INTEGRATED SETTLEMENT PLANNING
RESEARCH PROJECT

Re-Visioning the Newcomer Settlement Support System

Prepared by the ISPR Consortium:
The Chinese Canadian National Council, Toronto Chapter
The Community Social Planning Council of Toronto
The Council for Agencies Serving South Asians
The Hispanic Development Council
The Multicultural Coalition for Access to Family Services

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June 2000

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 *Overview of the Integrated Settlement Planning Research Project* ___________ 1

   1.1 Integrated Settlement Planning Research Consortium ________________________ 1

   1.2 Project Rationale and Purpose _________________________________________ 1

   1.3 Project Objectives ___________________________________________________ 2

   1.4 Project Organization and Management _________________________________ 3

   1.5 Research Methodology and Reports ____________________________________ 4

   1.6 Project Implementation ______________________________________________ 4

2.0 *Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile* ______________________________ 5

   2.1 General Trends in Canadian Immigration and Settlement ________________ 5

   2.2 Immigration and Settlement Patterns in Toronto ________________________ 8

   2.3 Introduction to Demographic Analysis of Three Populations ____________ 10

      2.3.1 Brief Synopsis of the Three Subject Populations ______________________ 11

      Chinese Community

      Hispanic Community

      South Asian Community

      2.3.2 Demographic Highlights of Three Study Populations ____________________ 13

   2.4 Issues for Consideration ____________________________________________ 23

3.0 *Contextual Background of Canadian Immigration and Newcomer Settlement Support* ___________________________ 28

   3.1 International Migration and Forces of Globalization ________________ 28

   3.2 History of Immigration to Canada and Canadian Immigration Policy ________ 29

   3.3 Immigration Histories of the Three Study Populations _________________ 33

      The Chinese Community ____________________________________________ 33

      The Hispanic Community ___________________________________________ 34

      The South Asian Community __________________________________________ 36

   3.4 Canadian Settlement Policies, Programs and Funding _________________ 38

   3.5 Documented Settlement Experience and Issues of the Study Populations _______ 40

      The Chinese Community ____________________________________________ 40

      The South Asian Community __________________________________________ 42

      The Hispanic Community ____________________________________________ 45

      Multi-cultural Family Services _________________________________________ 46

   3.6 The Meaning of Settlement and Indicators of Successful Settlement ________ 49

4.0 *Focus Group Research, Findings, and Analysis* _________________________ 53

   4.1 A Participatory, Inductive, and Dialogical Approach to Research and Analysis 53

   4.2 Focus Group Methodology ____________________________________________ 54

   4.3 Focus Group Findings ______________________________________________ 57

      4.3.1 Employment ___________________________________________________ 57

      4.3.2 Language Skills ________________________________________________ 60

      4.3.3 Family Services and Personal Supports _____________________________ 63
4.4 Conclusions from Study of Focus Group Research ___________________________66

5.0 Development of Integrated Settlement Planning Strategies _______________71

5.1 The Existing “Non-System” of Settlement Supports . . .____________________71

5.2 Re-Visioning an Integrated Settlement Support System____________________75

5.3 Mandated Roles, Responsibilities . . and Recognition _____________________77

5.4 Integrated Planning for a Coordinated Settlement Support Delivery System__81

5.5 Recommendations __________________________________________________83

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDICES

A ISPR Workplan, Timeline and Products
B ISPR Focus Group Questions
C ISPR Steering Committee Terms of Reference
1.0 Overview of the Integrated Settlement Planning Research Project

1.1 Integrated Settlement Planning Research Consortium

The Integrated Settlement Planning Research Project (ISPR), funded as a one-time research project by the Regional Settlement Directorate of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), was first organized as a consortium of the following five equal partners:

- **The Chinese Canadian National Council-Toronto Chapter (CCNC)** is a community based organization serving the Chinese Canadian community in the City of Toronto and offering anti-racism education and consultation, community education and training programs, advocacy, research and planning support, and the encouragement of the participation of the Chinese community in community activity and public decision-making.

- **The Community Social Planning Council of Toronto (CSPC)** is an independent community-based organization serving the residents of Toronto and dedicated to social research and policy analysis, service planning and evaluation, and community education.

- **The Council of Agencies Serving South Agencies (CASSA)** is an umbrella organization for 50 community agencies serving South Asians in the Greater Toronto Area, providing research support, community education, information exchange, and advocacy services.

- **The Hispanic Development Council (HDC)** is an umbrella organization for 65 member agencies committed to the social and economic development of the Spanish speaking community in Toronto, performing research, policy analysis, consultation, professional development, and advocacy services.

- **The Multicultural Coalition for Access to Family Services (MCAFS)** is an umbrella organization of 20 community agencies serving individuals, couples, and families from minority communities with programs, personnel and practices that are linguistically appropriate and culturally and racially sensitive.

CSPC served as the sponsoring applicant to the CIC for the consortium partners. CSPC’s partners in this initiative relate to a newcomer population that constitutes more than three-quarters of visible minority immigrants settling in Toronto.

A fifth organizational partner joined the consortium in progress under separate funding. **The Somali Immigrant Women’s Association (SIWA)** received funding from the Newcomer Program of the United Way of Greater Toronto under CSPC’s sponsorship in order to undertake the same research objectives and methodology for African immigrant and refugee women. While the same approach was adopted and a SIWA representative participated in the deliberations of the ISPR’s Steering Committee, the SIWA research began later than the ISPR’s research and there was not time to include findings and analysis for African immigrant women in the body of this integrated report. A separate, individual report on African immigrant and refugee women is being prepared and will be distributed as part of the overall ISPR report package.

1.2 Project Rationale and Purpose

The ISPR Project addresses itself to the need for more integrated settlement planning strategies in an urban environment marked by high degrees of diversity and complexity. Currently, research and identification of newcomer needs and planning adequately responsive services are very fragmented and disconnected across the various immigrant groups that settle in Toronto. There are inequities in access to both information and service supports. More coordinated and collaborative strategies and models are required in order to provide newcomers with more
efficient access to settlement information and services and in order to respond more effectively to the wide variety of settlement needs that they have.

Presently, social and service development planning are highly fragmented, functioning out of a variety of bases organized geographically, or by service area, or by ethno-specific population. Occasional partnerships between planning agencies emerge for specific and limited research initiatives and joint ventures. None has pursued the demonstration or development of an integrated planning model or collaborative framework that could guide future work together.

In that regard, the ISPR attempts an innovative approach to planning settlement supports. It brings together in equal partnership the capacities of municipally mandated community social planning with the particular perspectives and expertise of the umbrella planning bodies for several ethno-racial immigrant communities.

The Project partnership essentially bridges the planning capability of the generic service sector with the community-specific service sector. There is tremendous promise here in shaping and demonstrating an integrated settlement planning model that has potential both for further extension in the City of Toronto and for wider application to other communities with diverse newcomer populations in the province of Ontario.

### 1.3 Project Objectives

The ISPR’s research study is directed toward the development of strategies for coordinated and collaborative models of settlement service delivery in Toronto, in order to provide more efficient access to those services, by:
- maximizing existing information and service resources;
- addressing system barriers and inequities; and
- more effectively linking generic and ethno-racial settlement service supports.

In framing its approach to the research the ISPR Steering Committee defined the scope and focus of its work as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCOPE AND FOCUS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESTABLISH INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY NEEDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRODUCE INTEGRATED VIEW OF NEEDS OF THE THREE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREATE MEANINGFUL INDICATORS AND BENCHMARKS FOR SETTLEMENT SERVICE DELIVERY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREATE INVENTORY OF SERVICE SUPPLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REVIEW STRUCTURE OF EXISTING SERVICE DELIVERY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTABLISH THE MATRIX OF SUPPLY VS. SUFFICIENCY AND APPROPRIATENESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVELOP AN INTEGRATED VIEW OF SETTLEMENT SERVICE STRUCTURE AND DELIVERY IN THE CITY OF TORONTO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The ISPR Steering Committee developed and approved a workplan to accomplish the above pieces of the project (see Appendix A).

1.4 Project Organization and Management

CIC funding support provided resources for a Project Research Coordinator, reporting to the ISPR Steering Committee, which had representation from each of the consortium partners. The Research Coordinator was hired and directed by the Steering Committee and worked out of the CSPC. CIC funding also provided resources for each of the four ethno-specific consortium partners — CCNC, CASSA, HDC and MCAFS — to hire a part-time Researcher. The four Researchers reported to Research Advisory Committees set up by their respective organizations. The Advisory Committees were made up of community activists, front-line service providers and academics from the community to receive advice from these experts in the field and to provide quality control for the research. The following chart illustrates the ISPR Project’s organizational structure:

The chart also indicates that the ISPR Project participated in a Joint Coordination Project with three other partners as a condition for funding. The Joint Coordination Project was conducted with the Access Action Council (AAC), the Social Planning Council of Peel (Peel SPC), and the University of Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies (U of T). The CSPC and another designated member of the consortium represented the ISPR on the Joint Coordination Project.
1.5 Research Methodology and Reports

The ISPR research process involved the following activity:

- Literature reviews on immigrant settlement in general, and individually for the South Asian, Hispanic and Chinese populations and for the field of immigrant family services.
- Demographic and socio-economic analysis of immigrant settlement in Canada and Toronto using 1996 census data and other available secondary research.
- Mapping settlement concentrations in Toronto of the three subject populations of the study using the Zephyr Demographics database (for which the CSPC is a licensed party).
- Organizing and conducting focus groups of providers and service users/non-users for the family services field and for the three subject populations.

The Research Advisory Committees for the four ethno-specific consortium partners worked with their individual Researchers to analyze the research for their own respective population groups and produced draft individual reports, which were revised and developed as stand alone reports for the ISPR Project.

The ISPR Steering Committee used the research of the Research Coordinator and the research findings of the four individual reports as the basis of its own analysis for this integrated report.

The products of the ISPR Project include in total four individual reports produced separately by the four ethno-specific consortium partners plus this integrated report. A fifth individual report will be added when the research and analysis for the African immigrant and refugee women community is completed.

1.6 Project Implementation

The consortium partners have found this collaborative research process both extremely exhilarating and difficult. The Project only finally completed its reports two months beyond the CIC-funded period, which concluded on March 31, 2000. Nevertheless, although CIC funds had been expended, the consortium partners contributed additional resources in cash and in-kind to complete the research and reports. Clearly, a nine-month timeframe for a collaborative venture of this complexity was overly ambitious. Concentrated work, however, on the integrated report could not be addressed until the findings of the individual research projects were available. Given the timing of the focus groups approaching the end-of-year holiday season, they were not completed on schedule, which delayed the delivery of data into the study and analysis process for the integrated report. That process involved more than eight Steering Committee meetings over the March through May period.

Having originally proposed a twelve-month project, the ISPR Steering Committee did anticipate difficulty in completing its research within the CIC-funded time period. ISPR’s efforts were, however, further complicated by the monitoring process set up by CIC through the Centre for Refugee Studies and by the requirement to participate in the Joint Coordination Project. The ISPR partners found these requirements to be both distracting from their primary focus and draining of energy. The ISPR consortium strongly recommends that future CIC initiatives of this kind avoid encumbering participants in a similar way.
2.0 Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile

2.1 General Trends in Canadian Immigration and Settlement

Immigrant Population and Settlement Patterns

In 1996, immigrants made up 17.4% of the total population in Canada totalling more than 4,971,000 people. Of the immigrant population in Canada, 20% of immigrants came between 1991 and 1996. Recent immigrants make up 3.6% of the total population of Canada.

Although recent immigrants make up 20% of the immigrant population in Canada, immigration between 1991 and 1996 decreased by 5% from the previous period of 1986-91. However, since the 1961-1965 time period immigration has increased by 24%.

More than half of all immigrants to Canada arrive in the Province of Ontario. This means one in every two immigrants coming to Canada select Ontario as their home.

Ontario houses 37.3% of Canada’s total population and 54.8% of Canada’s immigrants. More than 2.7 million immigrants reside in Ontario. Similarly, 54.2% of Canada’s recent immigrants also arrived in Ontario between 1991 and 1996 totalling 562,985 people.

2.6 million visible minority persons accounted for 21.6% of the combined population in cities in 1996. In Ontario, the two cities that have the largest proportion of visible minorities were Markham (46.1%) and Toronto (37.3%).

Where are Canada’s immigrants from?

Canada’s immigrants come from all around the world, with more than 200 countries being identified as people’s place of birth.

Between 1961 and 1966, the bulk of immigrants came from Europe (90.4%) while only 5.7% came from America, 0.5% from Africa, 3.1% from Asia, and less than 1% from Oceania and other. In contrast, in the 1991-1996 period, only 19% of immigrants came from Europe and 57% came from Asia. 15.6% came from America, 7.3% came from Africa and 0.9% came from Oceania during this same time period. Clearly, there has been a dramatic shift in the place of origin of Canada’s immigrants of today.

Statistics from 1996-1999 demonstrate a decrease in the number of immigrants coming to Canada on an annual basis. From July 1st, 1996 to June 30th, 1997 224,881 people immigrated to Canada. Between the same period from 1998 to 1999, only 173,011 people arrived in Canada.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canadian Immigrants by Country of Birth</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Ontario</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>521,435</td>
<td>238,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>241,095</td>
<td>120,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>231,050</td>
<td>104,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>49,290</td>
<td>14,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>381,875</td>
<td>262,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>158,815</td>
<td>115,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>77,705</td>
<td>69,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>62,020</td>
<td>48,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>39,020</td>
<td>17,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>23,875</td>
<td>8,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>20,440</td>
<td>3,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
<td>342,605</td>
<td>205,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>235,935</td>
<td>121,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>67,425</td>
<td>56,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>39,245</td>
<td>27,560</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compusearch, Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

\(^1\) Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Matrix 2.
According to the 1996 census, the three populations represented in this report make up more than 20% of immigrants to Canada. Almost 7% of Canada’s immigrants are from Southern Asia, while 10.5% are Chinese, and 7.7% are Hispanic.

**Standard of Living Amongst Immigrants**

Among the 3,504,000 immigrants living in cities, there were 1,052,000 persons (30%) lived below the poverty line in 1995. This rate is higher than the 21.6% poverty rate among Canadian-born.

The statistics suggest that the period of immigration to Canada is highly related to the probability of becoming poor. Of the 2 million immigrants to Canadian cities prior to 1986, the poverty rate is 19.7%. If a person immigrated between 1986 to 1990, the rate was 35.1%. Most concerning is that recent immigrants between 1991 and 1996 experience a poverty rate of 52.1%. This means that of the 860,000 new immigrants to Canadian cities during that period almost 450,000 live below the poverty line.

Remarkably, more than half of recent immigrants were poor in 18 of the 31 Canadian cities. Immigrants to the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver were most likely to be poor immigrants. At the other end of the scale, less than one third of newcomers were poor in Vaughan, Brampton and Oakville.

There are a number of characteristics associated with the immigrant population, which would theoretically work against high poverty rates.

- Most recent immigrants gained entry to Canada through the points system, which admits persons with skills and resources supposedly in demand by Canadian businesses. In 1996, 53% of landed immigrants to Canada were considered to be in the “economic class”. Of these, 81% were skilled-class immigrants and 19% were business-class immigrants.
- Immigrants are more likely than Canadian-born to have a university degree. 34% of recent immigrants aged 25 to 44 had completed university, compared to 19% of Canadian-born.
- The immigrant population is older than the Canadian-born population. As such, a larger proportion of this population is of working-age.
- The labour force participation of working-age immigrants is close to that of Canadian-born.
- Immigrant families are far less likely to be headed by lone parents, the family category that has significant higher poverty rates.

Despite these characteristics, landed immigrants particularly recent immigrants have had difficulty staying above the poverty line. They face a variety of serious employment challenges:

- They must adjust to their relocation in a new country, and they often face language and cultural barriers.
- Many experience discrimination that hinders their participation in the labour market.
- New immigrants are often unfamiliar with Canadian institutions, conventions and processes involved in finding employment and in the work place.
- New immigrants’ skills, credentials and employment experiences are not often recognized in Canada.
- Many work in industrial sectors, which often offer low-paid jobs.

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The earning gaps between recent immigrants and either the Canadian-born, or the pre-1986 immigrants suggests that new immigrants may be facing greater challenges than before in gaining a good position in the labour market.

Senior immigrants (either those who entered the country as a senior or who aged in Canada) also face unique challenges in securing an adequate income. They often do not have access to the income security programs available to other elderly Canadians, unless they have lived in Canada for at least 10 years.

On average, 37.6% of the visible minority population in cities was poor, compared to 20.9% of the non-visible minority population. They accounted for 33.1% of the poor population. In the cities of Markham, Toronto, Richmond Hill, Mississauga, more than half of the poor population was a visible minority.

Labour Force Activity Amongst Immigrants

In 1996, 2,714,255 immigrants accounted for 19% of the labour force in Canada. Of these, 452,555 were recent immigrants, that is, who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1996.

Occupations in processing and manufacturing had the highest portion of immigrants (28%). Slightly over 58% of the country’s 70,000 sewing machine operators were immigrants. Of these, one-quarter were recent immigrants.

One-quarter of the jobs in the natural and applied sciences were held by immigrants. Immigrants represented 46% of aerospace engineers, 39% of chemists and 38% of computer engineers. Recent immigrants alone accounted for 11% of all computer engineers in 1996.

The occupational distribution of recent immigrants differs from that of both the total immigrant population and the Canadian population as a whole. Jobs in processing and manufacturing accounted for 15.5% of the recent immigrant population. This compares with 7.6% of the total population and 11.4% for all immigrants.

A third of recent immigrants were in sales and service jobs compared with just over a quarter of all immigrants. Jobs in natural and applied sciences were reported by 6.8% of recent immigrants, but by only 5% of the total population.

For immigrant men arriving in the five years prior to 1981, 86.3% found employment by 1981, a figure nearly as high as that of native-born men (91%). By 1996 the percentage of the corresponding group of immigrant men with earnings had dropped by 18% to 68.3%, while native-born male employment dropped by only 5.6%. The earnings gap for immigrant men compared to native-born men increased from 4.7% to 17.1% between 1981 and 1996. Comparatively, there was a similar decline in the percentage of earnings for immigrant women relative to native-born women. For native-born Canadian women, employment rates rose from about 63.7% in 1981 to about 73.8% in 1996. However, for immigrant women arriving in the five year period prior to the census, the percentage with employment earnings declined from 60.5% in 1981 to 52.7% in 1996. The earnings gap for immigrant women in relation to

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Canadian-born women increased from 3.2% to 21.1% in 1996. The income gap for immigrant women (17.9%) between 1981 and 1996 increased 30% more than for immigrant men (12.4%).

In the workplace, visible minority persons are estimated to receive 14% lower market earnings than their non-visible minority counterparts, due to discrimination in hiring and workplace practices. Chinese receive 12% less, Southern Asian 13% less and visible minority women receive about 7% less than Canadian women do. However, the length of residency has significant impact on visible minority immigrants’ wage disadvantages. It is estimated that the entry difference will not be eliminated for 25 years.

2.2 Immigration and Settlement Patterns in Toronto

Immigrant Population

Toronto is Canada’s main immigrant reception area. “Toronto’s big magnet is the location of rental housing and its existing immigrant communities”. Although Toronto is home to 1/12th of Canada’s population, one in every three immigrants resides in Toronto. As of the 1996 Census, the City had 1,124,410 immigrants living within its boundaries. The patterns of immigration to Toronto are even more pronounced with one in three recent immigrants (arrived between 1990 and 1996) settling in Toronto.

Immigrants make up almost half of Toronto’s total population of 2,363,870. This is a much higher proportion than the rest of Canada. Vancouver is the only other Canadian City that approaches the same concentration of immigrants, with one third of the population being immigrants.

In Toronto, 13.2% of the population are recent immigrants to Canada. This means about one in every eight residents of Toronto is a recent immigrant. The Ontario ratio is 1:18 and the national ratio is 1:36. The only other Canadian City that compares is Vancouver with 10% of its population recent immigrants. Between 1990 and 1996, approximately 63,000 immigrants arrived in Toronto each year.

It is expected by the year 2001 that foreign-born residents may constitute over 50% of the City’s population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Ontario</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td>28,528,125</td>
<td>10,642,790</td>
<td>2,363,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Canada’s Population</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All immigrants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>4,971,070</td>
<td>2,724,485</td>
<td>1,124,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Population</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Canada’s Immigrants</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recent Immigrants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1,038,990</td>
<td>562,985</td>
<td>315,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Population</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Canada’s Immigrants</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compusearch, Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

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Where are Toronto’s Immigrants From?

Toronto’s immigrants come from all around the world. According to the trends documented in the 1996 Census for the Toronto CMA, the census lists 222 places of birth for Canada’s immigrants. Of those countries, 106 nations were the place of birth for more than 1,000 of the current Greater Toronto Area (GTA) residents. Even in the five years after 1990, 56 different countries contributed more than 1,000 people each to the population of the Toronto region. 93% of recent immigrants came from these 56 countries, with the remaining 7% coming from 114 other countries.

When looking at the origins of all immigrants to Toronto CMA, 41% are from Europe, 37% from Asia, 18% from America, 5% from Africa and less than 1% from Oceania. In contrast, of recent immigrants 16% are from America, 17% from Europe, 7% from Africa, 60% from Asia, and less than 1% from Oceania.

Asia has replaced Europe as the main source of Toronto’s immigrants. In 1961, immigrants who arrived in Toronto were mainly from Europe (91%). Thirty years later, between 1991 and 1996 only 17% of immigrants came from Europe.

In comparison, 60% of recent immigrants came from Asia.

Immigration from the Caribbean has declined from its peak in the 1970s, when it was the source of about 20% of immigrants.

Before 1961, the top ten places of birth for Toronto’s immigrants were all in Europe, except for the United States, which was ninth on the list. In the 1990’s, nine of the top ten countries were found in three district regions:

- East Asia (Hong Kong, China, Philippines, Vietnam) with 129,000 immigrants;
- South Asia (Sri Lanka, India) with 70,000; and,
- West Indies (Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago) with 41,0006.

Settlement Patterns in Toronto

Although post-war suburbs of Toronto have become the main immigrant settlement areas, there are immigrants throughout the city with higher concentrations in communities with large apartment complexes. Immigrants make up a large proportion of the population in each of the former municipalities of the City of Toronto. However, North York (52.3%), Scarborough (50.8%) and York (50.4%) immigrants comprise more than 50% of the population.

