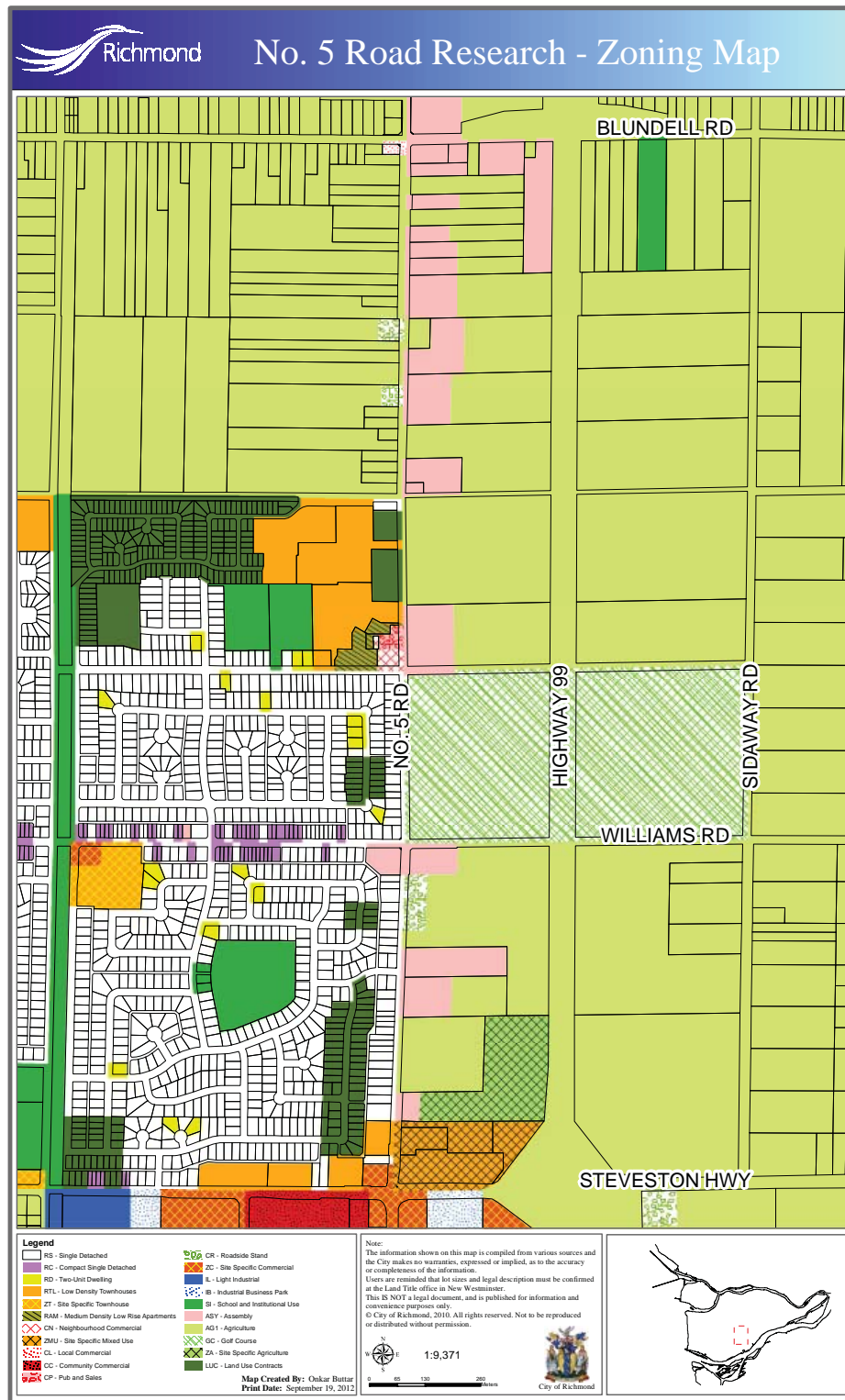
recent immigrants are Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus or Sikhs. Among the Canada-born, none of these four religions claims the affiliation of more than 3% of the population.

Baker and DeVries (2010) outline the significance of Asian religions in British Columbia, tracing their origins from the Buddhist and Sikh foundations of early Indo-Canadian and Japanese Canadian settlers to the more recent immigration of Asian Canadians to Vancouver since the early 1990s. They emphasize that it is in the suburbs, the locus of most recent Asian settlement, that the largest and most spectacular new religious buildings have been constructed. Moreover, as Tse (2012) has noted, the prevalence of new forms of Christianity among Asian Canadian populations, such as the 24% of Vancouver's Chinese population that identified as Christian in the 2001 census (Statistics Canada 2003), indicates that the new religious traditions being brought to Canada also include a transformation of Christianity away from its white Anglo-Saxon Protestant conventions (see Levitt 2007; Yu 2010).

In Richmond, it was the building of two new religious buildings on the Agricultural Land Reserve that precipitated debate about how planning for religious diversity and places of worship might be managed, especially in the wake of increased pressure on protected agricultural land. Both large purpose-built religious facilities were from new migrant religious traditions. The International Buddhist Society, a traditional Chinese-style Buddhist Temple, was built on Steveston Highway in 1983. The Nanaksar Gurdwara Gursikh Temple, a traditional Punjabi-style Sikh temple, was built on Westminster Highway in the early 1990s (Bains and Johnston 1995; Nayar 2004, 2008, 2010). In light of the potential proliferation of such buildings in the ALR, Richmond City Council decided in 1990 that the portion of No. 5 Road between Blundell Road and Westminster Highway (adjacent to Highway 99) should be designated as a planning zone for 'Assembly Use' (see Figure 2), strongly encouraging institutions to build on this corridor instead of elsewhere on agricultural land (Dwyer et al. forthcoming). Its purpose was to simultaneously facilitate the building of new religious facilities within a designated zone and use

them to preserve the ALR. Thus, the faith communities locating along No. 5 Road had to commit to maintaining the back two-thirds of their land in active agriculture. The policy applies somewhat differentially to the different faith communities located along the road, depending on which land they own and when they first arrived on No. 5 Road. The result was a clustering of religious buildings on No. 5 Road on the edge of the city, from various faith traditions, and with varying degrees of understanding of their role in relation to the ALR. It has proved a complex policy to enforce and is currently under review by Richmond City Council within a context of expansion of religious buildings along No. 5 Road, a growth that has exceeded any expectations of the original architects of the planning policy.

Figure 2: No. 5 Road, Zoning Map⁴



Path: E:\ONKAR_BUTTAR\No. 5 Rd Academic Research\No. 5 Road Academic Research - Zoning.mxd

4 We would like to thank Onkar Buttar at Richmond City Hall for providing us with this map.

Thus, it is important to note that the planning policy which created No. 5 Road – as a distinctive transnational suburban religious landscape (Dwyer et al. forthcoming) was primarily orientated towards the preservation of agricultural land albeit through the designation of an ‘Assembly District’. No. 5 Road – as a distinctive landscape of congregational religious buildings including churches, temples, mosques, and religious schools – did not simply emerge but was created, albeit accidentally, by a distinctive planning policy of zoning for assembly use. However the consequence is a landscape of religious diversity, where buildings from different faith communities stand somewhat incongruously cheek by jowl, a juxtaposition celebrated by local politicians, the media, and even the city’s planners as testimony of Canada’s distinctive tolerance and multiculturalism. Most famously, the road was nominated in a poll by the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) in 2006 to find the seven wonders of Canada. Interestingly, these celebratory narratives also appear to make implicit demands on the different faith groups along the road that they should demonstrate and celebrate this inter-cultural harmony. We might ask whether or not these demands are appropriate and to what extent the co-location of so many different religious buildings has sharpened questions of integration both for themselves and for the city as a whole. We begin our exploration of these questions by first providing an overview of the different faith communities along No. 5 Road, illustrating some of the differences in their historical trajectories and embedding in Richmond.

