To our knowledge, no other study has systematically examined settlement service use according to the three main groupings noted in this article. More specifically, until now we have known nearly nothing about immigrants who do not access services, but still appear to need them. This article represents a starting point for future studies on those immigrants who are not finding their way to the many resources that exist for newcomers. There is much to learn about this group and both the nature of their need for services and the implications of not receiving services must be further explored. It is possible that immigrants who do not access services are successful in their integration process, but we would speculate that those who do not access services, but feel they do require them face many challenges as a result of structural barriers and a lack of awareness of support opportunities.

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NEIGHBOURLY ENVIRONMENTS OF THE CANADIAN AND FOREIGN-BORN[1]

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Using a pooled sample drawn from three Canadian General Social Surveys (GSS) of 2010, 2012 and 2013 consisting of 68,017 respondents, the present study examined differences in the reporting of neighbourly environments in the community of residence by Canadian-born and foreign-born individuals. Using an eight-fold exploratory typology, the study looked at how immigration related markers, socio-demographic and residential characteristics of survey respondents were associated with the reporting of neighbourly environments. The data revealed variations in the reporting of these environments by immigrant status and length of residence in Canada. Though positive type of environments were reported by both groups, net from other socio-demographic correlates, more negative environments and environments of lower contacts with neighbours were most frequently reported by the foreign-born, particularly recent immigrants residing in the larger metropolitan areas of the country. Immigrants of longer stay in the country still had limited contact with their neighbours. Targeted programs fostering neighbourly interactions could promote civic participation for groups living in less positive neighbourly environments in Canada.

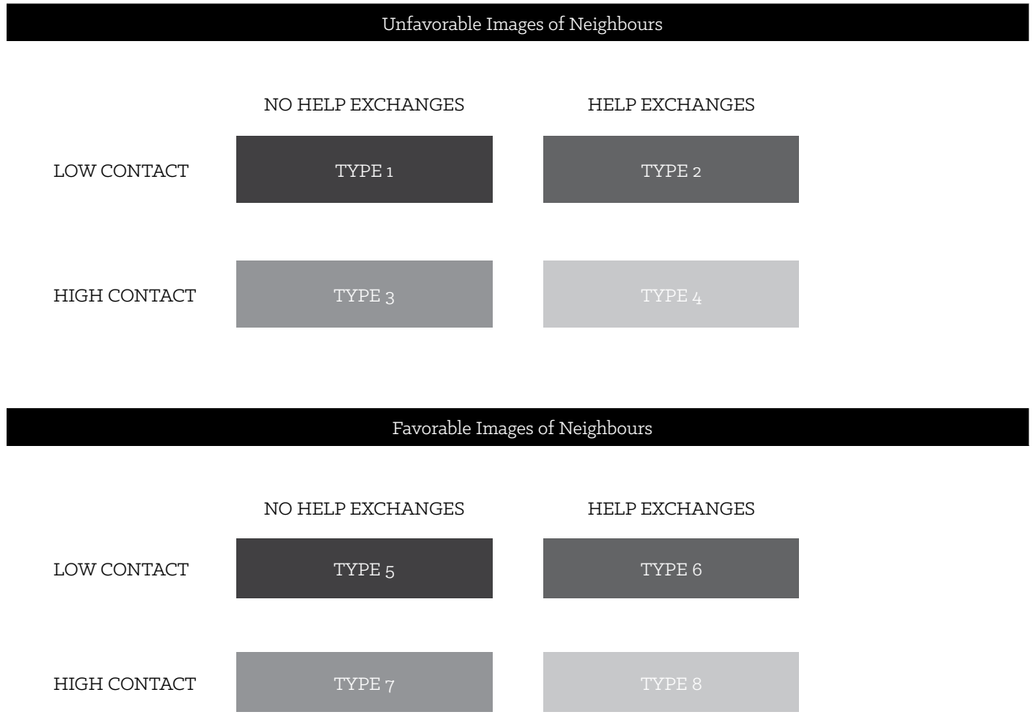
For both immigrants and Canadian-born, neighbours are important agents of civic integration to the local community. Good neighbours may enhance the individuals' sense of safety, security and health while potentially improve the access to goods and services (Unger and Wandersman,1985; Brown et. al. 2009; Gray, 2009). Neighbours may also provide monitoring or "watching" functions over the household, become valuable information providers and even help individuals to exercise political skills, improve language skills and better the quality of their living environment.