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The concentration of immigrants in the suburbs demonstrates a similar pattern with recent immigrants. North York and Scarborough had more than 15% of their population immigrating to their communities between 1991-1996 compared with 10.5% in the old city of Toronto.

**Standard of Living Amongst Toronto Immigrants**

In Toronto, 32.9% of immigrants are poor compared to 21.5% of the population that are Canadian born. This means 368,100 immigrants in 1995 were poor of the 1.1 million immigrants in the city. “Poverty seems to decline among immigrants as they spend more time in Canada, suggesting that poverty rates among recent immigrants are high temporarily and will drop in time. However, the low levels of earnings among recent immigrants cast doubt on whether poverty rates among this group will ever approach those of pre-1986 immigrants and Canadian-born citizens.” In Toronto, 52.8% of recent immigrants are poor. This rate is slightly higher than the average for cities across the country at 52.1% of recent immigrants living below the poverty line.

Although immigrants make up 47.6% of Toronto’s population, immigrants make up 56.7% of the population that lives below the poverty line.

2.3 **Introduction to Demographic Analysis of Three Populations**

Based on the 1996 Census, this section provides a detailed description of the settlement patterns and demographic and socio-economic situation of three subject populations for this research project: Chinese, Hispanic people, and South Asians.

The distribution of the population throughout Toronto varies for the three populations covered in this report. According to the 1996 Census data for home language, a picture of the distribution of immigrant populations in Toronto is evident. Please refer to the three maps, which illustrate the settlement patterns of the project’s three populations.

The indicators examined in this section include the population size, age distribution, languages, immigration, family structure, education, employment and income. The idea is to examine both the average position of groups and the extent of serious deprivation.

For purposes of comparison, this section provides comments on differences and similarities between the three ethno-racial subject populations and the Toronto population as a whole. It is important to note that the three subject populations in Toronto are not homogenous. There is a risk of ignoring the diversity within each of the groups. Every group includes some people with little formal education and some with graduate degrees; some living in poverty and some who are prosperous and so on. There are vast differences within the three populations. This report, however, only highlights some of the major differences among the three groups.

The groups differ dramatically in their proportions of immigrants, as well as when and under what circumstances they settled. Arriving at a time of relative prosperity is a big advantage; and immigrants whose arrival is occasioned by political, economic or natural disaster are likely to be seriously disadvantaged, more so if a majority of their members typically do not speak English upon arrival. These

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8 Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada’s 1996 Census, custom tabulations.
effects of immigration and settlement are clearly visible in the statistical description of the three groups.

This report is primarily descriptive in nature. It does not provide in-depth discussion and analysis of the characteristics of the population under study. However, in the statistical tables and charts in the report, the reader will find detailed statistics on each of the three groups in Toronto. Of course, since the Census was conducted in 1996, the most recent immigrants are not reflected in this data.

Because of the descriptive orientation, this section is not a study of discrimination. The analysis does not include statistical controls, particularly for age, that are usually held constant in efforts to measure the impact of, say gender or ethnicity, on income. Still, the description in this report is a necessary step before more complex, causally-oriented analysis could be initiated.

2.3.1 Brief Synopsis of the Three Subject Populations

Chinese Community

Chinese were the largest of the three study groups in Toronto with a total population of 212,485 according to the Census of 1996. 72% of the Chinese in Toronto were Canadian citizens as at 1996. The majority of Chinese immigrants came from Hong Kong (35%). About 16% of Chinese would likely experience some language barriers in Canadian society.

There are two main communities among the Chinese: Cantonese-speaking Chinese and Mandarin-speaking Chinese. Although Cantonese is the dominant dialect in the Chinese community, the Mandarin speaking population among the new arrivals has increased from 42% in 1994 to 77% in 1999 (World Link, 1999). Although there is a unified way of writing Chinese, the spoken dialects can be so different that people who speak one dialect may not be able to communicate with others who speak a different one.

The highest concentrations of immigrants that speak Chinese as their home language are located in three main areas of the City. In these areas between 73% and 91%, speak Chinese at home. One is in the community referred to as Chinatown, the two census tracts west of University Avenue south of Bloor. The second community is often referred to as new Chinatown and consists of several census tracts east of Broadview between College and Queen. The third community is often referred to as Agincourt and is located in northwest Scarborough.

There are also several communities where the majority (54% to 73%) of the population speaks Chinese at home. These census tracts are surrounding the three communities with high concentrations of Chinese speaking people. As well, there are census tracts both north and south of the 401 and east of Yonge Street with the majority of the population speaking Chinese in their homes.

Both the eastern portion of North York and the eastern portion of Scarborough have a significant portion, between 36% and 55% of their population speaking Chinese at home.

The former municipalities of Etobicoke and York have the lowest concentrations of the population speaking Chinese at home.
**Hispanic Community**

The settlement process of the Hispanic community originated in the 1950s and 1960s, however, it was not until late 1970s that the Hispanic community started growing significantly following the immigration flow from South and Central American countries. Using the mother tongue response of the 1996 Census of Canada, Mata (1999) estimated the total population of the Hispanic community in Toronto at 385,175.

The Hispanic community has been described as a visible multi-representation of national origins, ethnicities and socio-occupational backgrounds, and a community whose unity is based on diversity. The Hispanic community can be understood as the unity of two clusters:

- Latin American immigrants (from Mexico, Central, South America and the Spanish speaking Caribbean region); and
- Spaniard immigrants

Latin Americans are the third largest Ethno-Racial groups in Toronto with a growing socio-economic pressure and an increasing impoverishment despite proportionately high levels of education.

In absolute numbers, the Hispanic Community in Toronto has settled mainly in two former municipalities, Toronto and North York. As a population percentage, the former City of York has the largest Hispanic component (8.5%) with particular concentration of younger and older members of the community. Since the outset of contemporary statistics for the community beginning in the early seventies, the gender balance of the community is almost perfect. The largest age cohort is 52.6% of the Hispanic population between 22 and 44 years old (HDC, Somos 1995).

The Spanish speaking population primarily resides east of Bayview Avenue. There are three neighbourhoods where 35% to 45% of the population speak Spanish at home. One neighbourhood is located just east of Yonge and north of Bloor. Another neighbourhood is located slightly west of Avenue Road north of Dupont and the third neighbourhood is north of the 401 east of the Humber River.

The second highest concentrations of the population that speak Spanish at home reside in the former City of York and northwest North York. As well, 25% to 35% of the population in the west Lakeshore area of the former City of Toronto speak Spanish.

Almost one quarter of the population in northwest Etobicoke and the portions of the City of York speak Spanish at home.

**South Asian Community**

South Asians consist of people who can trace their origin to any of the South Asian continent comprising Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. South Asians are the second largest ethno-racial population in Toronto after the Chinese, making up about 24.7% of visible minority population in Toronto. South Asian family tradition is very strong. 90% of the population in private households live in census families, and only about 5% are either separated or divorced.
The South Asian community is a very diverse group. The highest number of immigrant South Asians in Toronto were from India (38%). However, between 1991 and 1996, there were 32,175 new immigrants to the City of Toronto from Sri Lanka compared to 17,215 new immigrants from India. The diversity of languages among the South Asians include: Punjabi, Tamil, Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu and Bengali. Punjabi is the main mother tongue and home language. Tamil, however, was the fastest growing language group between 1991 and 1996.

South Asians people are concentrated in the former municipalities of Scarborough, East York and Etobicoke. Between 68% and 86% of the population in two communities, speak one of the languages of the South Asian population. Both of these neighbourhoods are in close proximity to McCowan Road.

There are also three district neighbourhoods where a majority (51% to 68%) of the population speaks one of the South Asian languages. One neighbourhood is in the northwestern portion of the former City of Etobicoke. Two other neighbourhoods are east of Markham Road with the fourth neighbourhood north of Danforth Avenue and west of Victoria Park Avenue.

Between 34% and 51% of the population in Thorncliffe, Flemingdon and along Markham Road also speak one of the South Asian languages at home.

### 2.3.2 Demographic Highlights of Three Study Populations

#### Population Size
- The Chinese population in Toronto was the largest of the three study groups representing 9% of the total population of Toronto.
- South Asians were the second largest group, representing 8.4% of Toronto's total population.
- The Latin American community formed the third largest group with 2.8% of Toronto's total population.

#### Age
- 25.9% of Latin Americans and 23.5% of South Asians were children under age 15.
- The Chinese had the highest proportion of people 65 years of age and over among the groups (10.8%).

#### Language
- 75.7% of Chinese reported a non-official language as their home language, compared to 28.8% of total population of Toronto.
- Non-official languages are spoken at home by 56.5% of Latin Americans and 46.3% of South Asians.
- The highest percentage of people who had no knowledge of English were among the Chinese group (22.8% compared to 6.1% of Toronto's total population).

#### Immigration
- In 1996, immigrants comprised 47.6% of the population of Toronto.
- 80.2% of the Chinese population in Toronto are immigrants. This compares to 76.8% of the South Asian population in Toronto who are immigrants and 76.3% of Latin Americans as of 1996.

#### Families
- In 1996, there were a total of 599,980 families in Toronto.
Families of the three study groups comprised 19% of the total census families in Toronto. Lone-parent families comprised 27.7% of Latin American families, 14.5% of South Asian families, and 13.1% of Chinese families in Toronto.

**Non-Family Persons**
- 19.7% of Toronto's population in 1996 were not living in census families.
- South Asians have a very strong family tradition. Only about 10% of South Asians in Toronto lived in non-family households in 1996.
- 13% of Chinese in Toronto and 15% of Latin Americans lived in non-family households in 1996.

**Education**
- The Chinese in Toronto had the highest percentage of persons (25 years and over), with no high school education (20.6%), as well as the highest percentage of persons with a University degree or higher (24%).
- 11.5% of South Asians had no high school education, while 20.9% had at least a University degree.
- Latin Americans had the highest percentage of people with either a Trade Certificate or College Diploma.

**Employment**
- Overall, labour force participation rate was highest among the Latin Americans, with 85.3% of males and 64.9% of females (25-64 years) in the labour force in 1996.
- Chinese had the highest percentage of people with full-time employment (85.5% compared to 82.8% Toronto's total population)
- 85% of South Asians and 80.6% of Latin Americans (ages 25-64 years) were employed full-time.
- Youth unemployment was highest among the South Asian population (26% compared to 19.6% for Toronto youth population as a whole).

**Income**
- The median employment income for Toronto as a whole was at least $5,000 more than the median employment income for all the three study populations.
- Female headed lone-parent families among the three groups had the lowest family income.
- In all the three ethno-racial groups, more than half of female headed lone-parent families were living on low incomes.

### A. Total Population

Ethno-Racial groups comprise a large and growing component of the population of the City of Toronto. While this has brought tremendous strengths and skills to the City, it has also created pressures for change in the City's system of social services, the social policies and existing practices. In many cases, these pressures involve meeting the needs of people who are not proficient in English or French, and whose expectations may be quite at variance with the system in place.

- As Table 1 shows, Chinese were the largest Ethno-Racial population group in Toronto in 1996, with a population of 212,485 in total. They represented 9% of the total population of Toronto.
The second and third largest groups were the South Asians (197,960 or 8.4% of total population of Toronto) and the Latin Americans (66,425 or 2.8% of Toronto's total population).

Table 1: Distribution Of Ethno-Racial Groups In Toronto By Age (1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total Population of Toronto</th>
<th>Chinese in Toronto</th>
<th>Latin Americans in Toronto</th>
<th>South Asians in Toronto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,363,870</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>212,485</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 – 14</td>
<td>425,497</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>36,972</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 – 24</td>
<td>295,484</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>29,748</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 44</td>
<td>834,446</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>79,044</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 – 64</td>
<td>505,868</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>43,772</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>302,575</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>22,948</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

B. Age

The three study population groups in Toronto are, relatively speaking, younger than the Toronto population as a whole. There is a higher proportion of children under age 15 and a lower proportion of people over age 65 in the three population groups. The only exception was the Chinese group which had a slightly lower proportion of children under age 15 than the total population of Toronto (17.4% compared to 18%).

In 1996, 18% of Toronto's total population were under age 15, compared to 25.9% of Latin Americans, 25.3% of South Asians, and 17.4% of Chinese in Toronto.

35.3% of Toronto's total population were in the prime working age group (25-44). The comparable figures for the three study groups were 38.0% for the Latin Americans, 37.5% for the South Asians, and 37.2% for the Chinese in Toronto.

12.8% of the population of Toronto were 65 years or older, compared to 10.8% of Chinese, 5.4% of South Asians and 4.4% of Latin Americans.

C. Language

Census data provides information on English, French and Non-Official languages. Since French is not significant in the City's statistics (only 0.5% of Toronto's population had French as a home language), this summary concentrates on comparing the use of English with the use of Non-Official languages.

A majority of the three population groups in Toronto reported a non-official language as their home language. A fairly significant percentage did not have any knowledge of English.

In 1996, 75.7% of Chinese in Toronto reported a non-official language as their home language. The proportions for Latin Americans and South Asians were 56.5% and 46.3% respectively. By comparison, 28.8% of total population of Toronto reported a non-official language as their home language.
• Lack of knowledge of English was highest among the Chinese population (22.8%). 11% of Latin Americans had no knowledge of English. The figure for South Asians was 7.1%. By comparison, 6.1% of Toronto's population in 1996 did not have any knowledge of English.

D. Immigration
(Note: Non-permanent residents (including visitors and students) were excluded from the total population).

Toronto remains the destination of choice for most new immigrants to Canada. More than 30% of Canada's new immigrants live in Toronto, even though Toronto represents only 8% of the country's total population. Over 315,000 new immigrants have settled in Toronto between 1991 and 1996, representing over 13% of the City's total population. Many of these immigrants are ethno-racial minorities. It takes time for new immigrants to settle and integrate into the community and economy, and indeed the time it takes to settle is growing. As a result, some new immigrants are at greater risk during their initial years in the country.

♦ In 1996, there were 1,124,410 immigrants in the City of Toronto. They represented 47.6% of the total population of Toronto.

♦ The Chinese have the highest percentage of immigrants. In 1996, there were a total of 166,375 Chinese immigrants in Toronto, representing 80.2% of total Chinese population in the City.

♦ In 1996, there were 147,429 South Asian immigrants in Toronto City, representing 76.8% of total South Asians in Toronto.

♦ 76.3% (48,180) of total Latin Americans in Toronto in 1996 were immigrants.
Approximately, 10% (roughly 8,000 people) of all new immigrants in Toronto arrive as refugees. The Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force found that refugee claimants are at the greatest risk of social need and homelessness.

The proportion of immigrants from Asia has been on the rise since the 1970s, and during the 1990s accounts for 60% of new immigrants in Toronto.

Top five countries of origin of new immigrants to Toronto between 1991 and 1996 in descending order were: Sri Lanka, China, Philippines, Hong Kong, India

Table 2: Distribution Of Ethno-Racial Minority Groups In Toronto By Immigration Status And Year Of Arrival In Canada (1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population of Toronto</th>
<th>Chinese in Toronto</th>
<th>Latin Americans in Toronto</th>
<th>South Asians in Toronto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>2,363,870</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>207,450</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-immigrants</td>
<td>1,239,460</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>40,980</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>1,124,410</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>166,470</td>
<td>80.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1976</td>
<td>437,120</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>26,880</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 - 1985</td>
<td>371,825</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>77,455</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986 - 1993</td>
<td>182,585</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>34,870</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994 - 1996</td>
<td>132,890</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>27,265</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>132,890</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>27,265</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University; Compusearch Statistics Canada 1996

With respect to period of immigration, the majority of Chinese immigrants (77,455 or 46.5% of total Chinese immigrants) arrived between 1976 and 1985.

A total of 21,960 Latin Americans or 45.6% of Latin American immigrants in Toronto arrived between 1976 and 1985.

Proportionately, South Asians in Toronto are more recent immigrants to Canada. A total of 69,480 South Asians (47.1% of South Asian immigrants) in Toronto arrived between 1986 and 1996. 31,800 of them (21.6% of immigrant South Asians) arrived between 1994 and 1996.

Approximately 20% of new immigrants arriving in Toronto are children. These children are unlikely to speak English and require additional educational support such as language instruction for newcomer (LINC).

E. Families

(Note: Statistics Canada defines a census family as a now-married couple (with or without never-married sons and/or daughters of either or both spouses); a couple living common-law (with or without never-married sons and/or daughters of either or both partners); or a lone-parent of any marital status, with at least one never-married son or daughter living in the same dwelling.)
Table 3: Distribution Of Ethno-Racial Minority Families In Toronto By Family Structure (1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population of Toronto</th>
<th>Chinese in Toronto</th>
<th>Latin Americans in Toronto</th>
<th>South Asians in Toronto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Families</td>
<td>599,980 100%</td>
<td>52,795 100%</td>
<td>16,360 100%</td>
<td>46,140 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband &amp; wife families</td>
<td>485,984 81%</td>
<td>45,879 86.9%</td>
<td>11,828 72.3%</td>
<td>39,450 85.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone-parent families</td>
<td>113,996 19%</td>
<td>6916 13.1%</td>
<td>4,532 27.7%</td>
<td>6,690 14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female lone-parent families</td>
<td>98,397 16.4%</td>
<td>5,755 10.9%</td>
<td>4,074 24.9%</td>
<td>5,537 12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male lone-parent families</td>
<td>15,599 2.6%</td>
<td>1,161 2.2%</td>
<td>458 2.8%</td>
<td>1,153 2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

♦ In 1996, there were 599,980 census families in the City of Toronto. Families of the three Ethno-Racial minority groups (Chinese, Latin Americans and South Asians) comprised 19% of the total census families in the City (115,315 families in total).

♦ The Chinese group had the largest number of census families (52,795), representing 9% of the total census families in Toronto.

♦ There were 46,140 South Asian families comprising 7.7% of total families in Toronto and 16,360 Latin American families comprising 2.7% of total families in Toronto.

♦ Lone-parent families comprised 27.7% of Latin American families; 14.5% of South Asian families and 13.1% of Chinese families in Toronto.

♦ Majority of the lone-parent families among all the three Ethno-Racial groups were headed by females.

F. People Not Living In Families

Table 4: Percentage Distribution Of Non-Family Persons By Ethno-Racial Groups In Toronto (1996).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Non-Family Persons</th>
<th>Non-Family Persons Living Alone</th>
<th>Living with Non-Relatives</th>
<th>Living in Economic Non-Census Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Toronto</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

♦ In 1996, a total of 464,845 persons (19.7% of total population) lived in non-family households in Toronto.
• South Asians have a very strong family tradition. Only about 10% of South Asians in Toronto lived in non-family households in 1996.

• 13% of Chinese in Toronto and 15% of Latin Americans lived in non-family households in 1996.

• Chinese females were more likely to live in non-family households than the males (58.5% compared to 41.5%). The females were also more likely to be living alone than their male counterparts (18.9% vs. 13.4%).

• 47.8% of South Asian non-family persons are females and 45.9% of Latin American non-family persons are females. By comparison, 55.2% of all non-family persons in Toronto city are females.

G. Education (the data on education is for persons 25 years and older)

New immigrants arriving in Toronto are more highly educated than at any time in the past and, on average, are much more highly educated than people born in Canada. However, today's immigrants are facing challenges unknown to those who arrived before them. The most significant of these barriers are the dramatic changes in the labour market, and the challenges associated with obtaining recognition for foreign credentials and employment experience, as well as training required to access trades and professions in Canada.

There are, however, significant differences among the three study population groups with respect to educational achievement. Some groups are better educated than others. It goes without saying that these differences should be taken into consideration when developing employment policies and training programs for each of the settlement groups.

• In 1996, the Chinese had the highest percentage of people with no high school education (20.6%). The comparable figure for the total population of Toronto was 14.1%.

• 11.5% of South Asians and 13% of Latin Americans had no high school education.

• 27% of Latin Americans and 24% of South Asians had High School Diploma as their highest level of education. By comparison 22% of the population of Toronto (age 25 and over), had High School Diploma as their highest level of education in 1996.

• Latin Americans had the highest percentage of people with either a Trade Certificate or College Diploma as their highest level of education (26.3%). The comparable figure for Toronto's total population in 1996 was 22%.

• 19.5% of South Asians and 16% of Chinese had either Trade Certificate or College Diploma as their highest level of education.

• The Chinese had the highest proportion of people with a University degree or higher (24%). The percentage of this educational group in the total population of Toronto was 22.7%.
• 20.9% of South Asians and 12.5% of Latin Americans had at least a Bachelors degree.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage in the Labour Force (25-64)</th>
<th>Percentage Employed Full-Time</th>
<th>Percentage Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Toronto</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>78.4%</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

• In 1996, the labour force participation rate, or the percentage of people either working or actively looking for work, was 64.5% for Chinese women in Toronto (25-64 years of age). This was the lowest among the three study groups. The comparative rate for all women in Toronto (ages 25-64) was 71.1%.
• Female labour force participation rate was 64.9% for Latin Americans, 64.5% for Chinese and 60.9% for South Asians.

• The labour force participation rate for Chinese males in 1996 (78.4%) was the lowest among the three groups in Toronto. The comparable figure for Toronto males (25-64 years) was 84.2%.

• Male labour force participation rate was 85.3% for the Latin Americans and 82.1% for the South Asians.

• Youth unemployment rate was 26% for the South Asians, 24.1% for the Latin Americans, and 23.6% for the Chinese compared to 19.6% for Toronto’s youth population.

• South Asians had the highest total unemployment rate (17.2%) among the three Ethno-Racial groups in Toronto.

• The total unemployment rate for Latin Americans, 14.3% and for the Chinese 10.3%.

I. Income

On the whole, the members of the three population groups in Toronto earned significantly less than the City's average, and overall, had a higher incidence of people living on low incomes. There are, however, significant differences among the three groups. Some earned greater incomes than others.

Employment Income

♦ In 1996, the Median Employment Income of Toronto males working full-time was $35,000, compared to $30,000 for Chinese males, $28,000 for Latin American males, and $27,900 for South Asian males.