Transnational Trajectories of Religious Institutions on No. 5 Road

In this section, we outline the considerable diversity in the history of religious congregations on No. 5 Road, and the range of forms of transnational immigrant (and non-immigrant) congregations present. This analysis provides a starting point for exploring the different activities with which communities are engaged and which are then explored in relation to a variety of implicit understandings of ‘integration’.

Our methodology was primarily interview based. For the purposes of our research, we identified twenty-four religious institutions along No. 5 Road and conducted interviews with 22 of them.⁵ In most cases, we paid several visits to institutions, sometimes participated in acts of worship or other activities and were able to consult published literature and web resources. However, we did not conduct any in-depth ethnographic fieldwork in any of the religious institutions. The religious institutions we identified and interviewed are summarized in Table 1 and also identified on the map (see Figure 1). In Table 1, we set out the bare historical and demographic details for each place of worship organized not in chronological order from when they located on No. 5 Road, but instead in geographical sequence, beginning with those clustered on the corner of Blundell Road and No. 5 Road.⁶ The exception is the Trinity Pacific Church, which alone is located on the west side of No. 5 Road.

5 Exceptions include the Rosemary Church and the Evangelical Formosan Church.

6 Figure 1 also illustrates the presence of other institutions and land uses on Number 5 Road such as the various farms on the road, the Mylora Golf Course, and the new housing development called The Gardens (previously, the former BC premier Bill Vander Zalm's infamous Fantasy Gardens amusement park).

Table 1: List of Religious Institutions on No. 5 Road⁷

Numbers correspond with Map	Name of Institution	History of Location on No. 5 Road	Demographics of Faith/School Community
1	British Columbia Muslim Association (BCMA, Mosque)	Land purchased 1976. 'Special Use' permit granted early 1980s. Mosque built in 1982, followed by other buildings on the same campus including a gym and school. Functions as the headquarters of BCMA supporting eight satellite mosques in other parts of Metro Vancouver, with 7 regional branches and six chapters.	Founded by Sunni Muslims from Fiji, Pakistan, Egypt, and other Arabic countries that came to Canada as students in the late 1960s. Profile of current worshippers described as 'cosmopolitan' including those with origins in Fiji, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Egypt, Arabs. Worshippers largely local, except for key events.
2	BCMA Islamic School	Independent Islamic school (Elementary and Secondary). Elementary school opened in 1983, moving to a purpose-built building in 1993. The secondary school opened in 1997 in a new purpose-built building. Both schools situated on the same campus as BCMA mosque.	500 pupils from diverse Muslim backgrounds from across Lower Mainland.

⁷ We compiled this list from our interview data.

3	Fujian Evangelical Church	<p>Community established for twenty-five years, first based at a church in South Vancouver. Relocated to a church building in Richmond and then to No. 5 Road in 1993.</p> <p>First building opened in 1993, with second annex in 2003.</p> <p>Member of Reformed Church of America (Presbyterian).</p>	<p>Majority of members and founders are Filipino migrants of Chinese Descent ('Fil-Chi'). Other members from Taiwan and a few from Singapore and mainland China. Two services in English, one in Minnanese/Mandarin. (with Taiwanese translation). Eighty-five percent of the congregation live in Richmond.</p>
4	Cornerstone Evangelical Baptist Church	<p>Land bought in 1975 and church established in the late 1980s relocating from downtown Vancouver. Current purpose built accommodation dates from the late 1990s. Mother church was established in San Francisco in 1975. Unaffiliated with any denomination, despite 'Baptist' in its name.</p>	<p>Congregation is predominantly (80%) Chinese – with parallel English- and Cantonese-speaking services, although the former is more numerous. One English-speaking pastor hired from San Francisco.</p> <p>Mainly from Richmond, Surrey, Delta.</p>
5	Cornerstone Christian Academy	<p>Established 1997 as ministry of Cornerstone Evangelical Baptist Church. An evangelical Christian elementary school K-7</p>	<p>Ninety percent of pupils Asian, others are white, Indo-Canadian, or mixed heritage; majority of parents are non-Christian; majority from Richmond.</p>

6	Meeting House (Plymouth Brethren)	Community relocated here in 1986 from Kitsilano in Vancouver, as land values increased and their members moved to the suburbs. Formerly were based in central Vancouver. Purpose-built 'meeting hall' identified by a scripture reading. Strong links with a 'sister assembly' in Washington State, US.	Small predominantly white congregation though has had Korean members. Although many previously resident in Richmond are increasingly relocating to other areas such as Surrey and Langley.
7	Richmond Evangelical Free Church (RCEFC)	Established as a 'church plant' from Vancouver in 1983, occupying another church premises and then a school in Richmond. Moved into this purpose-built church in 1998. RCEFC is part of the association of churches that make up the Evangelical Free Church of Canada (EFCC).	Majority of members are Hong Kong Chinese. Two parallel congregations with two different pastoral teams, one in English, mainly for second generation, and the other in Cantonese for older congregation members. Approximately 450 members, mostly based in Richmond although some commute further.

8	Thrangu Monastery (Tibetan Buddhist)	Land acquired in 2004 and a newly built monastery, a 'replica' of a monastery in Tibet/China opened in 2010. Tibetan Buddhism from the Kagyu lineage. Twenty resident monks who came from monasteries in Tibet, Taiwan, and Nepal.	Congregation is predominantly Chinese (of Hong Kong and mainland Chinese backgrounds). Also includes Tibetan migrants and Western adherents. The Hong Kong Chinese patrons of the monastery live in Richmond, but worshippers come from across Metro Vancouver and beyond.
9	Vedic Cultural Centre	Vedic Cultural Society of British Columbia was founded in 1983 by Fijian-Indians inspired by spiritual leader Swami Chakradhari Ji. Bought the land on No. 5 Road in 1987, moving from a makeshift basement temple. Building completed in 1998.	Attendance at services by Hindus from Richmond and beyond, the majority Fijian ancestry. Resident priest from India.
10	Dharma Drum Mountain Association	Land acquired in 2003 and purpose-built modern building opened in 2006. Dharma Drum Mountain Association was founded in Vancouver in 1994 after a visit from spiritual leader Master Sheng Yen.	Resident monastic community of male and female monks. Visitors to the temple are mainly Chinese Canadians of Taiwanese descent, and the languages of the centre are Taiwanese and Mandarin.

11	Peace Evangelical Church	Established on No. 5 Road in the early 2000s. A community that came from Hong Kong and previously met in temporary premises, such as homes and community centres.	Congregation is mainly Hong Kong Chinese although also some migrants from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Services in Cantonese and English with one Mandarin-speaking group.
12	Az-Zahraa Islamic Centre	Bought the land in 2000, and the purpose-built mosque opened in 2002. Previously the community had worshipped, since 1978, in Imambara (mosque) on Sexsmith Road in Richmond.	Shia Muslim community in Vancouver which dates from the late 1960s when migrants arrived from Uganda. Most are East African Asians who trace their history to Gujarat in India.
13	Az-Zahraa Islamic School	Opened in 2003 on the same site as Az-Zahraa Islamic Centre	K-7 Elementary Islamic School for boys and girls. Pupils are all Muslim from diverse ethnic backgrounds.
14	Gurdwara Guru Nanak Niwas/India Cultural Centre of Canada	Bought the land in 1983 and worshipped in a temporary building there until the purpose built gurdwara opened in 1993.	Serves a second- and third- generation Sikh community in Vancouver. Founders describe themselves as successors of the first gurdwara in Vancouver in 1909. Worshippers from Richmond, Surrey, and Burnaby. Resident priests from India.