♦ Overall, females tend to earn much less than the males. The Median Employment Income of Toronto females employed full-time in 1996 was $30,000. The comparable amount for Chinese females was $25,000, South Asian females $25,000 and Latin American females $24,000.

Family Income
(Note: Family income is defined as the income of all residents of a household on a collective basis)
Table 6: Median Family Income For Ethno-Racial Families In Toronto With One Or More Children Under Age 19 (1996).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Families in Toronto</th>
<th>Chinese Families in Toronto</th>
<th>Latin American Families in Toronto</th>
<th>South Asian Families in Toronto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total family income</td>
<td>$51,600</td>
<td>$48,700</td>
<td>$35,400</td>
<td>$42,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$57,700</td>
<td>$51,600</td>
<td>$40,900</td>
<td>$44,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Lone-Parent Families</td>
<td>$20,700</td>
<td>$26,500</td>
<td>$17,000</td>
<td>$22,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Lone-Parent Families</td>
<td>$34,800</td>
<td>$43,600</td>
<td>$28,600</td>
<td>$35,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest $100
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

- In 1996, the median family income for all families in Toronto was $51,600.
- Among the three study populations, Chinese had the highest median family income ($48,700), followed by the South Asians with $42,500. The median family income for Latin Americans was $35,400.
- Lone-parent families headed by females had the lowest family incomes.
- Latin American lone-parent families headed by females earned a median income of $17,000 compared to $20,700 for all lone-parent families in Toronto headed by females.
- The medium income for South Asian female lone-parent families was $22,100, and $26,500 for the Chinese female lone-parent families.
In 1996, 22.7% of all families in Toronto were living on low incomes.

The Latin American population in Toronto had the highest proportion of families living on low incomes of the three study groups (41.4%).

34.6% of South Asian families, and 29.4% of Chinese families in Toronto, lived on low incomes in 1996.

In all cases, lone-parent families headed by females were significantly more likely to live on low incomes than those headed by males.

### 2.4 Issues for Consideration

In examining the age distribution of the Ethno-Racial groups in Toronto, two major social policy concerns emerged:

- First, to the extent that caring for young children requires resources, it is apparent that the groups vary significantly in the demands placed on them. Groups with larger proportions of young people must also have fewer adults to care for them. The key issue involves the number of young people relatively to the numbers and resources of the adults who take care of them.

- Secondly, increasing needs of the elderly is foreshadowed in the relatively large size of the 45-64 year cohort, particularly among the Chinese group. In the next decade or so, the elderly population in Canada will include a number of the ethno-racial groups. This foretells changing community needs, which are likely to pose more acute problems for communities with fewer resources or linguistic and cultural barriers that limit access to mainstream programs.
Knowledge of English language is intimately connected to economic and social integration of newcomer groups into the Canadian society. The inability to speak English is a significant form of personal dis-empowerment, and it can be a serious impediment to accessing services.

Immigrant groups with large numbers of poorly educated members and without significant numbers of well-educated individuals are disadvantaged and less able to organize effectively and articulate their needs. Also parents with little formal education are disadvantaged in dealing with the schools that their children attend and providing advice and help to their children.

The pattern of disadvantage and inequality in the three subject groups that emerges from the figures on employment and income shows that the populations with very high unemployment rates are clearly extremely vulnerable to poverty. In some of the study group populations more than half of the families live in poverty.

One key point of this report is that the varying circumstances and needs of the three immigrating populations groups in Toronto primarily reflect particular historical processes such as the period in which each group came to Canada and the circumstances of their migration.

There is a need for a wide range of programs and services to accommodate differences among the three study groups, especially those pertaining to settlement, social and economic integration. The needs of highly educated and skilled newcomers should be addressed as well as those of with lower levels of education, skills, and English language proficiency.

Programs and services designed for immigrants to Toronto should address, in an integrated way, the three major challenges facing newcomers:

(a) Settling into Canadian society;
(b) The experience of racial discrimination; and,
(c) Under-employment and low income.

These challenges suggest that there is a very high level of stress among the three population groups. Hence, attention should be paid not only to job specific or technical training, but also to their pre-employment psycho-social, emotional needs.

Toronto is a cosmopolitan City, with a highly urbanized, multiracial, multicultural and multilingual population. The planning and delivery of programs and services for the City should therefore reflect this diversity.
South Asian as percent of 1886 Home language single response
Toronto Census Tracts
3.0   Contextual Background of Canadian Immigration and Newcomer Settlement Support

3.1   International Migration and Forces of Globalization

Historically, modern international migrations have taken two main forms. The "pull" factor took effect in Europe in the nineteenth century as rulers welcomed immigrants and their skills for reasons of economic growth and expansion. Cross-border travel was unrestricted. Nigel Harris states:

*It was still possible as late as 1889 for an International Emigration Conference to declare: 'We affirm the right of the individual to the fundamental liberty accorded to him by every civilized nation to come and go and dispose of his person and his destinies as he pleased'.* (1995:6; Thomas, 1961:9)

The First World War changed this trend. By the 1920s most governments were placing more controls on immigration. The Great Depression reduced the pull factor of immigration. It did not revive significantly until after World War II and the ensuing three decades of sustained economic growth in the western world. Between 25 and 30 million Europeans moved westward to other countries after World War II, although usually under significantly more control and regulation by governments than in the previous century (Harris, 1995:7).

The second major form of immigration has been called the "push" factor. Originally, this took the form of enslaving people and transporting them as property for sale in foreign lands as cheap labour during the period of European dominated imperialism and colonization of the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. The ideological justification for the oppression and subjugation of people took historically specific forms in various parts of the world. In each host nation, the policies and practices reinforced exclusion and marginalization from material resources and constructed a specific version of cultural devaluation.

In the modern world both push and pull factors are at work. As the birth rate in mostly the western developed countries fails to reproduce the labour force, skilled labour in particular is in economic demand. Immigrants from under-developed or less developed countries are attracted to a higher standard of living in western countries. National strife, oppression and turmoil throughout the world creates another form of "push" immigration, as refugees look for safe havens in more stable countries.

The globalization of the last several decades has also had a major impact on international migration. Mander and Goldsmith assert, “economic globalization involves arguably the most fundamental redesign of the planet’s political and economic arrangements since at least the Industrial Revolution” (1996:3). A dominating feature of globalization is the development of transnational corporations and institutions that establish “supranational limitations on any nation’s legal and practical ability to subordinate commercial activity to the nation’s goals” (1996:94). In order to accommodate global capital’s drive for corporate growth and profits and demands for free and unrestricted markets, national governments and international organizations such as the World Bank initiated structural adjustment policies and programs. At the international level, this amounts to removing government regulations and controls on trade and finance. The impact on public policy is to reduce social costs and create low-wage economies, which leads higher numbers of insecure jobs, as well as under-employment and complete exclusion from the labour market for the most disadvantaged parts of the population (Burke and Shields, 1999).
In this context, newcomers are primarily perceived for their economic value to their host country, although Mander and Goldsmith point out, “[w]e seem to have forgotten that the economy is a tool to serve the needs of society, not a tool to be used at society’s expense” (1996:179). Immigrants’ larger social, cultural, and political contributions are devalued. The low-wage economies of a globalized world are not even necessarily concerned with realizing the full economic potential of newcomers. Educated and skilled immigrants encounter all kinds of regulatory barriers to the exercise of their trades and professions and settle into mostly poorer paying service jobs. Although advocacy groups vigilantly monitor Canada’s humanitarian reception of refugees, these international victims of “push” forces are at very high risk in the globalized world. The emphasis in Bill C-31 on control and regulation of illegal immigration is evidence of this.

3.2 History of Immigration to Canada and Canadian Immigration Policy

Within the preceding context, Canada developed its own immigration policies since the nineteenth century. Economically, since Confederation in 1867, workers were needed to develop the agricultural, manufacturing and service industries of the emerging nation. From early on, Canada allowed:

*free immigration to a very short list of countries, mostly Britain and part of Europe. And, although that period was known for its ‘open’ immigration, most other countries were on the restricted list, meaning that immigrants from those countries would be categorized as undesirables.* (Who’s Listening?, 1997:18)

Southern Europeans were “undesirables” even though the country needed to settle the prairies and to increase its population. Tensions about immigration did arise among different interests. Anglo-Canadian nationalists lobbied for the maintenance of a homogeneous society based on British values and institutions (1998:14). Organized labour resisted immigration, as it was perceived as a business strategy to depress wages and undermine strikes. Both national and international interests and pressures made immigration policies a contested terrain for most of the major stakeholders in Canadian society. Chart 3.1 tracks Canadian immigration and immigration policy from this period through to the new millennium.

**Historical Chart 3.1**

**Canadian Immigration Policies:**

| The early years | Responsibility for promoting immigration to Canada was given to the Federal Minister of Agriculture. |
| 1867-1896       | - The first *Immigration Act* was enacted in Canada: *most significant feature: no such thing as deportation*  
|                | - About 15,000 Chinese were first admitted to Canada to work on the railroad.  
|                | - *Dominion Lands Act, 1872:* for a nominal fee, males over 21 years could purchase 160 acres of land. Women were excluded from making such purchases. |
1896-1914
- In 1892, the responsibilities for immigration were transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior. The Department of the Interior was responsible for the settlement of public lands.
- The development of the modern *Immigration Act*.
- Immigration legislation (1908) moves to restrict admission (exclusionary grounds included discriminatory “unsuited to the climate and requirements of Canada”) and towards removal of immigrants through deportation by introducing the concept “national security”; “continuous journey” stipulation enacted in 1908 to prevent immigration from India.
- In the first years of the new century, small streams of Chinese, Japanese and East Indians reached the West Coast.
- Chinese immigrants had to pay a head tax of $500 in 1903.
- Between 1896 and 1914, three million people immigrated to Canada, creating tremendous growth in agriculture, manufacturing and in the service industries.

1914-1929
- In 1917, control over immigration and settlement was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the newly established Department of Immigration and Colonization.
- Amendments of the *Immigration Act* include: widening grounds for deportation for reasons of “national security”; restrictions on Chinese immigration to Canada (only three Chinese entered Canada officially between 1924 and 1930).

1929-1945
- All Japanese Canadians evacuated from the West Coast and placed in special camps (13,000 were Canadian-born and had lived in Canada for 25 to 40 years)

1945-1967
- The principal legislative changes in the period were the passage of the *Canadian Citizenship Act, 1946*, establishing a single Canadian legal citizenship status regardless of place of birth, religion, heritage
- Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s 1947 speech that to come to Canada was a privilege not a right.
- Creation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950
- Enactment of a new *Immigration Act, 1952*.
- Many of the barriers to the immigration of non-whites were removed in 1962
- Labour shortage in early 1950s during economic boom especially in construction and agriculture brings heavy immigration from mainly Italy and Portugal.
1967-1998

- In 1967, the point system is introduced in Canadian immigration policy.
- Canadian immigration regulations group immigrants into three classes: independent, sponsored and nominated, placing emphasis on admitting skilled immigrants to Canada.
- Ethnic group advocates prevent restrictions on family re-unification suggested in a White Paper.
- Public pressure removes explicit racist ideology from the Canadian Immigration Act through the implementation of the point system.
- From the mid-1970s, economic growth in Canada fell off sharply, inflation and employment rose, and government deficits soared.
- *Green Paper* (1974) on immigration proposes emphasis on immigration for economic reasons and cutting back on family class – creates advocacy response from immigrant support groups.
- Formulation of federal Multiculturalism Policy in 1970s promotes pluralism and respect for multiple heritages in Canadian society.
- New *Canadian Immigration Act, 1976* made commitment to immigration for economic reasons but also reaffirmed family re-unification; introduced business class immigrant (entrepreneur and investor categories); more explicit commitment to accepting refugees on humanitarian grounds.
- Enormous increase in refugee admissions.
- Distribution of immigrants by country of origin changed dramatically, with Asian and Middle East immigrants making up about half of total immigration 1981 and 1991.
- Introduction of immigrant fees in 1995 ($500 application; $975 for permanent resident status) criticized by advocacy groups as a new “head tax” and barrier to many immigrants.

1999-2000

- *Bill C-31, The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2000* threatens to place special designations and obligations on permanent immigrant residents prior to acquiring citizenship as “foreign nationals”; also, however, would reinforce family re-unification status of immigration; tightens controls on illegal immigration and admission of refugees.

(Sources: Handbook, 1981; Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998; Troper, 2000; *Bill C-31, 2000*)
It is apparent from the preceding account that racism has been a major factor in Canada’s immigration policy. A “nativist” perspective characterized the English Canadian nationalist attitude toward Southern Europeans from the early days. Severe prejudice against immigrants of colour was evident early on as well and persisted through to adoption of the point system in the 1960s.

While the notion of “undesirables” or “suitability” of admission has disappeared from Canadian immigration policy, there is a concern that more subtle forms of “systemic racism” are deeply rooted in Canadian society and in its policies and institutions. The Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System defines systemic racism as follows:

*By systemic racism we mean the social production of racial inequalities in decisions about people and in the treatment they receive. Racial inequality is neither natural nor inherent in humanity. On the contrary, it is the result of a society’s arrangement of economic, cultural, and political life. It is produced by the combination of:
- social constructions of races as real, different and unequal (racialization);
- the norms, processes and service delivery of a social system (structure); and
- the actions and decisions of people who work for social systems (personnel).*

(Emphasis in the original) (1995:39)

An example of systemic racism in Canadian immigration policy would be the disconnect between using a point system that highly values immigrant skills and employability for admission and the regulatory barriers to certain trades and professions for newcomers frequently imposed by government-sanctioned self-regulatory professional and trade organizations.

Besides the issue of race, other immigrant sub-groups have also been and remain victims of discrimination in immigration policy:

- The majority of women immigrate under the category of “dependents” in the family class (Arat-Kroc, 1999:210). Being the financial responsibility of their husbands, they are ineligible for social assistance and language training subsidy (Bain, 2000:2-3). This dependency also makes women extremely vulnerable to spousal intimidation and abuse. Estable and Meyer (1989) note that “class of immigration” is a legal, social and institutional construction that directly affects the way an immigrant woman is integrated into Canadian economic and social life. “A woman’s class of immigration can carry long-term consequences affecting her economic survival, independence, chances for self-actualization, and even her safety in family and workplace” (1989:8).

- Amendment to immigration legislation in 1999 expanded the family class category to allow its application to lesbian and gay immigrants wishing to enter Canada. Same sex partners were included in the expansion along with grandparents and common law spouses. The terms for entry are, however, still discriminatory, imposing a ten-year sponsorship period for same sex partners and the other relatives. This creates the potential for the sponsoring partner to control the sponsored partner for a long time. As well, there are particular problems for gay and lesbian youth under 18 years with respect to their dependence on the family, in that there is higher risk of family breakdown and no special protection or support for their particular status (Bain, 2000:4-5).

- Disabled immigrants are at a disadvantage in the application of the point system for admission to Canada. Disabled people are at a disadvantage on the employability criteria. Further, their potential social and health costs are perceived as a concern. In the past, this has
presented problems for families wishing to re-unite disabled family members in the new homeland.

3.3 Immigration Histories of the Three Study Populations

The Chinese Community

The Chinese community has a long history in Canada. Around 1858, a small wave of Chinese migrants came to Canada from the West Coast of the United States. They came for the gold rush in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia. Due to legislative discrimination and prejudicial provisions, including an exclusion act and head-tax system, the majority of these male labourers were unable to reunite with their wives and families in Canada. Only the introduction of the point system in 1967, in which prospective immigrants were judged by their merits regardless of country of origins or racial backgrounds, began to change this situation.

The gender ratio in the Chinese-Canadian community was not balanced until 1991 (Li, 1998: 101). This imbalance created “a delay of second generation” (1998: 72). The 1996 Census shows that only 9% of the Chinese Canadians in Toronto are native-born. In other words, the Chinese community, which initially began arriving more than a century ago, remains primarily an immigrant community in which many are still struggling with settlement related issues.

There are two distinctive waves (as termed by Fernando Mata, 1988) of Chinese immigrants that have shaped the Chinese communities in Canada: the pre-World War II period and period from the late 1960s through to now.

Pre-WWII Period: A Sad Era of Discrimination and Exclusion

In 1761 M. De Guignes, a French sinologist, brought attention to the fact that Chinese might have visited America in the fifth century. Quoting from Liang Shu, de Guignes opened the possibility that Fusang, located about 30,000 li (miles) to the east of China was actually America.

Evolution of world history, especially its impact on China and her relations with the imperial powers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, set the stage for the emigration of Chinese to North America. Not only did the tales of the Gold Rush in the Fraser Valley attract the poverty-stricken Chinese, but at the same time, the colonizers were aware there was a need to replace the source of cheap labour lost by the abolition of the slave trade (Lee, 1984). The notorious system known as the Chinese “coolie trade” was initiated.

Early Chinese migrants were also heavily employed in many services sectors such as hand laundry, peddling and housekeeping. This early generation of Chinese migrants had contributed their share in building society but were never considered as an equal party in exploring the new land. Instead, they experienced humiliation and condemnation. As early as 1860 the House of Assembly of the Colony of British Columbia tried to pass discriminatory legislation against Chinese, setting the path for discriminatory government action against immigrating Chinese for the next one hundred years (Lee, 1984).

In 1885, Parliament imposed a $50 “head tax” on all Chinese immigrants coming to Canada. By 1903 it was increased to $500. Between 1885 and 1923, an estimated $23 million was collected
through the head tax. Until the application fees imposed by the federal government on all new
immigrants in 1995, Chinese were the only immigrants forced to pay a head tax.

In 1923, after a wave of anti-Chinese riots and legislation in western Canada, the Chinese
Immigration Act was passed, which virtually prohibited the entry of all Chinese into Canada. This
Act remained effective until it was repealed in 1947. Between 1923 and 1947, only about 50
Chinese were allowed to enter Canada. The majority of these male labourers who already arrived
were not able to reunite with their wives and re-establish their families in Canada.

Establishment of Universal Immigration Policy in 1967 to 1990s: An Increasingly Diverse
Community:

The establishment of a universal point system in 1967 initiated a second major wave of Chinese
immigration to Canada. Chinese immigration increased sharply from 77,750 in 1971 to 464,039
in 1991 (1998: 105). Furthermore, the demographic characteristics of the new Chinese
immigrants differed from the earlier wave. Many of them were skilled, highly educated, and
English-speaking urban dwellers. Since then, the gender ratio in the Chinese-Canadian

The most significant source of the second wave are people from Hong Kong. The trend is
sometimes called the Hong Kong tide. When China and the Britain announced in the early 1980s
that China would regain sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997, those who feared Communist China
and worried about the stability of Hong Kong migrated to other countries. Their favorite
destination was Canada, followed by the United States and Australia. Not only were many of
these immigrants from Hong Kong highly educated and skilled, but many were relatively well-off
and entered Canada as entrepreneurs or investors in the business class category. Between 1986-
96, 3,233 Taiwanese entrepreneurs and 13,149 Hong Kong entrepreneurs invested their
businesses in Canada (Li, 1998: 133).

More than 60,000 Indo-Chinese immigrants came to Canada between 1979-80 as a response to
the growing refugee population displaced from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. About 30% were
linguistically Chinese, and 20% were Cantonese speaking. This smaller wave of Indo-Chinese
immigrants added a new layer of diversity to the Chinese Canadian population.

The trend of Chinese immigration to Canada has shifted as from mainland Chinese have begun to
replace Chinese immigration from Hong Kong. In 1997, of the 173,700 new landed Chinese
immigrants, 19,685 came from mainland China (World Link, April 1999). Migrants from Taiwan
are also increasing. Thus, the Mandarin-speaking Chinese population is on the rise and Mandarin
will become the dominant Chinese dialect in Canada. The proportion of Mandarin-speaking
Chinese immigrants to Canada has increased annually from 40% in 1995 to 86% in 1999 (World
Link, 1999). A similar trend has occurred in the last five years in the Greater Toronto Area.

The Hispanic Community

The settlement process of the Hispanic community goes back to the 1950s and 1960s, particularly
influenced by immigrants coming from Spain and “Euro-Latinos” (those who had an ethno-
linguistic link to pre- and post-war European immigrants to North America) mostly from southern
Latin American countries. The Hispanic community began growing significantly from the late
1970s as immigration flows originating from South and Central American countries increased.
Economic immigrants started arriving from Andean countries (Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru), followed by those immigrating from what Mata called Chile’s “Coup Wave” (Mata, 1988:99), and other civil strife countries such as Peru, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador.

Spaniards in Canada

Immigrants from Spain made up the first Hispanic wave during pre- and post-World War II periods and into the 1960s (the “Iberian Wave”). In numerical terms, the Spaniard community has sustained similar numbers through time. The approximately 11,000 Spaniard immigrants living in Canada in 1971 represented 47% of the total Hispanic community at the time. Ten years later, the 12,840 immigrants that reported Spain as their place of origin in the Census of 1981, accounted for only 18% of the total Hispanic population. Since then, the Spaniard community is decreasing in numbers due to several factors including aging, permanent integration into the mainstream population by the second and third generations, and by a reverse migration to Spain during the 1980s and 1990s. As such, the 11,175 individuals reporting Spain as their place of origin in the Census of 1991 accounted for just 4% of the total Hispanic community in Canada. Most of these people are settled in Montreal followed by Toronto and, to a lesser extent, Vancouver.

Latin Americans in Canada

After the Iberian Wave, Mata describes five additional major migrations to Canada from Spanish-speaking countries. the “Euro-Latino” Wave (1950s-1960s); the Andean Wave (1970s); the Chilean Coup Wave (1972-1980); the Central American Wave (1980s – 1990s). In addition, Canadian immigration policy shifted focus at the end of 1990s in bringing highly skilled immigrants in what could be called as the current “Technological/Professional Wave” from Latin America.

Almost every report on the Hispanic community highlights the diversity and heterogeneity within this community in Canada. This is reflected not only in the socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds of its members but in the social origins of immigrants coming from the distinct labor migration and refugee movements of the 1970s and 1980s.

It seems that the relatively longer residence of South American immigrants has resulted in a social duality phenomenon within the community. South American immigrants tend to be more stable, and make more appropriate use of welfare and social services. In contrast, for most Central Americans the adaptation to Canadian society is a less developed process (Millones, et al: 1994).

Hispanic migration to Canada is very diversified and has been characterized as “a visible multi-representation of national origins, ethnicities and socio-occupational backgrounds” (Matta 1988). While the Spanish language creates a common bond for the Hispanic community each Hispanic immigrant nationality “has its own immigration patterns, which has been determined by the political as well as economical [sic] (and social) conditions of the country of origin. Therefore, the Spanish speaking community is a unity based on diversity.” (HDC-SOMOS, 1995).

The enactment of the Canadian multicultural policy in 1973 accommodated the notion of two major clusters of Hispanic immigration. Almost 30 years later, the dual differentiation appears to be incomplete, especially since the Hispanic population has grown by 18 times since 1971), reflecting a variety of migratory waves to Canada.
The South Asian Community

Discriminatory Canadian immigration policies have critically influenced the pattern of South Asian immigration to Canada. South Asian immigration and settlement are inextricably linked to the history and experience of other non-white immigrant groups such as the Chinese and Japanese. Furthermore, this history is set in the larger world politics of domination by First World powers and colonization of Third World countries and the darker races.

Globally enforced racial ideologies were evident right from the beginning of South Asian arrival. Early immigration policies were motivated by the conflicting impulses of Canada’s need for a cheap labour supply on the one hand, and on the other, racism against people of colour from the Third World and sexism against women from these countries (Das Gupta, 1994).

When the head tax reduced Chinese immigration to Canada, an alternate source of cheap labour was needed. This “pull” factor in Canadian immigration attracted Indian ex-army officials, who served the British Raj in various British colonies in the Far East such as Hong Kong and Singapore at the turn of the 20th century (Buchignani, Indra & Srivastava, 1985:9). By 1904, there were 45 South Asian male immigrants in Canada, mostly Sikh men from the Punjab.

According to Buchignani et al, the first set of South Asian men who arrived in Canada were relatively well-received due to the fact that racial hatred was targeted towards Chinese and Japanese at the time. However, the rise in the number and the visibility of South Asian immigrants soon led to increasing racism. The stipulation of “continuous journey” in 1908 was imposed specifically for people entering Canada. This effectively barred many South Asians from entering, as they had to break their journey in Hong Kong, which stranded many South Asians in Hong Kong.

Historically, the Komagata Maru incident is one of the reminders of the viciousness of Canadian racism against South Asians. In 1914, a Japanese liner, named Komagata Maru carrying 376 South Asians was not allowed to offload its passengers. After two months, the liner was forced by government order to leave and upon arrival in Calcutta, the passengers were met by armed British colonial police, resulting in 26 deaths and 35 injuries (1985:60). This incident linked South Asians in Canada with the British colonial “Hindoo problem” in the Indian subcontinent. Thus, colonial rule and Canada’s immigration policies became linked.

Exclusionary legislation prevented the re-unification of South Asian families resulting in the delay of the arrival of South Asian women and children until 1919. Strict terms and requirements actually meant that very few women and children came or were allowed to stay here. At the same time, men who were already here were often refused out-registration certificates, resulting in their inability to return to Canada once they left to bring over their families. Between 1920 and 1930, 144 adult women and 188 children entered Canada. Older children were not allowed in. Hence, early South Asian communities could be seen as “bachelor societies” even though many men were married with their wives and children still in British India (Das Gupta, 1994).

Therefore, similar to the “delayed second generation” syndrome identified by Li (1990) for the Chinese community, the South Asian community today, even though first arriving in Canada about a hundred years ago, retains strong transnational links and connections to their homelands. This factor is common to all South Asians despite their tremendous internal diversity in terms of ethnicity, language, country of origin, religious affiliations, socio-economic class and pattern of arrival. For example, it is true of both the Sikhs, the original settlers in 1903, and the Tamils, the second largest group, arriving in the last ten years.
Like the Chinese and Hispanic waves of immigration, the South Asians in Canada also come from different countries of origin, represent different ethnic backgrounds, arrived at different times in history and have migrated for a variety of different reasons. What makes the South Asian “community” unique is the variety of native languages and religious groups of which it is constituted. A broad conceptualization of the migratory trends, therefore, would identify:

(a) The original Sikh wave (speaking Punjabi and belonging to the Sikh faith) coming as economic migrants from rural background (1897-1960).

(b) The second wave was a multi-ethnic, multi-faith, multi-linguistic, economic migrant wave from both rural and urban professional backgrounds and coming from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Caribbean, Africa, etc. (1960-1990).

(c) The third phase can be termed the Tamil wave referring to the Sri Lankan Tamil community (coming with all levels of education, mostly as refugees fleeing the Sri Lankan civil war between 1991-96) and the independent class wave (professionals and skilled labour).

The South Asian population in Ontario has grown by 56% from 1991-1996 and by 65% in Toronto during that period. Although the Punjabi-speaking population constitutes the largest group of South Asians in Canada, Ontario and the 905 area of Toronto, Tamils are the largest group within the amalgamated City of Toronto.

Although the South Asian community cannot be seen as a cohesive monolithic entity, divisions within it do not necessarily mean that the community remains fragmented. In fact, it is discrimination in the Canadian society that has helped develop a “South Asian” consciousness. Racism creates contradictory stereotypes of South Asians as both visible and invisible at the same time (Henry, 1983). Wood (1983) argued that South Asians were politically ineffective in the process of making Bill C-24, 1976 Immigration Act, during which time there was a white backlash against Third World immigration as evident in letters to the editor, radio shows and public speeches of MPs. This coincided with violent harassment and racist discrimination of South Asians who bore the brunt of white backlash partly because of the “unfortunate timing that the bulk of East Indian immigration coincided with the onset of a recession” (1983: 12).

However, what is not realized is that “South Asian” consciousness is a Canadian phenomenon, in the process of development. Conditions in Canada have allowed, what were diverse communities, to come together and overcome differences and conflicts still existing in countries of origin. Racism against South Asians, which reached an unprecedented peak of overt expression in 1977-1978 called “Paki”-bashing, led to various groups of people from “South Asia” mobilizing themselves to protest against the violent discrimination (Buchignani et al, 1984; Ubale, 1977). In 1992, South Asian researchers were still talking about the prevalence of racism, albeit in a more subtle form such as forcing youth to the margins in the classroom (Ghosh & Kanungo, 1992). Ironically, even though South Asians have arrived here as different groups without a unified “South Asian” consciousness at different times in history, the commonality of legislative and societal discrimination and targeting has forged a sense of “community” that is peculiar and specific to their individual and collective experiences in Canada.
3.4 Canadian Settlement Policies, Programs and Funding

Under the *Immigration Act*, immigration policy is implemented through settlement programs. Canada has identified services and the delivery of such services to be its mandate to help newcomers achieve successful settlement (Beyene et al., 1996: 171). These settlement services include general orientation, language training, information and referral services, and employment training. Different federal government departments fund various settlement services. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) provides funding to settlement services through three major programs: Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC); and the HOST Program. Other voluntary organizations such as United Way and the Ontario Trillium Foundation also fund a great variety of community services that immigrants use and some settlement supports specifically for newcomers.

A number of agencies are involved in administering these programs: mainstream service agencies, multi-ethnic agencies, ethno-specific service agencies, federal, provincial and municipal departments and agencies (United Way of Greater Toronto, 1999:21). The fragmentation of service programming has effectively excluded reflective discussions around the principles, direction, the form and definition of “settlement” and the settlement process in Canada. In addition, public services and institutions such as schools, government offices, hospitals, child-welfare agencies and so on are supposed to serve all the people in Canada, including immigrants.

Since 1995, there have been major budget cuts at the federal and provincial levels. In Ontario, the Ontario Welcome House, which provided general settlement services, including translation and interpretation services, was eliminated in 1995. Also eliminated in 1995 were the provincial Multilingual Access to Social Assistance Program (MASAP) and the provincial Newcomer Language Orientation Classes (NLOC).

At the national level, the federal Multiculturalism Program/Canadian Heritage has been restructured into project grants, away from core funding to community settlement agencies. The major funding for language training is the federal Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) program. School boards are now accessing these funds since LINC is the only language training funding available to schools. Eligibility criteria make LINC programs inaccessible to refugee claimants and newcomers who have become Canadian citizens but may not have a strong English or French language facility.

Employment programs are going through similar upheavals. Most federal funding for employment training targeted to newcomers has been eliminated. The Ontario Ministry of Education and Training ended an apprenticeship program for racial minorities. The federal Labour Market Language Training program (LMLT), which offered specialized or advanced language skills to immigrants, also was terminated.

Richmond estimates that funding to immigrant settlement agencies peaked at about $70 million in 1994 (about 35% federal and 42% provincial, and the remainder United Ways, municipalities, foundations, etc.) (1996:4). Major provincial funding cuts to the broad community service sector began in 1995. A 1996 survey conducted by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto and The City of Toronto documented the consequences of drastic budget cuts to more than 400 community social support agencies in Toronto. The study concluded that the “people who have lost the most in terms of access to services over the last two years of cuts have been immigrants and refugees” (1997:46).
In addition to LINC, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) allocates federal funding for the Immigration and Settlement Program (ISAP) and the Host Program. These programs have been plagued by rigid and restrictive criteria and the practice of providing annually renewed contracts that lack adequate administrative and program costs. Often agencies end up subsidizing these programs. When these programs were first introduced, other funders, such as Canadian Heritage and the Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Program, provided core funding dollars to make up the shortfall. However, previous core funders have shifted to project funding mostly. As a result, it has become very difficult, especially for smaller agencies, to continue delivering these services.

New funding programs also show a shift from ethno-specific linguistic and culturally sensitive services to large generic institutions. This policy shift was confirmed with the infusion of an additional $35 million a year of federal funding for 1997-2000. A significant share of this funding went into The Settlement Education Partnership of Toronto Programs (SEPT) for school board-based service in partnership with community agencies. This program favours multicultural generic agencies providing services for a diverse base of language and cultural groups. Smaller ethno-specific agencies lack the administrative capacity to engage in or sustain such partnerships and that kind of support is not available to them through this program. Thus, this program neglects and undermines the language and cultural expertise of smaller ethno-racial agencies that have shown their particular strengths and capabilities in this area.

Part of the new federal allocation was allocated to one-time projects based on the adjudication of proposals. Again, smaller, ethno-specific agencies lack the administrative infrastructure to compete effectively for such projects. If successful, there is no provision in the funding for administrative costs except those related directly to the specific project. This kind of project-to-project operation keeps small agencies from engaging in long-term community development and capacity-building. When they have no project funding, their ability to continue except on the basis of volunteer leadership is jeopardized.

Another major concern with regard to both previous and new programs is the lack of pay equity across the mainstream institutional and community sectors for the same positions. For example, there is a difference of almost $5.00 per hour between school boards and community agencies for language teachers. In addition, most of the work in the community sector is contract work with no benefits. Since a majority of the workers in the community-based sector are women, this kind of funding perpetuates inequities that disadvantage women in the workforce.

Provincially, Settlement Services have also been restructured. The restructured Newcomer Settlement Program (NSP) had its funding reduced from $6.1 million in 1995-96 to $3.9 million in 1997-98. The Ontario Government has also eliminated the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, the Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Program (CNSSP), and Access to Professions and Trades grants, all of which offered important supports to the newcomer population.

In the Federal Integration Strategy of 1990, the following national principles were identified:

- The importance of newcomers learning in one of Canada’s two official languages
- The importance of newcomers making an economic and social contribution
- The importance of sharing the principles, traditions and values that are inherent in Canadian citizenship such as freedom, equality and participatory democracy
• The two-way aspect of integration, which requires newcomers to adapt, but also requires Canadians to welcome and absorb new people and cultures. (CIC: 1995:2)

It is difficult to understand how these principles for the successful integration of newcomers into Canadian society can be effected in the face of the program and funding cuts and restructuring noted above and also without a commitment by all levels of government to a planned, adequately resourced settlement strategy.

3.5 Documented Settlement Experience and Issues of the Study Populations

The ISPR project reviewed the literature on settlement related to the three study populations: Chinese, Hispanic, and South Asian. As well, the project research of the Multi-Cultural Coalition for Access to Family Services studied the literature related to the field of family service supports for newcomers. The full literature reviews are reported independently as part of the individual reports (Cabral, 2000; Garay, 2000; Ku, 2000; Leung, 2000). This section of the integrated report attempts to summarize the material from the four independent reports in terms of highlighting experience and identifying issues related to settlement from existing documentation.

The Chinese Community

According to the 1996 Census Chinese in Canada and also in Toronto tend to have higher education levels than non-Chinese. Still, their average income remains below the national average. In 1995, the average individual annual income for the Chinese in Toronto was $21,297, while the average was $28,980 for the rest of the population. This holds true across both sexes and all age categories. Furthermore, the Chinese in Toronto are under-represented in managerial positions. The reasons for such discrepancy might be due to systemic discrimination in the labour market. Basran and Zong (1998) study a group of foreign-trained Indo- and Chinese-Canadian professionals. These visible minority professional immigrants perceive that institutional barriers such as non-recognition or devaluation of credentials were major factors in the explanation of their occupational disadvantages.

Speaking one of Canada’s official languages, especially English in Toronto, is a major advantage for successful settlement. The 1996 Census indicates that 77.4% of the Chinese could speak English only, 5.9% of them could speak English and French, and 15.6% speak neither English nor French (Li, 1998: 109). Although a great majority of the Chinese are able to speak English, the data do not show how well they can manage this official language. It does not indicate the degree of facility with the language and whether lack of fluency presents any challenges or barriers to communication and understanding within the mainstream culture. What is clear, however, is that almost 16% of the Chinese do encounter some language barriers in Canadian society. This part of the Chinese population is more likely to be new to the country. Leung (unpublished) finds that some Chinese social workers in ethno-specific settings in Toronto report that the daily activities of some of their clients are confined to the Chinatown area because of language barriers.

Adaptation to a new living environment presents particular challenges to different parts of the immigrant community. The Kappel Ramji Consulting Group (1999) found some significant
gender differences within the Chinese immigrant community in the Greater Toronto Area. Conducting a study to assess community needs in York Region, Kappel Ramji report:

*For women in the Cantonese community, special emphasis was placed on the issue of conflict with children because of not understanding the pressures or expectations of the North American education system well enough to be supportive. As well, since many women are effectively sole support parents while their husbands are in Hong Kong/overseas working, they do not have many basic life skills that might typically be thought of as male responsibilities such as home and car maintenance. (1999:8)*

Leung’s study (unpublished) finds that some parents are not familiar with the school systems here. For example, Chinese immigrant parents in Montreal, searching for schools for their children, did not realize that there were two school boards (Protestant and Catholic). They were also unfamiliar with the CEGEP, which is another system exclusively for college education. The parents also expressed difficulty with understanding and accepting the teaching practices and the curriculum used in the schools.

These studies indicate some of the important issues that Chinese Canadians encounter in trying to adapt their lives to Canadian society. Those Chinese immigrants, whose social and cultural backgrounds are very different from those in Canada, and whose English proficiency is low, may experience difficulties when seeking educational, social and health services.

As Burnet and Palmer (1989) point out, ethnic associations or organizations are developed to provide services for their members in the communities. This phenomenon can be seen throughout the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Facing discrimination and prejudice, and exclusion from the external society in the nineteenth century, Chinese immigrants had no choice but to establish their own community organizations for aid and social services (Li, 1998: 77). Many of these voluntary organizations were clan and locality associations. In addition, religious organizations also played an important support role to early Chinese immigrants. At the turn of the century in Toronto, Chinese missionaries, and organizations such as the YMCA offered language classes, medical services, welfare service, and support in fighting discrimination (1989:132-133).

The introduction of the point system for immigration had a big impact on the Chinese community in Canada. The volume of the Chinese immigrants to Canada increased tremendously, and the demographic characteristics of the new Chinese immigrants have been very different from the previous waves. The more recent waves are more highly skilled and educated, and are more frequently English-speaking urban dwellers. New community-based and professionally-run organizations, which offer immigrant services and other health and social services, have begun to emerge to respond to the needs of this group (Thompson, 1989; Li, 1998: 115). In the Toronto area, there are more than thirty ethno-specific service agencies in the Chinese community (Leung, 2000: Appendix A). They serve Chinese Canadians and try to support Chinese newcomers, although not all are publicly funded to provide settlement services. These agencies offer a wide range of services in a culturally and linguistically sensitive fashion, including health, women’s health, mental health, family services, seniors support services, legal clinic, employment, recreation, settlement services, advocacy, and so on. In addition to these service agencies, Chinese Canadians can also seek services from other generic government institutions, settlement services (e.g. service agency members of the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, OCASI).
The South Asian Community

South Asian immigrants complain that job search services are inadequate or lacking (CASSA, 1998). Basran and Zong (1998) noted that there were barriers preventing overseas-educated Chinese and South Asian professionals from accessing their fields of expertise. The barriers have been debated as individual versus systemic. The authors argue that the distinction is irrelevant when racism is involved (1998:10).

Employment support to South Asian immigrants is so important that most South Asian service agencies provide employment services whether it is in their mandate or not. A CASSA research report notes:

*The high percentage of ethno-specific agencies offering employment-related services to their clients is a true reflection of the immigrant and refugee clients’ needs. Lacking familiarity with the job market; lacking Canadian job experience; facing problems in getting accreditation for non-Canadian qualifications; lacking familiarity with employment standards or employee unions; and discrimination in the labour market are some of the most potent barriers for immigrants and refugees that prevent them from integrating successfully into the mainstream of Canadian society. Hence, the availability of these services should be a matter of course for all agencies serving ethno-specific clients* (1994:88).

Several studies also indicate that fluency in English is seen as one important aspect in successful settlement (CASSA, 1994, 1998). Lack of English language facility is a definite barrier to getting service and to receiving linguistically appropriate support (Shakir, 1995). According to Kwan (1999), the key language issues for immigrants and refugees are:

(a) the impact of accent on social and economic opportunities in Canada;
(b) the acquisition of language specific to labour market usability; and
(c) a sufficient level of language acquisition for settlement and employment purposes (1999:33).

Reports show that South Asian parents are concerned about preserving their language in the family. Their children, however, frequently insist on speaking English in the home (Siddique, 1983). Youth may feel some pressure to learn the dominant culture and language here in order to become “integrated” and perceived as less different from the mainstream.

The issue of “integration” is a source of tension in the South Asian family. In their study of South Asian families from India, Kurian and Ghosh (1983) argue that parents change through pressures from their children, young or adult. They also feel that it is futile for parents to stress cultural maintenance because time is on their children’s side. On matters such as dating and marriage, children will eventually inter-marry and choose their own mates. They predict that the community will be moving towards the full acceptance of inter-ethnic marriages. This perspective assumes that it is only the immigrant community that must change with the least amount of disturbance to the mainstream community. The question of how parents and children must deal with dual cultures and racism becomes irrelevant because the best solution lies in assimilation.

Few studies document the prevalence of domestic violence in South Asian families, although there has been research done on the impact of wife assault on the immigrant family. According to one community report, protection from wife abuse is a high priority for some South Asian women (VAWPI, 1993).
Siddique (1983) argues that the length of stay in Canada as a factor of integration is accompanied by other factors in producing change in South Asian families. For example, the wife’s education, familiarity with the system and independence have as much to do with how decisions are shared in the family as the length of stay of the family in Canada in “westernizing” South Asian households. In fact, the wife’s economic and social independence plays an important role in how the family functions.

The problem with these studies on South Asian family is that the mainstream Canadian family is taken as the norm or perspective against which the South Asian family is evaluated. The immigration experience has “nuclearized” the South Asian family which relied on extensive family and informal networks to maintain spousal and other relations (Shakir, 1995). Instead of problematizing western paradigms and cultural underpinnings, South Asian families are seen as deviant when there is family breakdown, family violence, child abuse and elder abuse. Conflicts within South Asian families have thus been articulated as the result of the family’s inability to “integrate” into this society, rather than this society’s refusal to accommodate a variation in family norms. The South Asian family is not seen as a family in transition during which enforced changes reconfigure family relations and disempower the family members. Shakir (1995) refers to this as a form of “cultural imperialism”. In her study of wife abuse in the South Asian community, she argues that wife assault in the South Asian community is not simply a manifestation of male violence, but of the disempowerment and marginalization of South Asian community that is historical, and specific to the community in Canada.

Comprehensive studies on South Asian settlement needs are rare. One such study done by CASSA in 1994 identified a number of settlement service gaps including:
(a) inappropriate models of service delivery;
(b) need for access to services;
(c) need for access to information;
(d) language needs;
(e) cultural conflict including parent/child relationship counselling;
(f) need to disseminate information through youth forums;
(g) employment and career needs;
(h) liaison with school boards; and
(i) harassment and racism towards South Asians.

Among seniors, health, housing and elder abuse were most often mentioned issues. Social programming for seniors was also a high priority. Employment was a key issue for everyone who participated including seniors and women.

In terms of supporting successful settlement, community organizations have historically been important to South Asians in Canada. Prior to the introduction of multiculturalism policy in 1971, there were very few South Asian community-based organizations except those that were religion-based (Buchignani et al, 1984). According to Israel (1999), since the 1980’s, the growth of a critical mass of immigrants led to a proliferation of South Asian community organizations across Canada. The federal multiculturalism policy also encouraged the formation of organizations since the 1970s (1984:184).

Some organizations represent particular linguistic, religious, regional or homeland-national constituencies, while others represent a broad range of South Asian communities. Sikhs are the most well developed community as a result of the longer period of settlement and the larger number of members. South Asian Muslims constitute another relatively well-developed
community as a result of the Muslims from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh coming together to establish associations on the basis of a common religion (Israel, 1999).

In Canada, the newly established community associations take the place of extended families by helping new immigrants on several fronts such as finding jobs, arranging marriage, finding emotional support and sympathy, spending leisure hours and celebrating festivals. Israel comments: “In Canada, the ability or inability to re-establish such kinship links often determines the ease or difficulty in coping with the extraordinary changes that new immigrants encounter” (1999:1207).

Although socio-cultural and religious centres were growing, formal community social service organizations were slower to develop (1984). Researchers postulate that it was due to the "lack of a tradition of community service" (1984:192). South Asians, like many other ethnic communities however, relied on informal networks and community links to ease the sense of alienation and provide information and resources to each other. Furthermore, because of “delayed” family reunification, kinship among non-related individuals and families became a basis for mutual support.