15	Richmond Jewish Day School	Opened on No. 5 Road in a purpose-built facility in 1998. Previously occupied temporary classrooms alongside a synagogue in Richmond. Plans to expand as some classes still housed in temporary buildings.	K-7 Elementary Jewish school admits boys and girls. Most pupils from Richmond although some commute further.
16	Subramaniya Swamy Temple of BC	A Hindu temple following South Indian traditions. Began worshipping on No. 5 Road in 1996, initially in an old house and now in current wood frame building. Would like to build a more permanent structure.	Original community made up of Fijian-Indian migrants although now joined by some other South Indians from Singapore, India, Malaysia, and Trinidad. Resident priest is Fijian-Indian.
17	Ling Yen Mountain Temple	Buddhist Temple of the Pure Land tradition. Built in 1999 as a sister to the Ling Yen Shan monastery near Puli, Nantou, Taiwan, which was founded by Master Miao Lien in 1984. Plans to expand currently under consideration by Richmond Council.	Resident monastic community of approximately ten monks mainly from Taiwan. Attracts large numbers of worshippers who are mostly Chinese Canadian, from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China.

18	Richmond Bethel Church	Built on No. 5 Road in 1972, although its origins are in a Sunday School mission church on Westminster Highway that dates from the late 1950s. In 1997, opened a new campus with joint facilities for the Richmond Chinese MB Church and the Richmond Christian School	Local Richmond families, some of whom trace their roots to German migrants who were Mennonite Brethren. Current pastor is of Baptist origin.
19	Richmond Chinese Mennonite Brethren Church	Community of Chinese Christians who were established as a church affiliated to BC Mennonite Brethren in 1991 and through the support of Richmond Bethel Church, whose premises they shared. Built new separate churches on the shared campus in 1997.	Chinese Canadian congregation mainly of Hong Kong origin, although also some from PRC. A joint pastoral team with services in Cantonese (also translated into Mandarin) and in English.

20	<p>Richmond Christian Secondary School</p> <p>(Middle School and Secondary School on two sites on No. 5 Road)</p>	<p>School has its origins in the Richmond Christian School, which began in 1957, and the Seacliff Christian School, which opened on the premises of Richmond Bethel Church in 1975. The schools combined in 1992, and new premises on the site opened in 1997. In 2008, as the school expanded, a new site was found on No. 5 Road for a purpose-built new campus for the secondary school with the middle school remaining on the initial campus.</p>	<p>Students come from diverse ethnic backgrounds and from a range of Christian congregations. .</p>
21	<p>The Way Church</p> <p>(meets at Richmond Christian Secondary School)</p>	<p>Formerly met in a cinema under the leadership of Pastor Michael Sobrino. Moved to Richmond Secondary School premises in 2011.</p>	<p>A generally multicultural congregation with Pentecostal roots.</p>
22	<p>Trinity Pacific Church</p>	<p>Church built in 1973 by a congregation that was originally incorporated in 1953 as a Church of God congregation.</p>	<p>Evangelical Church from a Methodist/Wesleyan Tradition. Small congregation, most local to Richmond although some commute further.</p>
23	<p>Rosemary Church</p> <p>(shares premises with Trinity Pacific Church)</p>	<p>Korean-Christian church that uses the premises of Trinity Pacific Church</p>	<p>A Korean congregation.</p>

24	Evangelical Formosan Church (shares premises with Trinity Pacific Church)	A Taiwanese congregation that uses the premises of Trinity Pacific Church.	A Taiwanese congregation.
25	Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver	Land owned by the Diocese of Vancouver and intended for a Catholic School. Currently rented as farm land.	As the property has not yet been built, there are no meetings on this site.

Analysis of the data gathered in Table 1 provides a comparative perspective on the diverse religious communities located along No. 5 Road. They vary in date of foundation on the road. Earlier arrivals include the Richmond Bethel Church and Trinity Pacific Church, which have been there since the 1970s (and have founding origins dating back to the 1950s). The Buddhist temples are examples of later arrivals, such as the Thrangu Monastery that opened in July 2010. There is also considerable variation within general religious traditions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity that are represented on the road. For example, the Thrangu Monastery is a Tibetan Buddhist site, a different strain of teaching from the other two different Taiwanese Buddhist Temples, the Ling Yen Mountain Temple (a Pure Land Buddhist temple) and the Dharma Drum Mountain Association (a Zen Buddhist centre). Similarly, the two different mosques are of two different Islamic traditions, for the British Columbia Muslim Association (BCMA) is a Sunni mosque whose members have diverse national origins, while the Az-Zahraa Mosque is Shia with members tracing their ancestry to India via East Africa. This pattern is repeated by the two different Hindu temples: at the Vedic Cultural Temple, we found members who follow northern Indian traditions of Hinduism, while at the Subramaniya Swamy Temple, the constituents practice forms of Hinduism associated with southern India. There are also six Chinese Christian churches that are all Protestant in affiliation, although they vary considerably in their theological orientations, institutional affiliations, and membership base, including those who hail from Hong Kong (the Richmond Chinese Evangelical Free Church, the Peace Evan-

gical Church, the Richmond Chinese Mennonite Brethren Church, and Cornerstone Evangelical Baptist Church), Taiwan (the Formosan Evangelical Church), the Philippines (the Fujian Evangelical Church), and Canada (the majority of Cornerstone Evangelical Baptist church), with smatterings of new migrants from the People's Republic of China scattered throughout these congregations. There are also five religious day schools, two Islamic, two Christian, and one Jewish. While No. 5 Road does not include all the diverse forms of religion practiced in Richmond (see Henderson 2008), it nonetheless provides an insight into the diversity of religious practice, as well as the links between religion and ethnicity, in this locality.

Table 1 also gives some sense of the various transnational networks and trajectories that underlie all of the religious institutions along No. 5 Road. We elaborate further on these through four different examples chosen to represent some of the religious and ethnic diversity of the buildings along the road. Through these examples we also begin to illustrate some of the ways in which integration might be conceptualized for religious congregations on No. 5 Road. Our four examples are not meant to be exhaustive. Instead, they suggest different forms and possibilities of integration that might relate to the different faith and ethnic traditions of congregations and their different historical trajectories.

Richmond Bethel Church and Richmond Chinese MB Church:

Integration as Shared Property

The Richmond Bethel Church was built on No. 5 Road in 1975 as a wooden frame church serving the farming families and new suburbanites of Richmond. Its roots lay in the Sunday School Mission Church on Westminster Highway in the late 1950s, which in turn was a Mennonite Brethren congregation that traced its origins in Manitoba. Older parishioners of the church recall walking over fields to church before Highway 99 was built. In the early 1990s, the community decided to support a small group of Chinese Christians that had left another Chinese

church elsewhere in Richmond by offering them their premises. This arrangement led to the groups formally sharing the premises. In 1997, the two congregations joined in the building of a new-shared purpose-built campus that provided space for the churches, as well as the Richmond Christian Middle and High School. The shared campus of the Richmond Bethel Church with Richmond Chinese Mennonite Brethren Church is an interesting example of a common phenomenon whereby more established churches share their space with new, often immigrant, religious institutions. What is less common is, as in this case, the shared purpose-built campus.

Interestingly, although the two churches and the school maintain good relations, they operate very much as ‘parallel’ communities. Originally offering worship only in Cantonese, Richmond Chinese Mennonite Brethren Church now has two services on a Sunday, one in English targeted at second-generation congregants. However, there is little shared worship between the two churches. Indeed, in our interviews, participants from both places shared our suggestion that there were opportunities for young people from the two churches to do joint activities, particularly using the purpose built youth space on the campus. However, while they are all of the same religion and have members who can all speak English there was no effort to merge the English-speaking constituencies into one church.