South Asian service organizations are facing new challenges in the era of funding cutbacks and policy changes (CASSA, 1998). These challenges include having to prioritize financial accountability, scaling back wages and services, increasing reliance on volunteers and the need to look at alternative modes of survival. Making the organization more efficient and accountable is not a problematic issue in and of itself but it is the question of what “efficiency” means and to whom the organization is accountable that leads to difficulties.

Collaboration among immigrant service agencies is being encouraged by funders (Richmond, 1996). Smaller ethno-racial agencies, however, are at a power disadvantage in partnerships with bigger, mainstream organizations (1996: 10). Bigger organizations do not have to question their position in the larger funding scheme and get credit for their “inclusiveness” in partnership arrangements, while smaller, ethno-specific agencies, lack adequate or stable funding and are concerned about loss of autonomy and independence in partnership arrangements that they often feel compelled to enter (James, 1998).

A study conducted by the Zamana Foundation in 1997 indicated that very few South Asians in Greater Toronto used neighbourhood services available in health and nutrition, recreation, day care, employment and career counselling, self-defense, ESL, housing, fitness and so on. For example, only 9% of the seniors and only 7% of youths used these generic services. The South Asian Legal Clinic Initiative found that the need for an ethno-specific legal clinic for South Asians is great because the community does not access mainstream services and the lack of understanding of South Asian cultural issues is exacerbated in an environment where racism against South Asians is prevalent (SALCI, 1999). Woman abuse in particular is raised as an issue which mainstream service providers have no knowledge about, or if they have, they have very stereotypical understanding of South Asian women.

Shakir argues that ethno-specific services are appropriate services because they provide community-based, informal, ongoing support that are located within the ethnic immigrant community and are easily accessible geographically, linguistically and culturally (1995:50). This emphasis presents settlement services as not only helping individuals, but on rebuilding and maintaining community relations on the basis of which the community can work towards building its capacities. It is only within an institutional orientation where the underlying philosophy,
structures and practices prioritize the needs of ethno-racial groups and not only those of the mainstream that equitable services can be seen as accessible to all.

The Hispanic Community

In spite of having relatively high levels of education and skills, in addition to strong personal commitment, the Hispanic community is not performing well in Toronto and Canada. Youth unemployment rates of 30%, income differentials of 40%, and a high percentage (38%) of families with children living below the poverty level attest to the dismal socio-economic situation of this community (Ornstein, 1996). These problems are aggravated by structural social problems associated with discrimination and racism, lack of accreditation of professional skills, and unequal access to trades and professions.

Employment is a key explanatory variable for the socio-economic condition of the Hispanic community. In an early analysis of the 1981 Census, Beajout found that Hispanic workers ranked at the bottom of the scale of wage earners in Canada (Mata, 1988). In particular, men and women from Central and South America were the most disadvantaged group. They were less likely to be employed, worked less weeks, earned less, faced discriminatory employment practices, and were exposed to hazardous work and health-related environments. Analyzing the 1991 Census, Mata discovered that male workers were doing slightly better than female workers, but that Hispanic immigrants males were severely under-represented in senior management positions.

A need assessment conducted by the Hispanic Development Council (HDC) in 1994 generated similar conclusions (Millones, et al: 1994). Surveying 304 Hispanic immigrants in Toronto, the study found that most experienced unemployment at some point in the early years of settlement. Their unemployment rate was more than 36% and of those working 15% were under-employed (meaning working less than 12 months the previous year) (Millones, et al: 1994). Although the unemployment rate improved by 1996 for this population, at 18% it was still higher than the general unemployment rate of 10%. Unemployment and poor employment, of course, contributed to a higher proportion of Hispanic immigrants living on low incomes. The gap between the average income and the poverty line in 1991 was $8,000 (Millones, et al: 1994). The HDC need assessment discovered that the single factor of 'lack of a job' was associated with high levels of individual and family stress, especially for highly educated and skilled professionals who could not use their knowledge and expertise to support their families with decent and stable employment (HDC-SOMOS: 1995).

It is very significant that some Hispanic groups (mostly South Americans) have found niches in professional or managerial occupations, while others have established themselves in low-paying clerical, sales or manual jobs (Mata, 1999). Ornstein (1996) finds that Latin American laborers “have the lowest incomes and are more likely to live in poverty” and that there is a growing amount of polarization within the Latin American groupings. The worst circumstances correspond to those who reported Central American or Mexican origins compared to those reporting other Latin American origins.

The HDC survey showed that language proficiency is strongly associated with the type of occupation, being more important in clerical and professional activities. The motivation to engage in educational activities, in addition to ESL training, varies by type of occupation. For example, among the unemployed, 30.9% enrolled in ESL courses. Of those who work in manual occupations, 76.4% register in ESL courses. In addition, immigrants with less than three years in Canada and middle-aged individuals sought out ESL courses. In contrast, immigrants with
technical, university and postgraduate education preferred academic, clerical and commercial courses in 61.1% of the cases (Millones, et al:1994).

There is a lack of information about formally available services being used by Hispanic immigrants. Except for immigration problems, only about 50% of Hispanics with housing, family-related and learning needs know about services available for their problems (Millones, et al: 1994). In addition, the rate of utilization of known services fluctuated depending on the type of problem. In many cases solutions are managed outside the formal social service systems.

Not all people who are in need take direct action to solve their problems. There is a wide range of utilization of services in this area. On the one hand, of those who reported immigration and personal problems, about 83% sought solutions. On the other hand, 25% of those facing financial and personal problems do not face their needs (Millones, et al: 1994). Another study points out that 37% do not use referral services for their problems. Between 45-55% of all self-recognized stressful events or episodes (outside immigration needs) are managed outside the parameters of the formal social and health care system.

Psychological stress (depression, anxiety and social isolation) is one of the most common personal problems. Level of stress was significantly related to the ‘number’ of reported problems. Family and other personal problems were most strongly associated with the single event ‘lack of job’ within the Hispanic community.

Mata (1999) concludes that the following factors influence the success of the settlement process for Hispanic immigrants:
(a) push and pull migratory factors (forced migration/degree of welcome [unwelcome] reception in host country);
(b) differences in human capital endowments;
(c) type of legal status at entry;
(d) particular economic, social and political climates at entry;
(e) degree of settlement support in receiving communities; and
(f) “linguistic” capacity.

Multi-cultural Family Services

In Family Services for All (1991) (hereinafter called The Medeiros Report) the Multi-Cultural Coalition for Access to Family Services (MCAFS) defined family services as including:

(a) clinical counselling/therapy and support through individual, marital, family, and group work that supports and strengthens individuals, couples, and families;
(b) outreach and public education on family life and social issues; and
(b) research, consultation, and staff/volunteer training and development.

The Coalition adopted a slightly wider definition in its By-laws:

Family services encompasses a wide range of services which are rendered to an individual, a couple, or the entire family, in order to address problems that may often arise outside the context of the family but have a deep impact upon the functioning of the family and relationships among its members. Many of those problems are related causally to the process of immigration and integration into a new society, with attendant culture shock, loss of self-
esteem, unemployment and underemployment, financial and health related stress, and conflicts of values. (1988:1)

The Medeiros Report surveyed 16 established family service agencies and 12 ethno-cultural and racial community agencies, finding that 62% of the established family service agencies had no formal or informal policies or practices to address the issues of the ethno-cultural and racial communities in Metro Toronto. (1988:2-3). The research findings also indicated that there was a large discrepancy between the demographic reality of Metro Toronto and the level of service being provided. Established agencies did not have staff equipped to communicate effectively with non-English speaking clients. Only five of 132 ethno-specific agencies received limited funding to provide family services, and this money was primarily for wife assault programs. The majority of the agencies were forced to provide some family services without being funded to do so (1988:3).

Doyle and Visano (1987) report similar findings in terms of service accessibility from the same period. Based on a survey of staff and clients of mainstream and ethno-specific organizations, they found that the majority of service providers in all types of organizations believed that important service barriers existed, including:
(a) lack of knowledge of services available;
(b) lack of knowledge of English and French in minority communities (and lack of interpretation services in the mainstream organizations);
(c) the location of services remote from consumers;
(d) lack of culturally appropriate services; and
(e) administrative barriers such as waiting lists and English-only forms.

In terms of service needs, The Medeiros Report found that the most common presenting problems within the ethno-cultural and racial communities were wife abuse, marital conflict (including separation and divorce), and child and adolescent behaviour problems. Wife abuse was identified as one of the major family issues by all the agencies that identified community outreach and support networks as critical parts of their programs. Unemployment, underemployment, and lack of knowledge of English were key environmental factors linked to these family problems.

The Report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (Health and Welfare Canada, 1988) stresses the importance of family services to newcomer settlement. After reviewing more than 1000 publications and receiving submissions from individuals and groups across Canada, the Task Force concluded that:

(a) immigrants and refugees who settle in an area where their ethnic group has already established a significant community, experience lower levels of distress, and are much less likely to be hospitalized for mental disorder than those who do not have a like-ethnic community available to them (1988:17);

(b) the psychosocial support provided by an ethnic community is particularly crucial during the early phases of settlement; (1988:17).

(c) immigrants and refugees prefer to seek help for emotional problems from service agencies and organizations outside the formal mental health system but that the help available from immigrant service agencies and ethnic organizations is limited by funding restrictions and service mandate limitations; (1988:47)
(d) newcomers are more likely to use an organization which is physically accessible and an integral part of their community life, than to go to one whose services appear specific to mental health; (1988:48)

(e) one can never truly enter a culture without competence in the dominant language, and that the marginalization that ensues from a lack of knowledge of the language directly contributes to a great number of health and social problems.

(f) unemployment and underemployment create severe stress on newcomers and are related to the incidence of depression, alcoholism or emotional disorders as well as frequency of child abuse, wife battering and marriage breakdown.

The Task Force's finding that immigrants and refugees under-utilize formal mental health services was reinforced by Jeffrey Reitz (1995) who found that cultural barriers to the use of mental health care facilities have been extensively researched, and that virtually all findings point toward the conclusion that most cultural minorities encounter greater difficulties with standard mental health care services. Many cultures stigmatize mental disorders, and many cultural groups prefer to address such problems without dealing with cross-cultural differences at the same time.

Bain (2000) also points out that certain sub-groups of the immigrant population experience particular problems that are not adequately addressed by most existing services. She discusses issues of immigrant women and gay and lesbian immigrants (2000:4-6). Immigrant women frequently encounter a web of oppressive factors, from dependence on their spouses as family class immigrants to the burden of primary family care-giver, which is increasing as governments download previous public service responsibilities onto families and communities (Lee, 1999:105). Bain observes:

_Several ethno-specific agencies have developed gender specific approaches to working with women who are victims of violence. Some of these agencies are not funded for providing services other than settlement. Women in ethno-specific agencies doing more than settlement work without funding for this work is [sic] contributing hours above and beyond what they are paid for. (2000:5)_

In summary, with respect to family service supports for newcomer populations, the literature indicates that:

(a) family and mental health services are, and should be regarded as, an integral part of settlement services;
(b) all the services should be physically and linguistically accessible and should be rendered in a culturally appropriate and sensitive manner;
(c) the extremely important role played by ethno-specific service organizations in settlement and social service delivery should be acknowledged and enhanced through appropriate funding support;
(d) in culturally sensitive areas such as those of wife assault, marital breakdown and inter-generational conflict, alternative models of counselling and service delivery should be considered;
(e) family services that are gender-specific and responsive to the needs of gay and lesbian newcomers and their families should also be recognized as legitimate settlement services; and
(f) major factors causing family friction and mental stress for immigrants and refugees include lack of knowledge of the English language, conflicting values and norms with the dominant culture, unemployment and underemployment.
3.6 The Meaning of Settlement and Indicators of Successful Settlement

In its document Consultations on Settlement Renewal, CIC defines settlement in the following way:

*Settlement means the process by which a newcomer, during his or her first few years in Canada, acquires basic information, knowledge and skills to become self-sufficient, e.g., find a home, find a job, communicate in one of Canada’s official languages, access health services, interact with schools, etc.* (CIC, 1995).

Neuwirth and Jones’ definition of settlement is very similar to the CIC definition. They refer to settlement as the initial transition period of linguistic, economic, occupational, social-institutional and cultural adaptations, and physical and mental well-being (1989).

It is difficult, however, to define settlement in a categoric and rigid way. It is necessarily a multi-dimensional concept. An immigrant might be successfully “settled” in some domains but not in others. For example, an immigrant could have found a stable, affordable, and satisfactory place to live. The same person, however, may not be able to find a job or get admission to the field of his/he trade or profession, and therefore, not be “settled” in terms of economic security and personal development.

Given the complexity of settlement, many define settlement in terms of a process. Mwarigha (1998) identifies three main stages in the settlement process: an immediate stage, intermediate stage, and long-term stage. Unlike the definitions of CIC and Neuwirth, Mwarigha’s suggested time-frame in the process of settlement definitely goes beyond a short initial period. He contends:

- *In the immediate stage, newcomers require a range of services, such as: shelter, food, clothing, information and orientation, and other essential ‘reception’ or early settlement services.*
- *In the intermediate stage immigrants learn more about how to access and enroll in a number of Canadian systems, starting with language (ESL) classes, upgrading training and education, health, housing and legal systems.*
- *The long term stage involves diverse and much more differentiated elements that facilitate the long term participation of individual immigrants in Canadian society.* (1998:93).

The Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), which represents more than 130 immigrant services agencies, also defines settlement in more flexible process terms:

*Settlement is a process or a continuum of activities that a new immigrant/refugee goes through upon arrival in a new country. This process includes the following stages:*

- *Adjustment: acclimatizing and getting used to the new culture, language, people and environment or coping with the situation*
- *Adaptation: learning and managing the situation without a great deal of help*
- *Integration: actively participating, getting involved and contributing as citizen of the new country.* (Holder, 1999: II-1)

OCASI and others challenge perspectives on settlement that are limited to “immigrant adaptation” models. OCASI elaborates on its definition of settlement as:
[A] long-term, dynamic, two-way process through which, ideally immigrants would achieve full equality and freedom of participation in society, and society would gain access to the full human resource potential in its immigrant communities. (OCASI, 1998:9)

Shakir argues that “adaptation” approaches alone compel newcomers to make all the changes to achieve integration, which amounts to “assimilation” (1995). The Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) also characterizes immigrant integration and settlement as two-way, complex, and long-term and multi-dimensional in terms of the “social, economic, cultural and political spheres” of community life (1998:10-12).

In its Federal Integration Strategy, CIC acknowledged “the two-way aspect of integration” as a national principle for settlement, “which requires newcomers to adapt but also requires Canadians to welcome and absorb new people and cultures.” (1995:2). Yet, CIC provides no resource support to immigrant service agencies for community education or development that could effect this national principle through community programs.

Advocacy organizations for the newcomer community have also offered some thinking on the indicators of successful settlement that should guide policy-makers, funding programs, and support service development. Based on a United Nations international survey in 1996 and its own consultations across Canada in 1998, the CCR summarizes the following areas of support as critical to help newcomers become fully participating members of the community:

- Development of language skills
- Access to employment
- Cultural orientation
- Recognition of immigrant qualifications and experience
- Combating racism and discrimination
- Facilitation of family reunification
- Confidence of security of status as permanent resident (refers to immigration status)
- Ability to build community of identity/affiliation
- Welcoming communities to newcomers

(1998:15-16)

In June 1999, OCASI and COSTI, a major immigrant service agency in Toronto, proposed a set of service standards for settlement supports, which included:

- accessibility and equitability of services to newcomer individuals and families;
- accountability for accessible and quality service provision to the client and the community;
- “client-centred” service recognizing that circumstances and pace of adjustment vary by individuals;
- cost-effective and efficient service delivery;
- empowerment of clients to make choices and exercise their civic and legal rights; and
- holistic approaches recognizing that human need encompasses physical, psychological, social, economic, recreational, political, cultural, spiritual and other dimensions of life.

(1999:IV-3)

These proposed standards are consistent with and build on OCASI’s position on the national principles of the Federal Integration Strategy (1995). Following a series of consultations with its membership, OCASI concluded that the settlement support system should incorporate the following principles:
Service Eligibility Based on Need: Settlement services should be accessible, based on need as defined by the individual as an outcome of a need assessment process, regardless of immigration status, citizenship, or length of stay in Canada. There should be equity in terms of service eligibility and accessibility across the province of Ontario.

Community-Based Service Delivery: Service-providing organizations should have expertise, skills and sensitivity in the field of settlement and integration. Not-for-profit community-based organizations with proven track records, and a significant mandate in delivering settlement/integration services should be given funding priority.

Settlement Funds for Settlement Purposes: Ensuring that settlement funds are used for settlement purposes. Services which are mandated by provincial or municipal government (health, elementary and secondary education, policing) should not be funded as settlement and integration services.

Equitable Participation of Immigrants and Refugees: The federal government must play a strong role in setting and maintaining standards and providing resources to eliminate systemic barriers to the participation of immigrants and refugees in Canada’s social, economic and political life.

Shared Federal and Provincial Responsibility: Immigrant settlement and language training have historically been responsibilities shared by the various levels of government. Both the federal and provincial governments have responsibilities to fund settlement services for immigrants and refugees. There should be mechanisms to facilitate coordination among different levels of government regarding funding for service provision and setting standards for accreditation.

The Rights of Immigrant and Refugee Clients: Strong support for the following principles: * providers of settlement and integration services must respect and protect fundamental rights of clients (e.g., confidentiality, legal, etc.) * services should be delivered in a manner that is culturally and linguistically appropriate and free from racism and other forms of discrimination.

(1996)

The implementation of such a comprehensive approach to settlement support suggests a planned systemic approach. Yet, as previously stated the settlement service area is highly fragmented and the community-based sector, especially smaller, ethno-specific agencies, has been severely affected by the funding cuts and restructuring of the last five or six years.

One major issue is clarity with respect to which agencies are legitimate immigrant serving agencies and, therefore, should be eligible for funding designated for settlement support. The British Columbia Government has provided some useful distinctions between settlement and mainstream services. Proposing its own model for Settlement Renewal, the B.C. Government states:

Settlement and Integration services are any specialized service required by immigrants or refugees to successfully settle and become fully participating members of Canadian society, and/or any service to enhance the capacity and ability of Canada to positively respond to and benefit from immigration; which service is not a regularly mandated and funded part of the “mainstream” public sector service system.

We understand public sector “mainstream” services to be services (e.g., social, health, employment, educational and recreational) designed for and provided to the general population through public, private and community organizations, institutions and centres. These are generally mandated and funded through regular government revenues.

This recognizes that governments have established a special funding category for settlement services, because these services are outside of, and more specialized than, those assumed covered under regular funding for mainstream services.

(1996)
Not all immigrants at all times use settlement services just because they are “immigrants”; they use them because these services, and the environments in which they are provided, are tailored to specific needs experienced as a result of migration and settlement. Generally, immigrants need and use mainstream services (for example health care, transition houses, or schooling) at the same time as they use settlement and integration services. Ideally, the two service systems exist side by side, mutually reinforcing each other through their particular specializations (for example medical care from the health system; counselling and orientation to Canada’s health system from settlement and integration agencies).

... In many cases, meeting a service need can be accomplished by partnership and cooperation between a mainstream service provider and a settlement and integration agency. There are a number of examples where these arrangements are working at lowered cost, and to the advantage of the clients. We strongly recommend that resources be allocated to promote these kinds of partnerships.” (1996:9-11)

At a time when unifying national standards and clarity on roles and responsibilities within the immigration and settlement “system” are most needed, devolution threatens even greater fragmentation. Municipalities such as the new City of Toronto level, which are the ground level reception centres for newcomers, are increasingly aware that they have stake in how resources are allocated for settlement supports. The Urban Forum on Immigration and Refugee Issues took place in Toronto in 1997. The resulting report, Who’s Listening? The Impact of Immigration and Refugee Settlement on Toronto, details how the federal government is ignoring the role of the Municipality of Toronto in settlement, adaptation and integration. It also reports on how the provincial government is implementing budget cuts and reducing government support in areas such as housing, education and health care, areas crucial to settlement. The lack of provincial government presence and leadership in immigration and refugee settlement in Toronto leaves a vacuum that ought to be a major concern. Toronto City Council is insisting on a voice at the table for major changes to immigration legislation and on allocation decisions with respect to settlement of newcomers in the City (CAO Report, June 1, 2000).
4.0 Focus Group Research, Findings, and Analysis

4.1 A Participatory, Inductive, and Dialogical Approach to Research and Analysis

*Participatory* in nature, the ISPR project's research process itself served to facilitate community capacity-building. The collaboration involved working with communities at various levels of organizational capacity. As a result, the more established organizations have shared their accumulated capacity in research, in leadership, and in administrative infrastructure. The smaller partners provided access to people in the field with invaluable knowledge and experience.

This research project interprets the current situation within the Hispanic, South Asian and Chinese communities in addition to the state of family service supports for immigrants and refugees. The ISPR research leads to a "first approximation" of the formulation of an integrated planning strategy in settlement.

This research is *inductive* in that the research team has constructed general conclusions based on its study of statistical information, secondary research and its own data gathered from smaller focus groups. This research created knowledge as it proceeded. The conceptual framework for revisioning the settlement support system is the result of the research process itself. It was not pre-defined at the project's outset.

The ISPR research process involved:

(a) preparing demographic and socio-economic profiles, including analysis of the trends and patterns, of the three study populations;
(b) reviewing the existing research and literature on immigration, settlement in general and previous research done on the three study populations; and
(c) organizing and conducting focus groups of service providers, service users, and non-users:
   • to establish community needs;
   • to review the structure of existing service delivery;
   • to gauge the existence, the appropriateness and the benefits of settlement services; and
   • to hear community suggestions for the future in the area of settlement.

The focus groups were the tools that allowed the researchers to get closer to the issues faced at the front line by settlement workers, clients, agencies and others involved in the process of the settlement and adaptation of newcomers. In essence, the focus groups capture the urgent ‘here and now’ that allowed the researchers to understand the current context and content of settlement in the selected study communities.

The focus groups exemplified a model of citizen participation in planning and policy development. The participants developed an insight into a research process that places them in the centre, one designed to empower them, not merely to siphon off valuable knowledge and experience. The researchers added to community development by synthesizing the contribution and needs of the community, by developing further research skills that will be shared within the community, and by providing an analytic framework that facilitated intensive study of the findings. Through its very process, this research amplified the voice of individuals and communities too often silenced in Canadian society.
Key points in the conduct of this research included "working sessions" in which the entire group became the sounding board for the researchers’ work. In this respect, these broad working sessions, which averaged one every second week, were highly productive, since they became an effective way for the consortium partners to exchange ideas and points of view and knowledge concerning the topic at hand. In addition the group was able to bring in experts from the broader community to strengthen its internal capacity to deal with more complex issues or technical requirements. A good example of this cooperation was the advanced seminar on statistical analysis, which helped the group to review many issues regarding Statistics Canada, census information, and data gathering.

Rich discussions on language and meaning in the Research Advisory Committees and by the ISPR Consortium Steering Committee were also part of the project’s evolution. This was particularly significant as the project struggled to reach agreement on the analysis of topics such as marginalization, equity, "unity in diversity", participation, an “immigrant-centred” system, etc. The research team constantly performed an exercise of deconstruction and construction of the reality of settlement for each of the participant communities in addition to the overall group analysis. Thus, it is from this dialogical perspective that emerges the final outlook of this paper in which, on one hand there are independent, stand-alone reports for each community, and on the other, complementing these, a central, integrated analysis.

4.2 Focus Group Methodology

The ISPR Steering Committee and team of researchers met on a regular schedule during September through November setting up and reviewing progress with the research process. After preliminary consideration of literature and the participating organizations’ experience in the field of settlement, the ISPR Steering Committee and research team devoted attention to the design of the focus group research in mid-October, 1999.

The research design discussions focused on definitions of settlement, indicators of successful settlement, and resource supports to facilitate these conditions. The result was the selection of a set of variables for exploration with focus group participants. These variables were grouped into three main categories:

(a) Indicators of successful settlement:
- participation
- degrees of inclusion
- sense of belonging
- quality of life in terms of stability, security, opportunity
- recognition of one’s experience, capabilities, knowledge, history, etc.

(b) Levels of potential barriers to successful settlement:
- Structural/Systemic
- Service/Institutional/Practice
- Individual

(c) Critical factors in achieving successful settlement:
- Employment
- Language
- Social Supports (including personal and family supports)
The product of these discussions was a focus group research instrument that was structured around three central questions:

1) How would you know that you and your family have become a successful part of the community and Canadian society?

2) What keeps you and your family from becoming a successful part of the community and Canadian society?

3) What could help you and your family better deal with these problems/barriers?

The above set of questions was used with newcomers. The same approach was modified for use with settlement agency staff, who would not always have the direct immigrant experience themselves. Each question had a series of probes in order to elicit more details and explanations from the points of view of focus group participants. For example, for question #2, the facilitator probed for problems and barriers that might be related to: (a) societal structures/systems (e.g. examples of racism or discrimination); (b) services/institutional (e.g. inaccessible programs or service for reasons of language); (c) individual (e.g. self-confidence; family responsibilities). These kinds of probes were pursued over the three critical success factor areas of: Employment, Language, and Social Supports (e.g. family services). The focus group protocol with the probes is included as Appendix B.

Although originally planned for the October through December period, the time needed to complete other research, to arrive at consensus on a focus group research design and protocol and to organize the focus groups meant that they were actually conducted from late November, 1999 through January, 2000. Focus groups were facilitated in the preferred language of the participants or interpreters were provided to ensure participation. All focus group discussions were tape recorded and transcribed for study and analysis by the researchers.

In the three study populations and the one service field, the following focus groups were conducted:

(a) **South Asian Focus Groups**. A total of 15 service providers (13 women and 2 men) attended two focus groups. Nine focus groups were conducted with 66 South Asians (39 women and 27 men), ranging in age from 25 to 55 years. Eleven of the women and 12 of the men were citizens. Most of the men spoke English, while most of the women participated through interpreters. So as not inhibit participation, focus groups were organized by gender. The five male focus groups were made up of: seven Tamil, five Bengali, four Punjabi, seven Gujarati, five Pakistani and Tamil, all of whom were English-speaking. The four female focus groups were composed of: eight Tamil, 14 Punjabi/Urdu/Hindi, six Gujarati, and 11 Bengali women.

In addition to the focus groups, two Roundtables were conducted with front line workers, teachers, researchers, lawyers, and administrators in the community. Altogether twelve people participated. In the first roundtable, participants were asked for their input on how the research should be conducted. In the second roundtable, conducted after the research was completed, participants were asked to comment on and interpret the findings.
(b) **Chinese Focus Groups.** A total 25 people participated in the service-users focus groups. Sixteen of the participants were women and nine were men, ranging in age from 26 to 55 years with the majority (14) between 31 and 40 years. Fourteen participants came from Mainland China, and 11 came from Hong Kong. All of the participants claimed Chinese as their mother-tongue. Five indicated that their English language skills were “poor” or “very limited”. Most of the participants were highly educated, nine holding at least one university degree and 10 with some college education. Only five had no higher than high school education. Eight worked full time; four had part-time jobs. Six were actively looking for work, and six were not active in the labour market.

Representatives of nine agencies offering health, social, and settlement services participated in the service-provider focus groups. For some of these agencies, the great majority of their clients are Chinese. Several agencies serve clients from a very diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, although Chinese clients are also their targeted population (e.g. 15% to 20% of service recipients are Chinese). The participants included direct service workers and administrators.

(c) **Hispanic Focus Groups.** Eighteen Latin American people (eleven women and seven men) participated in the service user focus groups, representing ten of the 21 Latin American nationalities: Colombia (5), Mexico (3), Peru (2), Bolivia (2), Paraguay, Guatemala, Argentina, Salvador (1 each), plus an African Hispanic originally from Ghana (Africa). Eight of the participants were between 30 and 45 years old, and four were under 30. Five were over 45 years, including two female seniors. Over 70% of the participants reported annual incomes equal to or below $24,000 (20% would not indicate their income). Ten percent reported having no income. Occupationally the group included both professionals and labourers and a wide range of facility with the English language.

Two focus groups were organized for service providers, involving 18 social workers (eleven men and seven women) representing 15 service agencies. Six were Chilean, seven Salvadoran, three Peruvian, two Colombian, and one Guatemalan. All participants worked with agencies providing multiple services to Hispanic people. Four served the Hispanic community exclusively, and eleven served a number of ethnic groups. The participants’ agencies provided a wide range of community services from ESL to family services to vocational and employment programs. Several were involved in policy advocacy, housing, law and health promotion.

(d) **Multicultural Family Services Focus Groups.** The MCAFS organized two focus groups for the South Asian and the Spanish-speaking user communities and one focus group with representatives of ethno-specific provider organizations. It also conducted face-to-face interviews with key informants in three settlement and family service provider organizations in the South Asian, Spanish and Chinese-speaking communities. The individual user participants in both the South Asian and the Spanish-speaking communities were selected by front-line workers in the agencies that served those communities so as to be fairly representative of those two user communities at large.

The South Asian user focus group involved eight participants, both male and female. Their ages ranged from 25 to 55 years. Their educational level was from Grade 10 to post-secondary. Their countries of origin were India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. They were in Canada since February 1995.
The Spanish-speaking focus group had 15 participants, all female. Their countries of origin were Guatemala, Chile, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia, Argentina and Costa Rica. Some of the participants had been in Canada for as long as 18 years, others less than a year.

A focus group for ethno-specific provider organizations had 12 participants, representing nine different organizations. These organizations provided a variety of settlement and family services to immigrant communities.

For the Chinese community, no focus group was held but an interview was conducted with the executive director of a major service agency serving Chinese families.

A more detailed description of the focus groups in each area is available in the individual reports produced by CASSA, CCNC, HDC, and MCAFS.

4.3 Focus Group Findings

In terms of both major indicators of successful settlement and critical support factors to newcomers, focus group participants in all three study populations identified employment, language skills, and personal and family support as the most important areas. Other related issues of concern included areas such as stable, affordable housing, mental health supports, and child care. The following discussion of these areas will indicate that the particular manifestations of the immigrant's struggle to find good employment, to acquire competence and even fluency in the English language, and to establish a stable family life may vary by ethno-cultural group. This only presents the challenge of designing support systems that can address the major issues in a flexible and adaptive manner (i.e. one that is culturally sensitive and appropriate).

The three primary concerns of focus group participants -- employment, language skills, and personal/family support -- demand their own specific and nuanced analysis and understanding. But at the same time, these three areas are organically linked with each other within the context of a newcomer’s existence and her/his struggle to get the support needed to survive and thrive in a new homeland.

Further, each of these issues has a differential impact on historically disadvantaged groups: women, gays and lesbians, older people, children and youth, and people with disability. An overall anti-oppression analytic framework is useful for understanding, and forremedying, the marginalization and exclusion of these sub-groups of the newcomer population in relation to these three major issues. In general, barriers to services and participation experienced by immigrants and refugees are experienced more adversely by these disadvantaged groups.

An anti-oppression perspective is also important for another reason. Focus group participants' feelings about the role of racism in Canadian society cuts across these three main issue areas and other immigrant experiences as well. It will emerge in the discussion of each issue area, and even appear in some cases as an intra-community issue.

4.3.1 Employment

Difficulties securing stable, decent employment are seen by focus group participants in all three study populations as a major root problem faced by newcomers. This fact is particularly acute
because a high percentage of newcomers are experienced and highly educated (higher education
levels than the average Canadian-born).

Participants indicated that the issue of employment has the following dimensions to it:

- **Job security** provides not just economic stability but a social and psychological anchor as well. Employment, as a means for economic survival, is the overarching need across all other needs for all participating communities.

- The lack of consistency between the point system of immigration policy and the system of **accreditation and licensing** for foreign-trained professional and skilled workers is seen as a major contributing factor to the problem of unemployment/under employment. Furthermore, the current accreditation and licensing system is too much under the control of licensing bodies and tends to be unsympathetic to the job needs of newcomers.

- Requiring “**Canadian experience**” is a major systemic barrier to equitable access to the job market. Various apprenticeship programs are also self-defeating in that they require previous Canadian experience, which is not possible because there is no appropriate recognition for “foreign job experiences”. Many felt that this is just a way to avoid hiring "foreign" people or people of colour.

- The **lack of policy integration between job training/job search programs and job creation/labour adjustment** leads to frustration on the part of participants who complete job training when there is no market for the jobs they trained for.

Specific findings and conclusions from focus group participants organized by population follow.

- **The South Asian Community**

  Participants felt that their status or their spouse’s status, indeed their identity is tied to their ability to secure a permanent job that is close to what they had before they immigrated . . .

  Participants’ feeling of settlement here was dependent upon appropriate employment status because they looked at employment not just in terms of the income, job satisfaction was important to them too. (GW). Since they came here to improve their situation, they felt that they should at least be as satisfied with their job as they were in the country of origin. Without that sense of peace and “harmony” (EM) with their employment situation, they could not feel settled. (Ku, 2000:25)

- In the CASSA focus group discussions it was noted that men spent most of the time discussing employment issues, pointing to the lack of suitable employment as the core issue. Women’s discussion was more broad, including other issues such as child care and education for their children, indicating that South Asian women (in the focus groups at least) tend to be more home-based and family-centred and, therefore, less connected to the labour market.

- It is extremely humiliating and difficult for many South Asian men to take on jobs that are below their qualifications because it undermines their self-esteem and others’ opinion of them. Most of the participants claimed that all their problems would be solved if they or their spouses could find a job that utilizes one of their qualifications even **minimally**.
• The requirement of “Canadian experience” is cited as a major barrier symbolic of systemic discrimination in the job market. Participants reported that in many instances their qualifications are deemed insufficient because they are not from accredited Canadian educational institutions. Immigrants are also not able to enter positions in their fields because they are "over-qualified". On the other hand, they cannot enter the positions for which they are actually qualified because they don’t have “Canadian experience”. The outcome is a vicious cycle, leaving immigrants personally frustrated and economically disadvantaged.

• The focus group participants also felt that lack of employment contributes to the creation of family tensions. Some male participants even spoke of verbally abusing their spouses. One solution to the barriers to stable employment is to take a number of part-time jobs, usually relatively low-paying. Working many jobs, however, also has an impact on family life.

• The need to bridge strategies between job search/training and job creation was cited as a major requirement to meet the employment need of newcomers according to the South Asian focus group participants.

♦ The Chinese Community

"When you look for a job, they [the employers] require North American experience. It is impossible for us to have North American experience. Why does it have to be North American experience? Why not experience from other countries? They do not acknowledge the experience in China because China is still developing . . . .

"Another thing is that our [foreign] education qualifications are usually not recognized [by the labor market]. When we applied for immigration to Canada, our education qualifications and working experiences were all counted as an integral part of the assessment. Once we landed in Canada our education qualifications and working experiences were no longer applicable. Why should I come here then? If I stay in Hong Kong I have a much better prospect. It is a waste of human resources." (Leung, 2000:18)

• The Chinese focus group participants offered that independent immigrants experience a “sense of betrayal” due to the devaluation and non-recognition of their skills and professions.

• Participants pointed to the lack of compatibility between immigration policy (the point system to identify and admit people with marketable skills) and labour market practice (not recognizing Chinese experience, barriers to exercise of trade or profession) as systemic barrier to fair and full employment.

• To make full use of the human capital brought in by immigrants, respondents wanted to see the government taking a lead role in dismantling structural barriers faced by foreign-trained professionals. Immigration policies, which identify what skills the country needs and decide who are admitted to the country, must work in collaboration with province-wide assessment services and self-regulatory professional bodies, which are responsible for the assessment of foreign credentials.

• The Chinese participants felt that the lack of affordable child care presented a major barrier to employment, especially for Chinese women. High child care costs can drain the savings which newcomers bring to help them make the transition to a new country, since subsidized care is not available to people with any personal reserves.
• **The Hispanic Community**

"I have been unable to get stability due to my problems with Immigration. I have a Canadian son and worked for 6 years until I was deported in 1995 with no exit date, that have prevented me from working, having access to school and medical care. I am a single mother of two children. I lived on social assistance until it got suspended. Now, I am getting help from community centres." (Garay, 2000)

• Focus group participants indicated that professional accreditation is a "gray area" – professional and trade associations are gigantic barriers which are not directly accountable to the government.

• Getting a work permit can be a real problem. Some people take three to four years to get the proper documentation for a work permit or permanent resident status. This leads to some problems where parents are at risk of becoming separated from their Canadian-born children because they are refused work permits or permanent residency.

• The lack of appropriate prior learning assessment and accreditation process for foreign-learned skills leads to the devaluing and de-skilling of trained and professional immigrants, forcing them to take jobs below their qualifications and to compete with youth for low skilled and low paid jobs.

• Vocational counseling and the creation of schools at work and voluntary programs at community and agency level is cited as another critical unmet need.

**Multicultural Family Services**

Unemployment and underemployment are the most serious problems faced by immigrants from all the three minority communities. Lack of employment and the inability to secure meaningful employment, by which we mean employment that is compatible with the individual's personal level of education and experience and his or her expectations, have a deep impact on the life of immigrants, far beyond the immediate economic impact. The processes of initial settlement and integration become much more frustrating, painful and difficult than they need to be. Apart from the loss of self-esteem, the anxiety and the sense of hopelessness that lack of employment produces in the individual immigrant, there are consequences felt by the members of his or her family.

To a large extent, racism and discrimination at both the individual and systemic levels, are responsible for the denial of appropriate job opportunities to immigrants from minority communities. The insistence on Canadian job experience and the failure to recognize foreign educational and professional qualifications and experience are two examples of such racism and discrimination. (Cabral, 2000:19)

4.3.2 **Language Skills**

Language is the door to a culture. Deprived of language skills, one is denied access/entry to a society and its opportunities for participation, decision-making, and services. It has economic, social, and political ramifications as well. The need for language training is important for a whole range of needs from the most basic, survival needs (e.g., information) to the more sophisticated levels (e.g., citizenship, articulation of policy, or advocacy).
The disadvantages of language barriers are numerous. They hamper immigrants from fully participating in job markets and limit the accessibility to health care and social services.

- **Language training courses** have been drastically cut, with the abolition of the Labour Market Language Training Program and Newcomer Language Orientation Classes, with particularly adverse impact on women. Criteria for accessing language skills training are too narrowly defined: three years for ISAP and five years for LINC. The status of citizenship bars the newcomer from accessing these services.

- **Cultural preservation** is threatened when immigrants lose their heritage language. Newcomers face a dilemma: they need to learn a new language and function in a new culture; at the same time they need to maintain their own cultural heritage and identity. This tension – healthy in itself, but unhealthy when not properly acknowledged – often leads to the subordination of the newcomers’ culture. This dilemma is particularly acute in inter-generational relations, when the parent does not speak English or French and the children are slowly losing their competence in the native tongue.

- **Language services (translation and training) are a clear strength of immigrant settlement agencies.** They occupied a pre-eminent role, almost unchallenged by mainstream service organizations, but the new competitive system of LINC now threatens this position. Further, the termination of NLOC and LMLTP and the loss of core funding support has affected the immigrant service agencies’ organizational capacity to offer adequate language courses.

Specific findings and conclusions from the focus groups follow.

- **The South Asian Community**

  *There are differences in cultural use of words. For example, a “footpath” in India is known as “walkway” in this society; the former conjuring images of a unpaved village lane while the latter reflects the Canadian concrete walkways. (GW). “The line is engaged” is used more common [sic] here than “the line is busy”. These differences do not just mean difficulties in communication, they also become symbols in this society of the inferior English and culture of a South Asian newcomer. This, coupled with their fears around accents undermines the confidence of ESL speaker to attempt to speak.* (Ku, 2000:28)

- It was noticeable in the focus groups that most women required translation while most men spoke English well. Focus group participants noted that South Asian women feel at a disadvantage in learning English because they are frequently house-bound, with prime parenting responsibility. South Asian women are more likely to find English classes such as LINC to be important for them, which has the advantage of being conducted in local schools and having child care connected to it.

- South Asian people are extremely conscious of the stigma of heavily accented English. This can be a barrier to getting jobs and services.

- Participants reported that a mono-cultural perspective permeates ESL classes since many instructors use examples that are based on European cultures.
• Participants recognized that language is important for effective communication but, more significantly, it is a means for accessing Canadian culture. This has consequences in everyday encounters and accessing services.

The Hispanic Community

Language has been identified as one of the main barriers that prevent newcomers to . . . "obtain what we want to achieve as immigrants to Canada". In simple words, this statement means that language fluency is just more than "speaking" English. It is correlated with cultural transition between the individual’s background and the values of the new Canadian social setting. (Garay, 2000)

• Focus group participants considered the ability to speak English to be the backbone of a successful settlement process. Language skill is a critical tool for both communication and understanding culture.

• At the same time, newcomers need access to information and services in Spanish. This is essential to increase the confidence levels of the immigrant, and to facilitate improvements in his/her career or activities. Also, throughout the harsh process of settlement it is necessary to rescue and preserve Hispanic roots and culture and to promote, acknowledge and respect the different cultural identities within the Hispanic community. This will build the self-esteem that the community needs to be self-sufficient and successful. From then on, Hispanic people in Canada may attain an acceptable level of political representation in order to have their voices heard and needs acknowledged.

• There is a high sensitivity to the issue of "accented" English among Hispanic immigrants as a barrier to acceptance and equal participation in Canadian society.

The Chinese Community

"I have difficulty in helping my daughter. When she takes her report card, or circulars back that require me to sign up, I need help. It was lucky that I was accepted into ESL class soon after I applied for it. I studied for 2 years in classes offered by CICS. It is better now. At the beginning I felt uneasy because I relied on my friends to tell me what the school circulars were all about. I still have difficulty in communicating with teachers." (Leung, 2000:23)

• The question of language barriers among Chinese immigrants is both important, and complex. The experience of the participants in this study suggests that many Chinese-Canadians may have better skills in reading and writing than in conversational English. Lack of proficiency in English poses major barriers in finding employment, and accessing health and social services, and communicating with the teachers and administration of the schools attended by their children. For those with a basic level of English proficiency, their skills may be inadequate to deal with more critical situations such as medical diagnoses or encounters with the legal system. Those with a limited command of English, in particular many Chinese-Canadian seniors, face serious social isolation due to their inability to cope with such basic tasks as using public transport or answering the telephone. Lack of affordable and accessible translation and interpreting services further amplifies these problems.
Immigrants who are settled do not necessarily rely on public assistance or professional help. Informal help such as social networks, friends, and family members can be important. However, those who are still struggling to settle in our society can benefit if formal assistance can be offered. Both general public services and more settlement oriented services play a very vital role in helping newcomers to settle, and both types should be linguistically and culturally accessible to them.

Participants pointed to the particular issue within the Chinese community of two major dialects -- Mandarin and Cantonese. Cantonese-speaking Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong are becoming the dominant group, placing Mandarin-speakers from the mainland at a disadvantage within their own broader ethnic community. This duality presents a challenge for coming together on issues of common cause for Chinese immigrants.

**Multicultural Family Services**

In sensitive services such as family counselling, ethno-specific and culturally appropriate services provided by qualified workers who know and understand the language and culture of the service user are generally preferable to the more inflexible and often insensitive generic service providers. (Cabral, 2000:20)

Participants agreed that immigrant women especially are reluctant to talk about their family problems with strangers who do not speak their language or understand their culture.

Language and cultural barriers also create problems for parents to communicate with schools and to participate more actively in their children's learning.

4.3.3 Family Services and Personal Supports

Immigrants and refugees are at a severe disadvantage when it comes to reliance on informal family support because, as newcomers, they are highly dependent on the immediate or “nuclear family”, rather than a wider network of familial relationships (i.e. an “extended family”). Immediate family members, and the network of relatives and near-relatives can be a major source of help and support, providing an informal “safety net”, especially during times when newcomers are ineligible for some of the more basic services (e.g., health in the first 3 months from arrival). Yet, sponsorship regulations under existing immigration policies are firmly anchored in the nuclear family concept, thereby depriving many immigrants the chance for “family reunification”, which reduces the potential support mechanisms that access to an extended family network allows.