Nevertheless, we contend that this example of shared property among parallel communities (one of the oldest churches on No. 5 Road and a more recent immigrant church) is one model of integration. Indeed, this site was not the only one following this pattern. Across the street, Trinity Pacific Church, a Church of God congregation on No. 5 Road, also shares its space with two other small churches in its premises, the Korean-speaking Rosemary Church and the Formosan Church.

At the various Chinese churches on the road, the experience of dual worship in English and Cantonese (and increasingly in Mandarin for new migrants from the People’s Republic of China) is extremely common. All of the Chinese churches along No. 5 Road reported holding two services, and often they had two separate pastoral teams, one in English, largely for younger,

second-generation congregations, and one in Chinese for the older, immigrant generation. While the separateness of the linguistically stratified gatherings may not seem to be instances of integration, the point is that some of the religious institutions on No. 5 Road are willing to share space with each other. Their sharing of property requires them to make joint decisions about land management and building projects. Integration here does not mean the same thing as merging and assimilation; instead, it can mean that separate institutions co-exist on the same property.

British Columbia Muslim Association (BCMA): Integration as Local Institutional Networks

Located just off No. 5 Road, the large BCMA mosque and its school is one of the oldest non-Christian establishments on the ‘Highway to Heaven’ and its institutional history serves as a precursor to the wider development of this area for assembly use. The BCMA mosque also illustrates a distinctive model of integration, through the development of a Canadian institutional network that supports other satellite Muslim institutions across the Lower Mainland. The BCMA began when a small group of Muslim students first came together to worship in the early 1970s and looked for a place to build a mosque. In 1975, they gained a special permit to build on their current plot adjacent to Highway 99, although it was not until the 1980s that sufficient funds had been gained to build their mosque. One of the group’s founders recalls that the celebrated Canadian architect Arthur Erickson was instrumental in helping them gain support for the mosque, which finally opened in 1982. The purpose-built Islamic school on the same campus, which opened in 1993 and 1999, was built largely by fundraising and donation, but also received a grant from an educational trust in Saudi Arabia.

Centralizing transnational religious linkages with local connections to architects and donors, the BCMA has successfully built its own institutional network in Metro Vancouver. The mosque on No. 5 Road was the first built by the BCMA, but it now serves as the headquarters

for a much more dispersed network of satellite mosques including seven ‘branches’ (in Surrey, Burnaby, Abbotsford, Kelowna, Victoria) and four ‘chapters’ (Nanaimo, Chilliwack, Prince George, Vancouver’s North Shore) in British Columbia. This network of mosques reflects the demography of a broad Muslim community who trace their roots to many different countries including in the Middle East, Pakistan, Fiji, and the Arab World. BCMA is evident of the high level of institutional integration and organization characteristic of many of the migrant religious buildings along No. 5 Road. Indeed, the students who founded the BCMA are now mostly retired with children and grandchildren settled in Canada. The BCMA is an established charitable organization in Canada, offering institutional support to new networks of Sunni Muslims seeking to build places of worship as well as providing spiritual and other services to more recent migrants to Canada through their network of mosques. These networks suggest a model of integration through the creation of a distinctive organizational culture that facilitates minority religious worship within a specifically Canadian institutional framework.

Guru Nanak Niwas/India Cultural Centre of Canada: Integration as Cultural Adaptation and Contestation

While the Sikh gurdwara on No. 5 Road shares some of the characteristics of institutional networks and integration, which we have identified at the BCMA, its distinctive history also reveals another narrative of integration. The Guru Nanak Niwas, also known as the India Cultural Centre, has a particularly interesting history in relation to the long established Sikh community in Vancouver (Bains and Johnston 1995; Walton-Roberts 1998, 2001, 2003; Walton-Roberts and Pratt 2005; Nayar 2004, 2008, 2010). Founders of the gurdwara on No. 5 Road describe it as the successor to the first Sikh temple in central Vancouver, which opened on Second Avenue, in 1909. This gurdwara was built by their grandparents’ generation, early Sikh migrants who came to Canada in the 1880s to work in the lumber industry. As the Sikh community grew and suburbanized, this gurdwara was replaced by a spectacular new structure on Ross Street in South

Vancouver in 1970. The Ross Street Sikh Temple was modern and purpose-built, designed by Erickson Massey Architects. By the late 1970s, the Ross Street gurdwara had become the site of conflict between more established, longer settled Indo-Canadians and more recent immigrants from India regarding forms of worship. In particular, more recent immigrants were critical of the practices of Sikhs long established in Canada regarding the use of chairs and tables in the *langar* (eating hall) as well as the absence of turbans for some male members. Eventually, a group of these second-generation Indo-Canadians decided to leave Ross Street for Richmond. They bought a house on No. 5 Road in 1983 and subsequently gained planning permission to construct a new building in what became the Assembly District. The new building was carefully named the 'India Cultural Centre of Canada' to ensure that, while functioning like a gurdwara, institutional safeguards were put in place to prevent the building from being 'taken over' by more 'fundamentalist' Sikhs.⁸

Thus, the Guru Nanak Niwas on No. 5 Road is defined by its members as a successor to the first Sikh temple built in Vancouver and as the outcome of a specific struggle over different understandings of Sikh practice in Canada. They made these variations explicit in their commemorative brochure in 2004: 'A gap between the thinking of new-comers and those living in Canada for three generations was not unnatural.'⁹ The current committee members emphasize their own heritage as long-term residents (second- and third- generation) in Canada. Practice within the gurdwara remains traditional. The temple is open twenty-four hours a day and has three resident priests from India who perform Sikh rituals. It is also a very popular location for Sikh weddings within Metro Vancouver despite the existence of many other similar venues. Its popularity stems from its more liberal or 'westernized' perspective, evident by signs in the langar hall reminding visitors they must sit at chairs and tables and not on the floor and in the efforts by members of the temple committee to provide English translations.

⁸ Quotes from anonymised interviews with current members of the gurdwara.

⁹ Quote from brochure celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the India Cultural Centre of Canada (September 2-6th 2004).

The history of the Guru Nanak Niwas on No. 5 Road reveals a very explicit engagement with a shared discourse of integration as cultural adaptation and engagement. The historical conflicts that formed the India Cultural Centre produced local understandings of Indo-Canadian Sikh practice. Indeed, while some might take integration here to mean that the India Cultural Centre is consciously adapting to a Canadian multicultural discourse, we note that the multiculturalism at work here is based on this community's specific perception of what Canada is and what it means to be integrated into a Canadian culture. This view in turn is shaped by its own institutional history that stretches into other sites not on No. 5 Road but nevertheless remain important in understanding the local and transnational trajectories of Metro Vancouver's Sikh population.

Thrangu Tibetan Monastery: Integration as Transnational Religious Architecture and Practice

A fourth model of integration can be seen in the transplanting of transnational religious architecture to Canada. While Levitt (2007) speaks of 'transnational religious architecture' as a figurative channel for connections of migrants to their homes via religious institutions, we give a literal example of architectural transplanting. The newest addition to No. 5 Road is the spectacular Thrangu Monastery, which opened in July 2010. Unlike some of the older foundations on No. 5 Road, the Thrangu Monastery is more self-consciously located in the designated Assembly District and serves a community spread beyond its immediate locality. The Thrangu Monastery is the culmination of a long-term ambition by Khenchen Thrangu Rinpoche, the spiritual leader of the Thrangu Vajra Vidhya Buddhist Association. Rinpoche is the ninth Khenchen Thrangu Tulku, of the Karma Kagyu lineage, and has founded monasteries elsewhere in North America. Tibetan Buddhism has a growing following amongst Chinese populations, particularly in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and it is through the support of the Hong Kong Chinese transnational population in Vancouver that Rinpoche's dream of building a 'traditional style' Tibetan Monastery in North

America has been realized. The ambitious project to build an authentic Tibetan Style monastery was realized through the patronage of prominent Richmond residents Mrs. Margaret Lee and her daughter Mrs. Eva Lau. Dr. Shau Kee Lee, her father, is the chairman of the Hong Kong-based Henderson Holdings property empire, the third largest real estate developer in Hong Kong, and responsible for major developments such as Hong Kong's International Finance Centre and the celebrated 39 Conduit Road (a luxury residential tower). Although we did not interview Mrs. Lee or her daughter, we know that they acted directly as the clients for the construction of the monastery dealing with the architects and with the construction company, Kindred, although Rinpoche and Lama Pema, the abbot of the new monastery, were the artistic directors of the project. In addition, a local Tibetan Buddhist, of American-Canadian background, played a key role as an intermediary in facilitating the process of gaining planning permission for the project.