In spite of this clear disadvantage to successful settlement for newcomers, “Family services” are not currently recognized as legitimate “settlement services”. Settlement services, narrowly defined, treat the individual apart from her/his family-milieu, and services are fragmented in a way that individual, family, and community needs and resources are not assessed holistically. While funders contend that they provide funding (e.g., through ISAP) for “family services” under “family re-unification”, such services are aimed at individual needs (i.e., needs of individuals who are being re-united with their family). Programs that help the family, (e.g., family counseling), though not directly aimed at one single individual, ultimately help the individual. A more holistic, integrated approach that addresses these various levels and dimensions of family needs is required.
In addition, the following considerations are important with regard to personal and family supports to newcomers:

- Family reunion takes a very long time, and the process does not end at the moment of family re-unification.
- Unemployment or underemployment are closely linked to various personal difficulties (self-esteem, depression), conflict (particularly wife abuse), and forms of family breakdown.
- Certain family supports are especially important to the well-being and community participation of women (including opportunities for education and employment, e.g. affordable day care, women’s shelters).
- Many needs of specific groups, such as abused women and gays and lesbians are also not addressed by the current system.
- In the sensitive area of family service and personal support such as individual counseling, culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate services are clearly critically important.
- Language barriers and cultural-institutional differences also affect family life with respect to effective parent-teacher relations, which in turn can adversely affect parent-child relations (e.g. the emphasis on individualization in the school system can produce tensions with family values and threaten the loss of cultural heritage).
- The scope of family services, within the framework of settlement, needs to be examined in the light of how racism undermines and denies the immigrant family its cultural basis for a healthy self concept or definition.

Specific findings/conclusions from focus group participants in the three study populations and the field of multicultural family services follow.

♦ Multicultural Family Services

*Family service and settlement service issues are closely related. When the process of settlement for an immigrant is made difficult through a denial to him or her of access to employment and training opportunities or services, the frustration and the resentment that follow affect all members of that individual’s family. This frustration and resentment often lead to depression and other mental health problems and to family violence and breakdown. Established family roles become threatened. There is an accompanying clash of values and cultural devaluation. Low self-esteem is internalized, producing frequent crises in the family.* (Cabral, 2000:20)

- Participants were concerned that sponsorship for family re-unification is hard and expensive. Newcomers without their families present feel isolated, especially those who do not work.
- The most pressing issues for newcomers are family breakdown and inter-generational conflict. Abuse, particularly of women and children, is often a part of the family breakdown, and racism and cultural ignorance and insensitivity on the part of mainstream institutions including schools aggravate and compound the problem.
• Groups such as seniors, youth, women, gays and lesbians and people with disabilities need special attention because these groups require specifically designed services provided in a safe, racially and culturally sensitive environment, by well trained and knowledgeable service providers.

♦ The South Asian Community

There is a rise in family tension and marital discord. Some women talked about not being able to rely on their husbands to help out with the household chores and the frustration accompanying that. Others were frustrated by their husbands not earning an income. For those who do earn as much or even more than their partners, the marital tension is even greater due to men’s bruised egos. Women find that they are treading on a fine line where they become breadwinners and must try and soothe their husband’s ego at the same time that they are also trying to maintain the household (RT2).

(Ku, 2000: 35)

• Women take on much of the immigrant family’s responsibility because child care is often their sole responsibility. There is lack of affordable daycare and little access to subsidization (both in terms of eligibility criteria and dealing with the bureaucracy), which can impede women’s ability to take language training and to become socially and economically involved in the community outside the home. Immigrant women forced to work at mostly poorly-paying service jobs can have other family stresses requiring attention and support (e.g. family counseling).

• The changing family structure after immigration presents new areas of vulnerability for many South Asian newcomers. Women find that they are more independent and “brave” here since they manage affairs both at home and outside. They are now solely responsible for tending the children, visits to doctors, attending meetings at school and so on. They perform these roles without extended family support. They have to deal with people in a different language and in a totally different system. Others that have been forced to be home mothers since coming to Canada feel that they have been relegated to the role of babysitters and are shut out of job markets even if they wanted to work. Yet others find that their children treat them shabbily, pointing to incidents of elder abuse.

• Youth are really not recognized in settlement services. Yet, they often have serious problems adapting to the new culture as well. The public perception of ethnic-based violent youth activity (e.g. Tamil youth “gangs”) does not recognize that immigrant youth feel the need to band together for mutual support and identification in the absence of other supports for adapting safely and comfortably into a new environment.

♦ The Chinese Community

“Well, there are many practical difficulties involved here. Before coming to Canada, many people heard that Canada is a paradise for children. But when they got here, they found that to bring up a child is very expensive. They can’t afford expensive day care services. So they send their children back to China with tears in their eyes.
“It creates a lot of problems. The first three years of a baby’s life is the time for bonding between the child and the parents. But they are separated....

“...They have to take their children back to China in the care of their grandparents until they reach school age. Then they come back to Canada. They face language barrier. They can’t speak English, so they can’t communicate with their teachers. They also experience problems in socializing with their classmates.” (Leung, 2000:20-21)

• Participants indicated that informal help such as social networks, friends, and family members serve as an important safety net and source of help for Chinese newcomers.

• Lack of daycare service is a barrier for women, affecting not only employment opportunities, but also family well-being.

• Different norms in parenting style between the Chinese immigrants and the Canadian society have created concerns. Some Chinese parents apply corporal punishment when parenting. Some Chinese parents are still practicing corporal punishment at home. However, such practices are in conflict with the laws for youth protection in Canadian society, and many Chinese immigrant parents are not aware of this discrepancy. Tension is created when social workers or teachers intervene.

♦ The Hispanic Community

“In my case, not speaking English, the abandonment of my family and my profession led me to a deep depression during the first years. Then, I joined at a community women group, which allowed me to move forward.” (Garay, 2000)

• Focus group participants identified several adaptation issues that affect family harmony for newcomers. Women, for example, know what are their specific roles in their countries of origin. However, in Canada, women are also expected to work outside the home even though this may not be the custom in the culture of the country of origin. Many women have to continue to play the traditional role their husbands are accustomed to while, at the same time, having to fulfill the new roles demanded by the new social setting. Hispanic men also have to make changes in their attitudes towards women and their roles.

• Participants noted that for the Hispanic community, the traditional “macho image” of the male is challenged when the father or husband is jobless. While this in itself can be an opening for cultural transformation, it is nevertheless in the immediate context, a difficult and sometimes precarious situation for the family and would require culturally sensitive supports.

• Culturally sensitive counseling should lead to greater respect of parents by their children and generally stronger family ties. The educational system sometimes creates tension within the family due to conflict of values. Values that promote “independence” (i.e., leaving home) at say the age of 15 are dysfunctional when there are not enough support mechanisms to support young people when they leave home, thus exposing them to various social ills (e.g. unwanted pregnancy, petty crime, drug addiction).

4.4 Conclusions from Study of Focus Group Research

There were many additional settlement issues identified by focus group participants in all four research areas that are detailed in the individual reports. The experiences offered by immigrants and refugees who have struggled with settlement and service providers suggest directly and indirectly the kind of support required. The major systemic issues identified by the ISPR partners from a study of the focus group research follow.
The “one size fits all” settlement support model ignores the heterogeneity not only across broad newcomer communities but also the diversity within these communities. Beyond ethno-racial identity (such as language, country of origin, and religion), all three study populations exhibit a multidimensional diversity. Between and among them, there are different periods of migration, and corresponding variances in circumstances of migration. Within each study group immigrants come from a variety of nationalities and faiths and speak several different languages. Some communities/groups have been here for generations, others have only recently arrived. Each population group includes professionals and highly trained members as well as semi-skilled with less formal education. Immigrants and refugees span the full range of the economic/occupational spectrum, from minimum waged (garment workers) to very highly-paid (information technologists, managerial class, and business people). There are people with disability; there are those who came alone; there are those who came with the whole family; there are gays and lesbians; they are all ages seniors, prime working years, children and youth. Broad categoric identifications such as “South Asian”, “Chinese”, and “Hispanic” can mask these critical differences. Such a rich mosaic cannot be supported through one rigid, standardized system of service.

Services do not adequately acknowledge or respond to the heterogeneity among the various communities and within communities. There are different kinds of support and sensitivities required within immigrating populations from the same point of origin: Chinese from mainland China versus Hong Kong; Hispanic waves of immigration representing distinct political and social forces in the 1970s compared to the 1990s. These differences/distinctions of the newcomer population need to be matched with the corresponding programs and services that are sensitive and attuned to their needs. At present, the system lumps the needs of immigrants and services under generic and universal categories. A more flexible, adaptive settlement support system is suggested, one exhibiting equitable treatment as well as high quality, appropriately differentiated service supports.

Unequal power relations is the over-riding context that challenges true system change. The discourse on immigrant settlement – which touches on who gets into the country, and on what criteria; who gets what service, and on what basis; what services will be delivered, by whom, and how – revolves around the question of how “newcomers” are seen by the dominant groups of society. Where the dominant groups recognize the entitlement of newcomers, the latter can then have access to basic services, participate in nation-building, and become equal partners with the rest of society. Where the dominant groups are denied such entitlement, then the newcomers will have less than adequate, and less than accessible service and opportunities for participation.

The weaknesses and limitations of the current settlement service structure are not isolated, ahistorical realities. They are endemic to a society that historically evolved through unequal power relations. Policy and practice that define both the immigration and the settlement systems must deal with the elimination of racism and any discrimination based on language, religion, gender, sexuality, or other socio-cultural accoutrements. As well, power relations must be equalized with respect to more equitable allocation of the resources available in Canadian society.

The policy goals of the government are not integrated, indicating the lack of coherent vision of what settlement is supposed to achieve. Neither vertically (from one level of government to the other) nor horizontally across policy domains (i.e. between and among planning departments for settlement, immigration, job creation, labour adjustment, and human services) is there an integrating legislative or policy framework evident. Between government levels, the lacuna between the provincial and federal government translates into
gaps and inconsistencies, principally, between immigration selection criteria at the federal level and the accreditation policies and standards for foreign trained professional and skilled workers at the provincial level. The same disjuncture is happening between the training and adjustment and job creation policy areas, where training is unrelated to actual job market opportunities and, vice versa, job creation goals are not supported by adequate training and adjustment programs.

The government is fundamentally wedded to a “time-bound” definition of “settlement” as indicated by the artificial 5-year period during which the newcomer is supposed to be able to “settle and integrate”. Even the term “newcomer” can misguide thinking about settlement, since it reflects a short-term concept of the settlement process.

Some focus group participants talked of successful settlement in more organic terms, suggesting that the issue of “migration” requires the focus. The “migration” experience (including that of refugees) is one that fundamentally informs the lives and work of an individual and his/her family, and will not (and should not) be erased after a few years. The community groups and agencies in this research study advocate a concept of settlement that is more centred in the immigrant/refugee experience. Therefore, they recognize the bureaucratic inadequacy of imposing restrictive time limits on a successful settlement process and promote a definition of settlement services that is more immigrant-centred and need-based.

There is presently no “seamless service delivery system” that responds to the needs of people in an integrated way. Instead, service is compartmentalized and fragmented across different “delivery outlets”, and participants feel they are unnecessarily shuttled back and forth across the system with so many confusing and artificial program boundaries. CCNC’s conclusion after focus group discussions with service users and service providers is “that it is the fragmentation of the whole delivery system that has created a maze in which clients feel lost.” (Leung, 2000:27).

A prime example of this fragmentation is the area of family services, which now fall outside of settlement services, and also fall outside the definition of social services. For the immigrant settlement agencies, the issue is to what extent can it provide for the many differentiated needs of individuals, families, and communities. It is both a question of availability of resources and efficient use of resources, as well as a question of equity and adequacy. One option is to say that the immigrant settlement sector needs to be properly resourced to the extent that it delivers “all basic social services” needed by newcomers. Another option is to make generic service agencies more accessible. Both options by themselves present many structural and funding impediments. Somehow, the answer must be found in the roles of both being properly linked and organically complementing each other in a way that responds to the needs of immigrants and refugees.

The best test of the effectiveness of a system is how well it responds to immigrant needs and how well workers within the system can access what they need for their clients. One Chinese worker in a focus group was clear on what her requirements were:

“Clients come and ask me to help them with their problems in employment. I don’t have specific training in this field. I just can’t go to the library to look up books, to search the Internet for job market. I can only make referrals, for example, to an employment center. When we talk about settlement services, actually we talk about case management. I have to analyze my clients’ problems and give them support resources. I have to have plans or something. But sometimes, as a matter of fact, we are giving them piece meal service.”
This is my feeling about my work…. Also, we can’t offer counseling service, we need time to do that, to build trust between us. Coming and going and coming and going. There is no continuation. Theoretically, settlement service is very beautiful. Down to earth, we need more resources to back us up”. (Leung, 2000:30).

Based on its research, CASSA offers a picture of the model service system in terms of providing newcomers with personalized, effective support:

Such a counsellor would be one who would explain everything about life in Canada right down to the last detail. She would not take the newcomer’s knowledge of the modern conveniences and lifestyle in Canada for granted. (SP2). For example, when she gives a client instructions to get to the agency by TTC, she would begin from where the client is coming from rather than just saying where the agency is located and then tell the client to call the TTC for more information if the client so required. She would even explain to the client how to get off the bus by standing on the step or pushing the bar because for many newcomers, they have never sat on a bus, let alone a bus such as this. Such clients may not understand the instructions on the bus either. She would spell out the exact route that the client would take from point A to point B. She would talk to the client as though the client should know everything that she knows. She would explain that she shops at certain places because they are cheaper. She would explain where the nearest South Asian grocer is. She would also accompany someone who does not speak English to an appointment. She would advocate on behalf of her client who is getting billed by the hospitals for services within the first three months in Canada. She would problem solve with the clients. In short, she would befriend the newcomer, advise and in essence “care” for the newcomer.

Thus we see that the mandate of a settlement counsellor is at once so limited and yet can be expanded by caring workers to provide total care to newcomers. Examples of total care of new immigrants point to the idea that the best services are those that are personal, informal and comprehensive, in addition to being culturally-sensitive. (Ku, 2000:43)

The personal caring characteristics and professional competence and style of the individual counselor are important. The real question, however, is how the settlement system empowers individual workers to provide this level of support to newcomers and supports the workers as well.

- **Current trends in the devolution of services towards sub-national levels of government, the divestment of services from the public sector, and the contracting-out and commercialization of services, all are seriously affecting settlement supports.** The traditional model of a state funded and community – based delivery of settlement services had been undergoing radical changes, leading up to and exemplified by the Settlement Renewal Initiative (1996), whereby the federal government withdraws from its responsibility for the direct involvement in settlement services. At the provincial level, this fundamental policy shift has been signaled in the Ontario government’s Future Directions in Social Services (1996) which moved the social service delivery system from one that invests in a public sector to a market-based competitive service delivery model. The immigrants service sector was the hardest hit by provincial funding cuts in 1996-96 (Metro SPC et al., 1997).

- **There is a tendency in the current system to make an artificial dichotomy between those who “provide service” and those who are “clients”.** The respondent communities in the research advocate the concept of “service or program participants” who have the capacity to contribute even as they seek services. This concept is in fact being practiced already where “clients” serve as volunteers in the various aspects of a service agency’s work. Further, such an integrating concept does not make the artificial – and dysfunctional – distinction that a “client” is necessarily helpless in all aspects, or that
the “service provider” is in all cases more competent than the “client” in every area of life. The “program participant” concept therefore is more respectful of people’s capacities and one more conducive to the empowered state of citizenship than perpetual clienthood.

The CASSA focus group research characterized this notion in broader terms as providing support for “recreating community” among newcomers (Ku, 2000:37-38). The HDC focus group participants also discussed the importance of strengthening community for a sense of personal empowerment as well as a more effective advocacy voice (Garay, 2000). Ethno-specific agencies are important for community capacity-building as well as facilitating and providing information and essential services to newcomers. They are not, however, funded for this critical community development role. Even their existing minimal funding bases for services are eroding.

➢ **For the most part, community based immigrant settlement agencies are excluded from decision making and active participation in the governance process of the settlement support system.** They are not just “service providers”, passively and mechanically “delivering services” to an equally passive and dependent group of helpless people. They are, instead, active participants in decision making, from needs assessment, to program development to policy making. This role is not currently recognized in the present governance structure.

➢ **While there are real experiential differences between immigrants and refugees, the distinction in their support entitlements is artificial.** Refugees are denied services available to immigrants, regardless of the fact that they also are in a new land, less by choice than most immigrants, and require the means to support themselves and their families. If anything, the proposed new immigration legislation *Bill C-31* promises only to create further artificial distinctions among the immigrant community by imposing special designation and legal obligations on the immigrant as a “foreign national”. Thus, the existing entitlements of legal immigrants are at risk of being diminished.
5.0 Development of Integrated Settlement Planning Strategies

5.1 The Existing “Non-System” of Settlement Supports . . .

After studying and discussing the research findings and analysis of the preceding sections of this report, the ISPR consortium partners conclude that existing supports for immigrants and refugees attempting to settle in Toronto are grossly inadequate. Before considering the implications of this conclusion for integrated settlement planning strategies, the consortium partners contrasted the current immigrant settlement support system with their own vision of an alternative.

The existing settlement support system . . .

♦ is a static, bureaucratic, fragmented NON-SYSTEM.

Figure 5.1 portrays the range of supports that immigrants need to meet their expectations in choosing to come to Toronto and Canada. Their requirements include not only housing, employment, and income supports fundamental to social and economic stability, but also an accepting, even welcoming environment and the opportunity to become active, contributing community members socially and culturally as well as economically. Further, successful settlement must be sustained with safeguards and anti-discriminatory supports beyond the landing and initial settlement period.

The reality, however, for far too many newcomers is instability, frustration, and despair because of the lack of such comprehensive, adaptive, and sustaining supports. There is a disjuncture between federal immigration policy that recruits and attracts immigrants with the promise of an improved quality of life, and the mobilization of the system resources to fulfill that promise.

The structure and organization of immigrant settlement supports are highly bureaucratized and remain relatively mono-cultural with a Euro-centric bias, despite the fact that the flow and composition of immigration in terms of geographic and racial-cultural origins have changed dramatically in the last twenty years. Although there are many players in the immigrant support field (governmental, institutional, community-based), there are major barriers to effective coordination or integration of effort ranging from varying mandates, to inequitable access to resources, to mistrust (especially of the smaller, ethno-specific and community-based groups towards the larger institutional and “mainstream” organizations).

The overall effect is to create a major disconnect between the supports available and the needs of the immigrant population. Without clearly mandated coordinating structures and processes, these components of the support system are “dis-articulated”. Although highly bureaucratized with multiple players, the immigrant settlement field is actually is “non-system”.

71
As Geronimo concludes in his report to the GTA Consortium on the Coordination of Settlement Services:

*Specifically, there is no framework that integrates various goals across the policy domains of population planning, immigration, settlement, labour market adjustment, job creation and training, and broader social services and development, such as health, housing, and welfare. In effect, there is no common definition or vision of what “settlement services” involves. Collaboration and coordination needs such a framework as the essential common ground.* (Geronimo, 2000, p.12)

**The existing settlement support system . . .**

. . . favours the needs of LARGER SERVICE SUPPLIERS.

The growth of immigration has created a growth in service demand, especially in major urban centres such as the Greater Toronto Area. Although some immigrants have the resources to purchase the supports they require, this remains primarily a publicly funded field. As such, it is subject to the current climate of tight fiscal control and to the political proclivity for “efficiency-driven” models. As Figure 5.1 illustrates, this heightens competition for resources, and increasingly community-based immigrant settlement agencies find themselves at a disadvantage in relation to larger institutional (health, education, social services). As well, the community sector is also encountering growing competition from commercial providers (Geronimo, 2000, pp. 5-6). As a result the immigrant support “system” has become defined primarily in terms of service supply with the immigrant/refugee as the “consumer-client”.

In the role of service recipient, the immigrant/refugee’s basic and full needs for successful settlement can be neglected. While service models might try to address aggressively several immigrant requirements related to labour market skill development and adaptation (e.g. education, language training), some critical areas of support, such as family services, are not recognized at all in settlement funding policy and programs.

In addition, service strategies alone cannot adequately meet certain basic settlement supports, such as:

(a) access to affordable and decent housing (there is a general affordable housing and homelessness urban crisis);

(b) securing stable, well-paying employment (there is a growing polarization of “good” and “bad” jobs and well-educated and skilled immigrants encounter regulatory barriers to the practice of their trades and professions); and

(c) income supports (all public income assistance programs have been severely cut in the last decade).

Also, current “service supply” thinking, which especially favours larger and more institutional providers, neglects strategies for developing acceptance of newcomers in the community or of supporting the active participation of immigrants in the full range of activities that make up community and civic life.
The existing settlement support system . . . lacks any MANDATED INTEGRATED OR COORDINATED PLANNING structures and processes. Essentially, the immigrant settlement support “non-system” is a marketplace with many competing service providers, some with greater competitive advantages than others. Since it is heavily reliant on public funding, it is also subject to top-down decision-making in policy development and resource allocation.

**FIGURE 5.1: Immigrant Settlement**

**Support Requirements for Successful Settlement:**
- Housing
- Employment
- Income
- Education/training
- Language/cultural supports
- Family & social supports
- Participation supports

**Successful Settlement Supported by:**
- Removing barriers to
- achievement of developmental
- potential & opportunity
- (e.g. racism, discrimination)
- Safeguards against crises
- that threaten stability
- Active participation in
- mainstream of community

**Pre-immigration**
- Both of
- Federal
- Government
- Immigration & Refugee Policy

**Landing and**
- **Governments:**
  - Federal
  - Provincial
  - Municipal
- **Institutions &**
  - Health
  - Education
  - Social
- **Community Sector:**
  - “Mainstream” agencies
  - Ethno-specific agencies
  - Family-Friendship Networks

**Post-settlement**
- of the support “system” disconnect it from a
- the immigrant experience in trying to settle
  - NO
  - Mandated & Resourced Supports after
  - successfully.

**Increasing Private Sector Entry**
Both also frustrate coordinated and integrated planning for the optimal use of resources and system capacities. The service market model promotes competition, not collaboration. The top-down policy development model is too far removed from implementation to become an effective planning or coordinating function.