Now complete, the monastery has twenty resident monks who came from monasteries in Tibet, Taiwan, and Nepal. The monastery attracts a diverse set of worshippers. In addition to the most numerous group of Chinese, including those of Hong Kong origin and those from mainland China and Taiwan, there is a small émigré community of Tibetan Buddhists resident in British Columbia as well as a range of adherents of Tibetan Buddhism from across the Lower Mainland and beyond who are predominantly white Canadians. Worship in the temple is conducted in Tibetan with translations in English and Cantonese although much of the written scholarship in the library remains only in Tibetan with some English translation. The Thrangu Monastery emerges as a fascinating site within which different traditions of worship come together and new forms of practice emerge. Although the majority of the monks are not fluent in either English or Cantonese, a few key individuals play important translation roles. Volunteers also play an important role.

The models of integration inherent in the realization of the Thrangu Tibetan Monastery are multiple. One possibility is the realization of the building itself as an example of transnational religious architecture. While the architectural elements have been adapted to facilitate

an expedient building project in Richmond, the building's façade is that of a traditional Tibetan monastery (Dwyer 2011). The successful completion of this project required much work to be done by intermediaries to persuade planners and politicians in Richmond that the monastery would enhance the cultural and spiritual life of the city and would be a site open to all residents. Thus an integrative strategy was adopted from the very beginning of the project. Finally, the diversity of the Buddhist practitioners at the Thangu Tibetan Monastery means that, in comparison to many of the other religious buildings on No. 5 Road, the congregations will be multi-ethnic and forms of worship, though rooted in the Tibetan language, will evolve to serve a distinctively Canadian community. In this example, then, we might see integration as being both a self-conscious strategy to belong in Richmond and an evolving process by which new forms of transnational religious practice are emerging.

Four examples, four modes of integration

This brief elaboration of the history of four different religious institutions along No. 5 Road provides some perspective on the questions raised in this paper. It provides a sense of the different trajectories of the various institutions along No. 5 Road both in terms of the time they have been established in Richmond and the migration histories and transnational networks within which different religious institutions are embedded. Moreover, it begins to offer some insight into the kinds of questions that might be asked around the level of 'integration' of different faith communities and religious institutions along No. 5 Road. We used four examples to identify different modes of integration, broadly conceived as 1) sharing property lots, 2) developing local institutional networks, 3) pursuing a discourse of cultural adaptation, and 4) creating transnational religious architecture and practice. Our intention in this section was not to explore all of the possible variations of integration (see Table 1) but to suggest that we might recognize different forms and possibilities of integration. Having outlined this wider context to how we might

think about integration, in the next section we focus more specifically on shared understandings of integration on No. 5 Road and also ways in which particular activities might be identified as facilitating immigrant integration.

Measuring integration: institutional activities and migrant integration

Given the diversity of religious institutions along the ‘Highway to Heaven’ and the models of integration to which they implicitly subscribe, we attempt in this next section to reflect more specifically on how immigrant integration on No. 5 Road might be captured. As we suggested in the previous section, ‘integration’ is a complex term that is variously constructed and contested. It is perhaps easiest to measure when using more objective terms, such as educational attainment or employment rates for immigrant groups. It becomes more difficult to define when it is imagined through more cultural frames of reference, such as the attitudes of immigrants to national discourses and narratives (rooting for a sports team, for example) (see Bouchard and Taylor 2008). Indeed, as local media sources have indicated, language use is a particularly interesting yet problematic measure of integration (Tse 2011a; Todd 2011). There is widespread agreement that facility in the language of a new country remains important in shaping academic and occupational success for new migrants and is therefore a key indicator of ‘integration. However, the use of an unfamiliar language in public places is often used by those who are unhappy about immigration to identify their fears and to label new immigrants as ‘not integrated’ (Rose 2001).¹⁰

In this section we consider how religious institutions are involved in the integration of migrants. Our analysis of the social, cultural, and religious activities of the diverse faith communities along No. 5 Road and their role in the social integration of immigrants takes a necessarily

¹⁰ An example of such a debate within Richmond might be about the proliferation of Chinese language signs in public spaces (see Todd 2012).

wide definition of integration. We are interested in how the different faith communities define some of their activities as vehicles through which they integrate new migrants into Canadian society.

Serving the community: integrating migrants within institutions

Existing research suggests that religious spaces can act as important sites of integration for migrants through their provision of services (Beattie and Ley 2003; Waters and Teo 2003; Ley 2008). Along No. 5 Road, religious institutions primarily serve the role of providing spiritual, social, and cultural activities for their members. Each institution is involved in the provision of a range of social services for their attendees, often on a daily basis, in addition to their spiritual practices. For example, our interviews showed the importance of provision for elderly community members in many of the different faith communities, such as the program of activities organized for seniors at the Vedic Cultural Centre and the Richmond Bethel Church as well as the yoga classes at the gurdwara. Another important aspect of the faith communities along No. 5 Road is the emphasis on spiritual and cultural learning for young people. All of the churches had a full program of Sunday School activities for children. Similarly, at both mosques, instruction for children in the Qu'ran and in Arabic was important. At the Hindu temples and at the gurdwara, a particular emphasis was placed on cultural and language learning for young people. The Vedic Cultural Centre has classes in Hindi language and Indian dancing, also designed to attract youth. While such activities were primarily for their members, respondents told us that their yoga classes, for example, were advertised and open to wider members of the public as a form of community outreach.

Such activities might be primarily understood as activities that build strong associational cultures within different faith communities. However, they are also examples of activities that provide a range of important services that are not necessarily limited to group members. Those

we interviewed saw their activities as providing wider services to the community. Three types of services stood out in particular to us: care for the elderly, attempts to retain youth, and emotional support for the community. In each of these cases, the institutional activities targeted people who were already members of their own communities, although those who were not regular attendees were not excluded and were often encouraged to come along. Accordingly, while these practices seem to be intra-communal, we contend that these are examples of migrant integration because they both provide migrants with community activity and are welcoming to those initially outside of their membership to become part of these institutions through this work.

Culturally appropriate care for the elderly was one important service provided by religious institutions on the road. We sat in a meeting in which the Vedic Cultural Centre members were planning an event for their seniors. One of the centre's leaders, Meera Singh, explained to us: 'Once in a while we will rent a bus to take them to any kind of fun places there is going on in the city. Then we'll get a bus for them.' So too, Daniel To, the elder overseeing Peace Evangelical Church, wished that his church could do more for their seniors, if only they did not have to abide by the Agricultural Land Reserve agreement, for 'the land will be converted into...into assembly purpose...or institutional purpose...like for schooling, for elderly home. We have been talking about this, whether there's a possibility, whether there's a possibility to have—to construct an elderly home.' That the church had been discussing the possibility of an elderly home is some indication of the number of seniors in their congregation, making them a core part of their programming concerns.

For young people, the key focus of concern across different faith groups was how to ensure that young people retained their religious heritage. Respondents from different faith groups talked about the need to provide opportunities for religious learning and practice in English. For example, one of our interviewees at the gurdwara explains that they provide simultaneous translation during marriage ceremonies of the service (via an internet link) so that the many visitors (including many non-Sikhs who may be visiting for the first time) can follow since the ceremony

is conducted by the Sikh priests in Punjabi. At one such wedding that we attended, this same respondent stood up and gave a short sermon in English after the ritual practices were finished, explaining this action as his way of ensuring that young people gained a better understanding of the Sikh teachings. He concluded with the pithy maxim: 'Remember, happy wife, happy life.' So too, in most of the Chinese language churches on No. 5 Road, reaching young people in English was a very important issue. The Richmond Evangelical Free Church has a separate English language ministry, led by a young Chinese Canadian pastor educated in the US, specifically targeted at young people and attenuated to the demographics of a 'second-generation' congregation.

In addition to the spiritual and cultural welfare of their members, the faith communities that we spoke to along No. 5 Road also saw their role as providing support for their members in many other ways, often through emotional support. For example, interviewees at the Ling Yen Mountain temple emphasized the role of the temple in providing support for visitors at times of mental or emotional distress, suggesting that immigration could often heighten such challenges. Similarly, the churches saw their role as providing such support, such as the alcohol counseling service hosted at Richmond Bethel Church. Another important feature of almost all of the institutions we interviewed along No. 5 Road was charitable giving and fundraising. Often, such initiatives were aimed at co-religious or co-ethnic projects, such as fundraising at Thrangu Monastery after an earthquake in Tibet or fundraising at the gurdwara for relief projects in India. However, there were also examples of outward facing activities particularly by the religious schools along the road that had participated in various charity initiatives in Vancouver and Richmond.

Thus, one measure of integration of different religious institutions is to enumerate the range of activities that they provide for their members that seek to build social capital for members. These programs also provide support for key groups, particularly age-stratified members such as the elderly and young people. Moreover, they also aid with relief for both members in terms of addiction counseling and community service as well as for non-members in terms of

global disaster aid. What these activities ultimately do is to connect migrants to communities, strengthening individual institutions while encouraging the numeric growth of these congregations by welcoming outsiders (Waters and Teo 2003; Waters 2003; Ammermann 2005; Ley 2008). If integration refers to the building of social capital, then these institutions are indeed *integrating* immigrants into social gatherings that give their everyday lives a communal framework.

Outreach and Inter-faith Initiatives: integrating migrants across institutions

In contrast to considering the associational activities of the different institutions along No. 5 Road, we might also consider the extent to which the different faith communities are participating more directly in the wider society, and to what extent they are working with each other. As suggested above, the peculiar proximity of such a diverse range of faith communities prompts inevitable questions about how the different groups work together. Many of our interviewees were quick to emphasize the extent to which they enjoyed good relationships with their neighbours of different faiths. In this section, then, we list some of the ways in which the integration of migrants into segments of Canadian society take place beyond individual religious congregations and across institutions on the road.

Integration across institutions on No. 5 Road was most often emphasized in the collaborative use of infrastructure on the road. A key example was the sharing of parking lots. For example, the Subramaniya Swamy temple uses the car park of the Jewish Day School. As the head teacher explains: “They’re just wonderful, again we kind of share...so our parents use their parking lot for drop off and pickup and they use our parking lot whenever they have religious gatherings. They have a key to our gate.” Similar examples were given on key religious festivals when neighbouring institutions would offer their parking lots for worshippers. Using each other’s parking lots was evidence, as one interviewee told us, of the ‘level of trust’ between different

communities. Another major instance of collaboration was a shared initiative to install a main sewage pipe initiated by the Guru Nanak Niwas in the early 2000s which required their neighbouring religious communities to contribute. An early initiative at the Blundell interchange had linked the BCMA and Peace Evangelical Church (although it is true that BCMA was unable to gain agreement from two of the other churches on the corner of Blundell Road and No. 5 Road).

Two other examples provide more sustained engagement. The first is the work done by the various schools along No. 5 Road to have their students interact with the diversity of religions on the road, especially those outside of their own traditions. Head teachers at the Jewish Day School and the Az-Zahraa Islamic School have established a strong relationship providing opportunities for their pupils to visit each other, to participate in shared sports activities, and to learn about each other's faiths. This is a relationship valued by the teachers who cite the 'unique opportunity' to build inter-faith relationships. At the Cornerstone Christian Academy, we also observed an initiative from a member of staff who assigned his class to visit different faith communities along the road including the gurdwara, the Az-Zahraa Mosque, and the Ling Yen Mountain Temple. Particularly significant in this project were the insights gained by pupils about Islam, a religion with which they had little prior contact and about which they held many misapprehensions.

The second example is the Interfaith Bridging Project that ran in 2009, a publicly funded effort to promote interreligious dialogue among religious practitioners on No. 5 Road. Organized by the Richmond Multicultural Concerns Society (a secular NGO in Richmond) with funding from Embrace BC (a provincial fund for anti-racist initiatives), the initiative attempted to foster interreligious conversation on the 'Highway to Heaven.' The key organizer for the project was Balwant Sanghera, a member of the India Cultural Centre (gurdwara) and a retired teacher. He developed partnerships with the BCMA Mosque and the Az-Zahraa Mosque on No. 5 Road as well as the Ling Yen Mountain Temple, two additional churches, and a synagogue beyond No. 5 Road. Yet there were also some who excluded themselves, for none of the churches along No.

5 Road responded to the initiative. The project involved visits to different places of worship and workshops on key shared issues, such as inter-faith marriages, with participants drawn from all the different faith communities. Sanghera suggests that such programs are about building mutual respect and understanding: “Our main purpose has been to broaden our horizons, you know, just learn about each other.”

In addition to these two examples, which both emerged from groups along No. 5 Road itself, many of the faith communities on No. 5 Road have been active participants in events organized by the City of Richmond. Perhaps most important are programs such as the Temple Tours and Doors Open Richmond that are organized by Richmond City Museum each year. Institutions along No. 5 Road that participate in these tours include the Vedic Cultural Centre, the mosques, the Ling Yen Mountain Temple, the Thrangu Monastery and the gurdwara. Peter Harris, from Richmond City Museum evaluates the success of these visits: “You know, we don’t try to invade on these places because we know they’re not tourist destinations. What we’ve found is that people are very welcoming. The public love it. The opportunity to learn about different cultures and their history.” In addition to the tours, the museum has also curated two different exhibitions about Richmond’s religious heritage: the first, in 2008 in the Richmond Museum, called *Heritage of Faith*; and a second exhibition that opened in December 2012 and focused specifically on No. 5 Road, entitled *Highway to Heaven: Richmond’s Multi-faith Community*.

We also interviewed Tourism Richmond, a group that has been keen to promote No. 5 Road as a tourist destination. While No. 5 Road had not previously featured in their advertising, their 2011/2012 *Destination Guide* included two double pages promoting “The Highway to Heaven: Exploring Richmond’s Faiths.” The advertisements were prefaced with the words: “In a world torn with religious strife, it’s refreshing to discover a place where different belief systems co-exist peacefully side by side. In Richmond, it’s called the ‘Highway to Heaven.’” However, the officials we met at Tourism Richmond felt that few of the places of worship on No. 5 Road, with the possible exception of Thrangu Tibetan Monastery and Ling Yen Mountain Temple,

which have shops and offices, were set up to receive casual visitors. They explained: “There’s got to be something to take away, printed material, or an opportunity to buy incense.” For their part, the religious communities along No. 5 Road were somewhat ambivalent about their role as sites for tourists, seeing their primary role as providing spiritual welfare and tending to prioritize requests from educational groups.