There is a policy vacuum at the community level with respect to recognized and mandated planning and coordination of the immigrant settlement support system. Service development now occurs through funding decisions on a unilateral basis within limited permitted service categories. These conditions favour larger providers and disadvantage smaller, ethno-specific groups, which have particular expertise and culturally sensitive and appropriate modes of supporting their constituencies.

5.2 Re-Visioning an Integrated Settlement Support System

Figure 5.2 portrays an alternative vision of the settlement support system. The vision arises from the fulfillment of the immigrant/refugee expectations in coming to Toronto and Canada in terms of achieving social, economic, and cultural well-being, free of discrimination and of barriers to becoming an active participant and contributor to the community and society.

This alternative vision would create a settlement support system that . . .:

♦ . . . is IMMIGRANT-CENTRED, placing emphasis on the general and particular support requirements of immigrants/refugees.

It is imperative that the immigrant support system be grounded in respect for newcomers as contributing members of society and future citizens worthy of social investment and empowerment. Therefore, the primary system focus must be on the needs of immigrant individuals and families, rather than on the needs of service suppliers. The obligation should be on the support system to become responsive and adaptive to immigrant support needs. A needs-based focus suggests policy frameworks and resource supports that are collaborative and cooperative in nature rather than competitive, so that the available resources are used optimally and adequately publicly funded.

♦ . . . is a truly DYNAMIC SYSTEM, holistic, community-based, and inter-connected.

Settlement supports should not be compartmentalized or reduced to a limited set of categoric services with strict time-lines for completion. A more comprehensive approach is required recognizing the immigrant as a whole person with a variety of social, economic and cultural assets and deficits, the former to be activated, the latter to be reduced, for successful settlement into the new homeland.

A truly systemic approach to immigrant settlement offers more than a “marketplace” of services. Rather, the immigrant settlement system that the ISPR partners envisage would reflect:

(a) the new and dynamic nature of Canada’s current immigration flows and include provisions that eliminate and prevent racism in policy, program delivery, and service practice;
(b) an inter-connected web of mutually supportive and reinforcing relationships among institutions, service agencies, and groups focused on immigrant needs, rather than competition and conflict; and
(c) a community-based perspective with the equitable participation of all stakeholding groups.
Planning and coordination functions in an effective immigrant settlement support system must:

(a) be mandated and resourced at a level closer to the community where people settle (i.e. district, city, or regional level);
(b) be inclusive in terms of stakeholder participation; and
(c) recognize the voices of advocacy groups as credible and legitimate in the planning and service development process.

In short, the ISPR consortium’s vision of a settlement support system goes beyond a narrow immediate focus on adaptation services delivered to immigrant clients for a limited period of time, to a more holistic community focused, capacity building approach. This vision contrasts sharply with the way that settlement support is now structured and operates. There is need for a process to reconcile these two visions of what supports it takes to ensure an empowering, positive and successful settlement experience.

Figure 5.2 offers another vision of an integrated settlement support system, placing the immigrant at the centre. Three fundamental principles underlie the planning, evaluation and delivery of supports to the immigrant and her/his family in this alternative vision: **equity, participation and coordination.**

♦ **Equity**

It is imperative that the immigrant support system be grounded in respect for newcomers as contributing members of society and future citizens worthy of social investment and empowerment. The system should ensure that immigrant individuals and families have access to existing resources to meet basic needs that include housing, health, education, food, employment and acculturation. Policies and practices must also be in place to eliminate systemic discrimination such as devaluation of foreign credentials and experience. Equity also means that the community-based settlement sector receives proper recognition and resources for its critical role in providing essential settlement supports to immigrants.

♦ **Participation**

Service providers often feel that settlement service policies are always imposed on them. They feel powerless to have any influence on policy making. The power and capacity of ethno-specific agencies and other community service agencies are very limited, although they have the best knowledge about the needs in their communities. Public institutions such as hospitals and government departments such as HRDC often lack culturally and linguistically appropriate services. Policy changes should involve input from service users and service providers. Service planning, development and reviews should be inclusive in terms of stakeholder participation and recognize the voices of community-based providers, advocacy groups, and immigrant communities themselves as credible and legitimate participants.

♦ **Coordination**

The system should strive to provide a comprehensive approach to meeting the settlement requirements of immigrants. There is currently no fixed community-based point of responsibility and accountability for the development and implementation of plans that result in successful settlement for individuals and families. The current mandate of settlement counselors is too limited. They cannot effect holistic settlement strategies (i.e. a program of
support that is personalized, empowering, comprehensive, in addition to being culturally-sensitive). Artificial barriers and compartmentalization of services created by restrictive funding criteria prevent this approach, and the individual ceases to be viewed as a whole person and as a part of a larger family unit. To date, there is very little coordination of services at both government and agency levels. Immigrants confront an incoherent settlement service “non-system” that is confusing and distressing to them.

As Figure 5.2 illustrates, the pre-requisites for effective coordination at the ground level are horizontal integration across the settlement domains (i.e. various sectors of economic, social and cultural support) and vertical integration of policy, planning and funding arrangements among the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government.

5.3 Mandated Roles, Responsibilities . . . and Recognition

The experience of immigrant member agencies of the consortium strongly suggests the need for a culturally appropriate system of delivery that includes ethno-specific agencies. Partnerships and co-operation amongst agencies are necessary and should be encouraged. Co-operation, however, should be based on mutual respect and the validation of each partner organization’s role and contribution. The existence of an organizational hierarchy acts against true partnership relationships. Currently in settlement support, the system hierarchy favours institutionally-based and larger, more established community service organizations that have developed a strong infrastructure and administrative capacity over many years. Even this part of the community service base has experienced erosion of its capacity as a result of funding cuts over the last decade. As well, commercial providers are now competing for scarce public funding resources in areas such as language training and education as governments have moved toward contracting-out for “greater efficiencies” and cost savings.

These directions in public funding and service models put smaller community-based and ethno-specific agencies at a disadvantage and, consequently, they are situated at the bottom end of the settlement system hierarchy. Most have emerged over the last thirty years as Toronto has become more culturally and racially diverse. Sensitive to the particular needs, rights and interests of their communities, these agencies provide social supports, information, training and education, and advocacy. They help their members connect to the larger community and society and combat marginalization and discrimination. Many of these organizations have not developed strong infrastructure and administrative capacity. Traditional sources of administrative and core funding support (e.g. municipal government grant programs and United Way allocations) have become less available, especially since the severe recession of the early 1990s. Senior levels of government have shifted to more categoric, purchase-of-service contracts with little, if any, provision for administrative supports and even less flexibility with respect to community capacity-building and development. Yet, the immigrant and refugee groups that these ethno-specific, community-based agencies struggle to support are more diverse linguistically, racially and culturally than ever before. The “one-size fits all” model of settlement support is probably less suitable now to the conditions and requirements of immigrants than it ever was.
Still, there is tremendous pressure on the ethno-specific community sector to sacrifice its autonomy and submit to service provision for their communities based on the “economies of scale and efficiencies” of large service providers, whether institutional or community-run. Public policy driven by market principles does favour competition and the eventual emergence of a single major provider (i.e. a service monopoly), or more likely, a limited set of larger providers (i.e. a service oligopoly). If the government as funder is considered the “consumer” by providers, this is the direction that market forces will take, regardless of how appropriate and effective are the services provided to immigrants.

If, however, the government assumes its proper public guardian role, rather than a market consumer role, it will use its policy-making responsibility, legislative and regulatory authority, and financial resources to create settlement support systems responsive and adaptive to the general and particular needs of newcomers. It will do so in order to maximize successful immigrant settlement and the contributions that newcomers will make to Canada and the community economically, socially, and culturally.

Governments at all levels acting in this way would recognize the full array of institutional and community resources that could be more optimally connected and mobilized to effect desired policy goals with respect to successful immigrant settlement. This approach would necessitate strategies of “system-building” in which “economies of scale” are activated appropriately for broad, public, universal needs (e.g. access to the public schooling and hospital services) and community-based models are enabled to provide a variety of culturally sensitive and appropriate settlement supports (e.g. counselling, employment and housing assistance, acculturation supports, etc.).

The challenge of facilitating the organization of all available resources into an effective system of settlement support would be to ensure that the smaller players in the field are treated equitably. This would mean that:

(a) adequate core funding would be made available to the ethno-specific, community-based sector to enable the development of ongoing, stable infrastructure and administrative capacity;
(b) the range of publicly funded settlement services would be more broadly and flexibly defined, including family service supports and recognition of community-capacity building initiatives; and
(c) structures and processes would be authorized and mandated at the community level for the coordinated planning and delivery of settlement supports and the delineation of the appropriate roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders according to their respective strengths and capacities.

Such an approach would truly demand the re-ordering of the current way that settlement services are developed and provided. In the current “non-system” based on the marketplace model planning occurs on an individual organization by organization basis rather than from a systems perspective.
**Equity Coordination Participation**

**Critical System Elements:**

- Publicly funded and community based
- Coordinated effort among service providers from various sectors, based on equitable relations
- Programmatic integration, that addresses differentiated needs and potentials of participating individuals and communities

**Horizontal integration:**
Integration of service domains: economic with social; settlement with social services; etc.

**Vertical Integration:**
Integrating various policy, planning, and funding roles from various levels and across sectors

**Figure 5.2**

B. Re-Visioning the Integrated Settlement Services System
Notably, the restructuring required from downloading and devolution is compelling the City of Toronto to think systemically about the link between Canada’s immigration policy and the settlement of newcomers in the City. Insisting on a place at the table in the determination of the level of senior government settlement support for the proposed new immigration policy (Bill C-31), a report to City Council in June, 2000 asserts:

Immigration has become an important factor in urban growth and development. Issues of immigration are not independent and separate from the social, economic, and planning issues facing large city regions: social cohesion, regional economic restructuring, governance and public finance, and regulation of land use and physical environment. The City will need to address immigration issues within a framework of broad-based urban physical, economic, and social development. Due to the significance of these issues and the roles of all orders of governments in immigration and refugee matters, it is critical to the interests of Toronto that the City is able to influence decision-making with the other orders of government.

The City of Toronto is committed to the principle that newcomers must have access to appropriate levels of support to participate in all aspects of civic and community life. Immigration brings social, cultural and economic benefits to the municipality. It increases Toronto’s social and ethno-racial diversity, making it one of the most diverse cities in the world. It enriches Toronto’s cultural life. It sustains a source of new and highly skilled human resources to Canada’s population. It stimulates urban renewal. It strengthens Toronto economically by enhancing the City’s position in the global economy and opening doors to new investments and new businesses.

In addition to the opportunities noted above, the effects of immigration on the municipality are also a challenge. One such challenge is that government, educational, social, health, cultural and economic institutions in the City have to adapt to the growing diversity in the population. The City has to have strategies to create a positive climate of welcome to newcomers and strengthen respect among residents for diversity. The City, the community-based sector as well as public institutions also have to respond to the health and social service needs of refugees and immigrants who experience difficulties especially during the initial period of settlement.” (emphasis in italics added)

The City’s recognition of the community-based sector is encouraging. The strength of this sector is the combination of diversity with a community-rootedness as captured in a statement issued by the Settlement Sector Strategy Group in 1999 that was endorsed by more than 70 community organizations:

The community-based settlement sector is uniquely diverse in itself -- being made up of:
- many smaller organizations serving recent newcomers and responding to newly emerging settlement needs;
- large, medium-size, and small agencies serving newcomers on a citywide basis; and
- neighbourhood-based multi-service agencies with long histories of service.

At the same time, agencies in the community-based settlement sector share a core set of strengths.
- They are accountable to their constituencies through community boards and memberships.
- They provide service and support on a not-for-profit basis.
- They fulfill a community mandate whether community is defined by a single or multiple constituency, by geographic area, by age or gender group, or by particular life conditions (e.g. disability). (1999:2)
An alliance of the City with the community-based settlement sector based on the equal participation of all members would form a powerful civic voice for planning and implementing a coherent system of settlement supports with adequate resource commitments from senior levels of government.

Clearly, the development and implementation of strategies for successful settlement will require assessment of the strengths and contributions of all stakeholders, definition of appropriate roles and responsibilities, mandating system level coordinating and integrating functions, and adequately resourcing the community resource base. Such strategies will not emerge from allowing the current unplanned “marketplace” model to prevail and proliferate.

5.4 Integrated Planning for a Coordinated Settlement Support Delivery System

There is very little input into the priority setting process of settlement services and no mechanism for ensuring consumer and local community accountability on how resources are used. For example, based on ISAP’s narrow definition of settlement services, there is a feeling that far too much money is being spent on basic low impact adaptation services to the neglect of more effective community capacity building supports. At this time, settlement policy is pretty much limited to categoric, time-limited funding programs administered unilaterally to service providers and favouring the established players in the field.

The basis for a more coherent, comprehensive approach to the formulation of settlement policy should be the needs of newcomers for successful settlement, as indicated in Figure 5.1. Creating a “seamless support system” will require planning and effecting inter-connectedness among the institutional and community resource base that exists, including that part of the community sector that is under-developed.

Given the high proportion of Canadian immigration settling in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Region, it is incomprehensible that no settlement planning framework is in place to accept this influx of people. A mandated fixed point of responsibility is required at the local level to address this system failure. In fact, the first mandate of such a planning and coordinating body would be to design a settlement support system that would optimize the strengths of the various stakeholders.

Clearly, the challenge would be to ensure that the smaller, ethno-specific community-based sector is not dominated by larger community and institutional players. One way to avoid this risk is to situate the community sector’s role in a critical and essential part of the settlement support process. For example, one key role for the ethno-specific sector may be the entry level to the system, since newcomers would most likely be attracted to and most comfortable with smaller community agencies with which they identify culturally, racially, and/or linguistically. Planned links between the immigration process and the local settlement process could ensure that newcomers have a culturally appropriate point of reference upon their arrival. This would necessitate, of course, that
ethno-specific agencies have the funded administrative infrastructure to meet the demand for providing this kind of support.

This approach to settlement service delivery requires that service providers have at their disposal all kinds of information and contacts such as housing and employment to meet both the immediate and long-term goals of clients. The integrated system would consist of a diverse infrastructure that addresses the initial needs of immigrants using community-based organizations and a central accessible computerized information system. Service strategies would use a variety of methods, including drop-in and buddy systems to bridge culture shock and provide supports to newcomers who may not be familiar with a service system saturated by technology and information. Service and referral partnerships would be developed between ethno-specific and mainstream agencies to provide more specialized and long term employment, housing and integration services as required.

Operationally, a more integrated system with a fixed point of local responsibility would create the conditions for more personalized planning processes for newcomers and their families. Case coordinators would have the resources and training to enable them to assess needs, determine resource requirements, identify assets and opportunities and, using this information, prepare a personal plan of support for the individual/family. Rather than referral from one agency to the next, each requiring new intake and separate case management functions, a mandated local authority could assign one case coordinator to guide an immigrant or family through the support system. Case coordinators would also be mandated to help newcomers establish networks of people (previous immigrants and other citizens) who could give them moral and emotional supports, and other workable solutions to their settlement needs.

The proposed local planning and coordinating body would be made up of representatives from all major stakeholders including service recipients and advocates, funders, municipal and provincial governments, institutional and community-based delivery agencies. It would define service priorities, recommend resource allocation, develop benchmarks and an overall monitoring and evaluation framework for the settlement support system.

The components of an integrated settlement support system currently exist, although some parts are under-developed. Appropriate roles and relationships could be determined with a concerted effort and commitment to optimizing the use of the existing resources as well as new investments. Given the scale of immigration to Toronto, there is clearly a shared interest in taking a more planned and systemic approach to settlement services and supports.
5.5 Recommendations

The ISPR consortium members conclude that the opening premise to a successful settlement support system for newcomers is the need to build a capacity to do integrated planning at the community level. This implies:

(a) the equitable allocation of adequate levels of funding to the community resource base;
(b) the establishment of mechanisms for community participation in planning and decision-making processes;
(c) community consultation on policy development related to immigrants and refugees and the provisions for supporting their successful settlement in Toronto and Canada; and
(d) public education and building awareness of the societal and institutional change required to accept and accommodate the social, economic, and cultural benefits that newcomers bring to their new land.

In this regard, the ISPR Consortium reaffirms the recommendations of the Settlement Sector Strategy Group in 1999 as follows:

[The community-based settlement sector agencies and groups endorsing this statement of concerns urge that settlement policy and a new funding framework:

1. clearly recognize the distinct role and function of the community-based settlement sector;
2. ensure that resources available to the community-based settlement sector are not re-allocated or re-directed to the public institutional or private sectors;
3. restore and enhance sustaining support to the core operational capacity of community agencies to serve their clientele;
4. establish structures and processes for policy development and program administration that are transparent and accountable to the community; and maintain a continuing federal role in the provision of support to the community-based settlement sector. (1999:4)

♦ In the area of Settlement Service Provision, Planning and Systems Integration and Coordination, the ISPR Consortium recommends:

1) That each immigrating individual and family have access to a personalized settlement planning process, which identifies all areas of support required for successful settlement over a reasonable period of time (e.g. housing, employment, income, language, training/education, acculturation, family, counselling, community participation, etc.).

2) That the design and implementation of a personalized settlement planning process involve of stakeholders including all parts of the community-based settlement sector and umbrella organizations for ethno-specific populations.

3) That agencies in the settlement sector be mandated and adequately resourced to meet the wide-ranging support needs of newcomer populations.

4) That a community-level planning and coordinating body be established representing all stakeholders with equal voice for the purpose of setting up and monitoring effective
coordinating linkages among providers for the fulfillment of individualized immigrant service plans.

5) That the community-level planning and coordination body establish human resource standards for all mandated settlement agencies, which include provisions for:
   • recruitment, training, professional development and ongoing support of settlement workers;
   • wage parity and job benefits across the system at levels in accordance with federal pay equity requirements; and
   • occupational health and safety.

6) That eligibility limits for initial adaptation services (e.g. ISAP, LINC, Host programs) no longer be artificially time-limited, but that the comprehensive range of settlement services available to newcomers cover longer term needs as required according to an individualized settlement plan arranged with each immigrating individual and family.

7) That settlement services be mandated explicitly to include support for community capacity-building, community development, and the participation of newcomers in community and civic life (e.g. volunteer training, education on civic processes).

8) That family services become explicitly recognized as an essential and legitimate settlement support service for newcomers.

♦ In the area of Funding Settlement Services, the ISPR Consortium recommends:

8) That funding provisions to the settlement sector give priority to the reduction of inequities with respect to ethno-specific, community-based agencies by making new allocations for administrative infrastructure (i.e. core funding).

9) That provision be made for the community-level settlement planning and coordinating body to have a contingency fund to deal with emergency situations (e.g. 1999 Kosovo refugee development).

10) That the current distribution of settlement dollars should be reviewed along the following lines:
    • front line services
    • geographic distribution national to local
    • projections based on forecasting
    • allocation for capacity enhancement of programs

♦ In the area of Immigration and Settlement Policy, the ISPR Consortium recommends:

11) That the Toronto City Council include the participation of the community sector in its formal request to the Federal Government for direct local level consultations on Bill C-31, The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.

12) That ISPR joins with Toronto City Council in urging the Federal Government “to maintain a strong emphasis on providing support for the settlement and integration of immigrants and
refugees and recognizing their contribution to Canadian society . . .” (Report of CAO, June 1, 2000).

13) That a more comprehensive national strategy be formulated, linking labour market participation and economic development to settlement support strategies.

14) That Toronto City Council be urged to advocate for the creation of a joint permanent center on immigration and settlement support dedicated to policy formation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and including representation from all three levels of government, community organizations, business, labour and other key stakeholders.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Preliminary Research:
- Data collection
- Retrieve studies

Research:
- Data collection
- Review Literature
- Resource Room

Conceptual Framework

Draft Population Profiles

1st ASSOCIUM Report

Synthesis

Design

Conduct

Document

Create Inventory of Service Supply

- Identify existing data by population
- Identify gaps (e.g. institutional? commercial?)
- Identify & explore secondary data sources

 Establish Individual Community

Create Meaningful Indicators and Benchmarks for Settlement Service Delivery

Create Inventory of Service Supply

Produce Integrated View of Needs of the Four Ethnic Communities & Immigrant/Refugee Families

ISP TIMELINE & PRODUCTS

July

Project Organization:
- Recruitment
- Hiring
- Orientation

APPENDIX A

Approved by ISP Steering Committee
October 26, 1999
APPENDIX  B

Integrated Settlement Planning Research Project

Focus Group Questions

1. How would you know that you and your family have become a successful part of the community, and Canadian Society?

   [ PROBES:
   - Participation as equals (in the social, economic, cultural and political spheres
   - Levels of Inclusion – Note similarities and differences around gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, age
   - Sense of Belonging in various communities: (a) issues of identity, (b) based on what kind of social support received, (c) when does one receive such support
   - Note indicators of Quality of Life such as stability, security, belonging, valued
   - Recognition of experience, knowledge, history, etc., that one embodies and is part of identity ]

2. What keeps you and your family from becoming a successful part of the community, and Canadian society?

   [PROBE for:
   - Structure/ Systems
   - Service/ institutional
   - Individual

   Especially in areas of:
   - Employment
   - Language
   - Social Supports (including Family Services)

--- What’s happening now?
--- What’s going to happen (if things remain the same)?  ]

3. What could help you and your family better deal with these problems/ barriers?

   [ PROBES:
   - What do you want?
   - Who could make it happen?
   - What will help groups to make it happen? How?

   Again, probe for
   - Structure/ systems
   - Service/ institutional
   - Individual ]
APPENDIX C

Integrated Settlement Planning Research Consortium

Steering Committee

Terms of Reference

The ISPR Steering Committee will be made up of two appointed members from each of the five organizational partners. The Steering Committee will:

- oversee the research workplan of the Project;
- assume responsibility for fulfilling the terms of the funding agreement with CIC;
- direct and guide the work of the Research Coordinator;
- approve the research design and methodology and workplan;
- monitor the implementation of the workplan;
- review and submit progress and final reports to CIC;
- ensure coordination of the Project’s work with the other CIC Projects;
- develop a communications strategy for the Project for networking with the wider community of interest;
- participate as requested in research groups and consultations and related community events;
- assume responsibility for resolving issues among project partners or the research team; and
- plan and give leadership to action arising from the research findings and recommendations.

Approved September 7, 1999