Finally, it is important to note the various ways in which faith communities deal with the City Hall and the wider civil society. We found plenty of evidence of the ways in which institutions along No. 5 Road were seen as important hubs through which civic engagement might take place. For example, during our fieldwork, several of the institutions hosted speakers concerned with opposing a new fuel pipeline to the airport that would have run adjacent to No. 5 Road. Another example is how local politicians sought support from faith communities as they ran for election. Still another is an ongoing issue concerning the role of the institutions along No. 5 Road in safeguarding the Agricultural Land Reserve. This required institutions to ‘actively farm’ the backlands of their properties and, in some cases, had been a source of conflict between different communities and City Hall. Key civic societies, such as the Richmond Food Security Society, have been active in building partnerships with faith communities with little expertise or interest in farming in order to maximize the productivity of their land (see Dwyer et al. forthcoming). In particular the monasteries such as Dharma Drum and the Ling Yen Temple were successfully harvesting their fruit and using it for their daily free meals, and senior citizens at the Vedic Cultural Centre and the Peace Evangelical Church were actively employed in sustained blueberry patches. Another notable success was the allotment gardens established since 2010 at Trinity Pacific Church. However, not all of the institutions have managed to fulfill their expectations of utilizing their land for agricultural purposes, suggesting a variation of understanding about the ALR among the congregations on the road.

This overview suggests a range of different ways in which faith communities along No. 5 Road might be said to be engaged in activities that variously illustrate forms of ‘integration.’ As

we have seen, the integration of migrants usually takes place through the social events organized by the various communities on the road. Activities that take place within congregations, we have argued, are as integrative as practices across institutions, for both join migrants to communities in Canada. In the next section, we reflect further on what this broad understanding of integration means in relation to how ‘barriers’ to integration might be discussed.

Debating Integration: challenges and discourses

As the discussion above suggests, there are many different lenses through which we might view whether or not faith communities are ‘integrated’ with the wider society or with each other. In debating the extent to which religious communities along No. 5 Road are integrated, we first want to focus on some of the barriers that the participants identified. Again, our analysis here does not suggest that the migrants either are, or are not, being integrated. Instead, we are reporting what we heard from practitioners about their struggles to serve as integrative sites for new arrivals to Canada.

An interesting barrier was geographical, as many institutions noted the challenge of No. 5 Road’s peripheral location in relation to the rest of Richmond. As several respondents pointed out, “We just drive in and drive out,” making it difficult to meet or integrate with neighbouring faith groups of the wider community. A head teacher at one of the schools reflected, because all the children were carpooled to school, it was “difficult to build up any kind of relationship with your neighbourhood.” This location on the periphery of the city was also cited as a contributor to the difficulty of engaging clients for a ‘drop-in’ meal service provided by the Richmond Bethel Church. Also, members of the Brethren Church suggested to us that their constituents tended to concentrate any philanthropic work in downtown Vancouver. Thus, while there are attempts on the part of the institutions on ‘the Highway to Heaven’ to integrate new migrants, the geographical location of No. 5 Road itself is not particularly conducive to making connections with the

wider networks of Richmond.

Respondents also recognized other factors inhibiting the further provision of services by these religious institutions. One was simply the matter of resources in terms of money, time, and human capital (see Ammermann 2005). Like all faith communities, the communities we interviewed relied on volunteers to provide activities and services, many of whom were elderly or retired. Some respondents, particularly at the Vedic Cultural Centre, suggested that they simply did not have the capacity to respond to all the requests that they received for visits to their centres. Still another issue was that of having volunteers who were sufficiently fluent in English to act as guides for visitors. Thus, at the Ling Yen Mountain Temple, the one Anglo-Canadian volunteer was overstretched in trying to respond to requests from both casual visitors and those seeking spiritual advice, as the resident monks spoke little English. Similar difficulties were evident at the Dharma Drum Monastery, although here, younger second-generation volunteers were important in aiding with translation. In contrast, the Thrangu Monastery has been able to draw on a community of resident monks who have greater fluency in English to respond to casual visitors. Our research suggested that while the vast majority of the institutions that we spoke to were willing to welcome visitors, they did not necessarily see it as their priority. For many of the faith communities, notably the Chinese churches and the Buddhist temples, it was spiritual evangelism that was the most important priority, and this was likely to be targeted towards co-ethnic groups and co-linguists.

We might reflect also on the different models or modes of integration that were presented to us by the various faith groups. One interesting theme is that of theological or institutional integration. It is interesting to note that some of the Chinese Christian churches, such as the Richmond Chinese MB Church through their affiliation to wider Canadian organisations, such as the Mennonite Brethren, were more institutionally integrated than others. These latter congregations that had fewer denominational affiliations nonetheless retained links with transnational organisations based in Hong Kong. In other cases, such as the BCMA networks, institutions had been

established in Canada facilitating the integration of new Muslim migrants. As Levitt (2001, 2003, 2007) argues, transnational networks do not necessarily suggest a lack of integration (see Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002). Indeed, what is evident on No. 5 Road are both high levels of transnational activity (through the transfer of funds, religious personnel, religious ideas, and knowledge), which are simultaneous with activities rooted in the local community. Recent institutions, such as the Thrangu Monastery, reveal high levels of local networking which have been crucial in ensuring their successful establishment on No. 5 Road.

A challenge for all the faith communities was how to hold onto the ‘second generation.’ The key issue here was maintaining cultural and religious identity –for example providing teaching in Hindi or Arabic – and ensuring that faith knowledge was acquired in a language that was accessible to young people. The desire to retain youth in their families’ religious traditions was expressed by almost all of our respondents. Some of the Chinese churches had been successful in appointing pastors who were fluent communicators in English and educated in theological schools in Canada or the United States, although there were also reports of tensions between different generations within Chinese churches (Ley 2008; Tse 2009, 2011b). In the mosques too, a priority was finding an imam with good English and who was preferably educated in Canada. In contrast, there was no tradition of priests yet emerging from North America for the Sikh or Hindu temples and all were recruited from India on short-term visas.

These examples suggest ways in which faith communities themselves debate the question of ‘integration’. For example, worshippers at the Vedic Cultural Centre described coming to the temple on a Sunday as an opportunity not just to pray, but also “to wear Indian clothes, to eat Indian food.” Thus religious institutions emerge as spaces within which particular cultural and religious performances are made alongside the more everyday secular lives of their members that are oriented around studying or employment. Also evident was the assertion made by many of those we interviewed about how strongly connected they were to narratives of Canadian multiculturalism. Reflecting on their struggles over the Ross Street Gurdwara, respondents at the India

Cultural Centre of Canada told us that newer immigrants from India to Canada did not “understand Canadian values, did not understand multiculturalism.” In a brochure from the opening of the Thrangu Monastery, its founders praise Richmond as being such a receptive site for the building of a new Buddhist monastery ‘Why a Monastery in Canada? Canada is a peace-loving country where many different peoples and religions co-exist harmoniously.’¹¹ A similar argument is made by the Ling Yen Mountain temple in their attempts to gain planning permission for an extension to their monastery. Granted, such sentiments may be dismissed as self-serving, but we identified a consistent and genuine sentiment from our interviewees that praised the openness of Canadian society and its enthusiasm for multiculturalism.

Nonetheless, not all of the respondents we spoke to would necessarily place a high priority on ‘integration’. For many of them, this meant replacing spiritual values with secular values. One example of this suspicion was perhaps the reluctance of communities along No. 5 Road to seek government funding for their social welfare activities. Indeed, this hesitation played into a broader Metro Vancouver narrative of not wanting to mix public issues with private religious communities.¹² The communities on No. 5 Road may have made efforts to serve new migrants but, similarly, this often did not translate into wanting to use public monies.

We conclude this section by recognizing the variety of ways in which ‘integration’ is defined, recognised, and practised by the religious institutions on No. 5 Road. It was clear that many of our interviewees celebrated Canadian multiculturalism as a facilitator for their own everyday lives within and without their No. 5 Road communities. However, to ask the question of whether or not their institutions actively integrate migrants yielded disparate answers as well as

11 Promotional Brochure for the Opening Ceremony of the Thrangu Monastery (July 2010), p8

12 Another recent Vancouver example of the politics of religious practice and social services that took place off No.5 Road was Vancouver City Hall’s attempt in 2007-2008 to mandate a social services permit for Tenth Avenue Church’s homeless food and shelter program. An interfaith coalition led by Chinese Christian activist Bill Chu called Faith Communities in Solidarity with the Poor contested the city’s planning department, alleging that they were imposing a theological differentiation between worship and care for those in poverty on a church that did not have this understanding (Faith Communities in Solidarity with the Poor 2007; Tse 2011b; see Milbank 2006; Ley and Tse 2013; Tse, 2013).

stimulated debate. Interviewees also spoke about the difficulties of serving as integrative sites, often due to the location of No. 5 Road on the edge of urban Richmond, as well as their own lack of resources, because they were not conceived as social service agencies whose primary work is to integrate migrants. Nonetheless, religious institutions on No. 5 Road emerge as places that provide intra-communal services which we might identify as integrative practices in a variety of ways. In addition, and directly related to the phenomenon of 'Highway to Heaven' as a clustering of religious facilities (Agrawal 2008), the opportunities to facilitate cross-institutional collaborations provide additional ways of producing integration. No. 5 Road thus offers a variation of practices that can be interpreted as integrative as well as a wide variety of understandings of how migrant integration is defined and achieved.

Conclusion: the road for public education

This study has demonstrated that while the original intention for No. 5 Road was not the creation of a 'Highway to Heaven,' much less a vehicle for immigrant integration, the corridor has developed into a series of such integrative sites for migrants to Canada. However, this means that there are unique facets of integration on the road for which policy makers might account in order to maximize its utility for immigrant integration into Canadian civil society. Moreover, there are various activities that can be considered 'integration' without being classically seen as such. We thus conclude with a key policy recommendation that takes these issues into account: use No. 5 Road as a public educational resource in the City of Richmond.

The temptation when thinking through policy in a multi-religious landscape like the 'Highway to Heaven' is to ask whether or not the congregations can be encouraged to participate in interfaith dialogue, such as in the Interfaith Bridging Project, or to incorporate additional elements of immigrant integration into their services. Instead of introducing elements that are foreign to the history of No. 5 Road and the religious purposes of the institutions there, we

propose instead that the district could be utilized as a public educational resource. As Bouchard and Taylor (2008) note, taking up this initiative would require that the school district and City Hall embrace a policy of ‘open secularism,’ an understanding of the ‘secular’ that encourages religious voices in the public sphere in an effort to find an overlapping consensus about the common good. No. 5 Road would thus serve as a vehicle to talk about what integration in ethnic and religious institutions actually means. As we noted in the introduction, debates in the local press over whether new migrants are integrating into Canadian society (Lin 2011; Sanghera 2011), or whether migrant religious institutions aid in this process (Todd 2011a, 2011b, 2012) make this public education especially urgent. In light of our findings, we suggest that more effort could be put into educating the public as to what the relation between religion, migration, and integration might be so as to forestall the simplistic perception that ‘integration’ is an either/or process.

An achievable approach could begin by making the story of No. 5 Road publicly accessible and widely disseminated so as to provide a context in the public sphere about how the corridor actually developed with all of its accidental, yet fortuitous, stories in the creation of an interfaith landscape. Initiatives like this are already underway because of the conscientious efforts of the Richmond Museum. Having hosted exhibits on Richmond’s Pathways of Faith, the Agricultural Land Reserve, and in 2012-2013 on the Highway to Heaven¹³, the Richmond Museum’s efforts are a prime example of how conservation at a broader scale could begin in Richmond’s civil society. Telling the story of No. 5 Road is not simply about preserving a historical record; it is also grounding discussions about religion, ethnicity, and integration in concrete events, instead of letting the conversation remain at an abstract level.

These efforts at public education would have two effects. First, they would promote public religious literacy, especially about how religion works concretely in ethnic institutions.

13 The exhibition ‘Highway to Heaven: Richmond’s Multi-faith Community’ was shown at Richmond Museum from December 8, 2012 - July 1, 2013
<http://www.richmond.ca/culture/sites/museum/exhibit.htm?PageMode=HTML>
 (Accessed 23 April 2013)

This is particularly important as a democratic initiative, for the ‘Highway to Heaven’ was created in large part as a compromise between the Agricultural Land Reserve and emerging religious assemblies. Because the public has an interest in the road in terms of its agricultural production as well as its use for multicultural promotion (Garrish 2002), it should be educated to know what services the institutions on the road actually can provide and why they are located there. To do this would require a wide dissemination of the stories of the institutions (see Table 1), as well as how the corridor emerged as a site for religious assembly in terms of public history so that the public can work within that history to converse about how to use the road.

Second, the educational initiatives we propose would demonstrate to the religious institutions on No. 5 Road what their role on the Agricultural Land Reserve actually should be, allowing them to engage more fully in public sphere dialogue. While each institution is independent, our story reveals that they have worked together in terms of sharing efforts to build infrastructure such as parking lots, sewage, and second-generation initiatives on the road. Although much effort has been devoted to interfaith bridging in terms of talking at an abstract level about what common points of faith might be or how interreligious relationships (including marriages) can be negotiated, more effort should be given to having the religious institutions recall the histories of their location on No. 5 Road, how they have interacted with civic policy in the past, and what they can realistically contribute to meaningful multicultural dialogue without compromising the primary religious functions of their institutions. Disseminating these histories would allow these congregations to speak back to the larger narratives of integration, enabling the correction of misperceptions about their work while simultaneously pushing them to understand their *de facto* role in migrant integration.

To cement these efforts, we further recommend the use of No. 5 Road as a teaching tool in public school curriculum as a way to promote religious literacy in the spirit of Canadian multicultural integration. We draw on one example of a private school initiative from our research on No. 5 Road to show how public schools can utilize the resources of the ‘Highway to Heaven.’

A moving moment for us as researchers was when we were invited to speak to a fifth-grade class at Cornerstone Christian Academy on our work. The students had been working on their own projects about the non-Christian religions on No.5 Road learning about Buddhism, Sikhism, and Islam. One of the students related to us the moment when she visited a mosque on the road, and asked pointedly about the relation between Islam and the events of 11 September 2001. Five students chanted in unison the mosque representative's verbatim reply: "Though I am a Muslim, I do not condone the actions of the people who took the lives of the people on September 11, because Islam is a religion of peace." The education of children and youth in religious literacy further promotes the initiative of *public* education so that it can be equipped to deal democratically with religious institutions that will continue to flourish in Richmond. Moreover, the city would be further served as students learn the story of how the road came to be, for using the 'Highway to Heaven' as a teaching device would require local curricula to also explore the history of the ALR, how local governments work, and how religious communities interact with the state.

In short, using No. 5 Road as an educational tool would help to diversify in public conversation what is meant by immigrant integration both on and off the 'Highway to Heaven'. Taking our cue from debates within Vancouver's civil society, we have demonstrated that the circumstances that created the road, its institutions, and their services in the first place were unique. The 'Highway to Heaven' should thus *not* be taken in an abstract way to determine what religious institutions should and should not do in terms of immigrant integration. Instead, our research suggests that the institutions on the road are defining for themselves what integration might involve. Public education could benefit from these interactions, fostering more understanding between the institutions on the road and the public so that community conversation on multiculturalism and integration—often dialogues that translate into public policy—will take place at a concrete level rather than the more abstract focus of most such discussions.

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