The concept of a neighbourly environment refers to the social context or climate of prevailing attitudes and interactions established with neighbours in the community of residence (Martinez.et.al, 1991). Individuals who appraise their neighbours positively and frequently interact with them are likely to achieve higher levels of civic integration, social cohesion and social capital than those who do not (Bourdieu, 1986; Bridge, 2002; Van Oorshot, et.al, 2006). Bonding with other community residents is established on the principles of mutual trust, reciprocity and solidarity (Worley, 2005). Conversely, individuals who live in more perceived "hostile" neighbourly environments are likely to disengage with neighbors and abstain from participation in any complex interpersonal exchanges (Korte,1988; Lancee and Dronkers, 2011; Wong, 2003; Stolle et al, 2008).

What are the major attitudinal and behavioural domains which have to be considered in a study of neighbourly environments? Firstly, the positive and/or negative images that individuals have of neighbours defines uniquely the way individuals relate with fellow community residents (Unger and Wanderman,1985). These images generate cognitions and emotions which are hard to quantify but are critical to developing a sense of cohesiveness among residents. Secondly, the level of social contact that individuals establish with their neighbours is another vital constituent of the neighbourly environment (Oliver and Wong, 2005). This contact includes the sharing of daily activities through formal and informal encounters, visits, socializing and casual friendships (Beatley and Manning, 1997). The third domain is the participation in exchanges of help with neighbours. These exchanges of help have often been studied under the guise of "informal" volunteering (Taniguchi, 2012; Thomas, 2012). Helping activities with neighbours may take different forms such as working at someone's home, providing health-related care, shopping, driving someone to a store or appointment and assisting neighbours in other ways (Statistics Canada 2009; CCSD, 2005).

If these three central neighbourly environment domains are measured empirically at a basic dichotomous level, eight environment types (2^3) may be anticipated (see chart 1). According to this typology, the most negative of all neighbourly environments should be type 1 where individuals have unfavourable images of neighbours, have lower social contacts with them and do not participate in any exchanges of help. In spite of unfavourable perceptions and lower contact levels, individuals residing in type 2 environments may still engage their neighbours in giving and receiving help. Residence in type 3 environments may be interesting to study because, despite a higher contact level with neighbours, individuals decide not to participate in any help exchanges with neighbours in contrast with type 4 where individuals would do so. The most positive of all neighbourhood environments should be type 8. Here, individuals appraise favourably their neighbours and interactions would take place in the context of frequent contact and participation in bi-directional help exchanges (give and receive). Environments types 5 and 6 represent neighbourly climates of low contact with neighbours only differing in terms of participation in help exchanges. In environment type 7, individuals withdraw from any exchanges of help in spite of favourable images of neighbours and a higher level of social contact with them.

FIGURE 1: TYPOLOGY OF NEIGHBOURLY ENVIRONMENTS



What types of neighbourly environments would be the most frequently reported by the Canadian-born, more established immigrants and recent immigrants? Has there been any changes in environmental reporting in recent years? What is the prevalence of reporting across sub-populations? The basic aim of the paper was to address these research questions and systematically examine the reporting of the eight neighbourly environments across Canadian-born and immigrants while examining potential associations between socio-demographic, residential characteristics of individuals and environmental type reporting. It was suspected that, regardless of the timing of surveys, there would be some over-representation of environmental reporting of types 7 and 8 among Canadian-born and established immigrants compared to recent immigrants. Given that recent immigrants have a shorter stay in the community and face greater challenges such as cultural and language barriers it was expected that residence in environment types 1 to 4 and perhaps type 5 or 6 would be the most frequently reported. It was expected also that socio-demographic and residential characteristics of individuals would impact the reporting rates of neighbourly environments but the precise direction of these appeared unclear.

DATA AND MEASURES

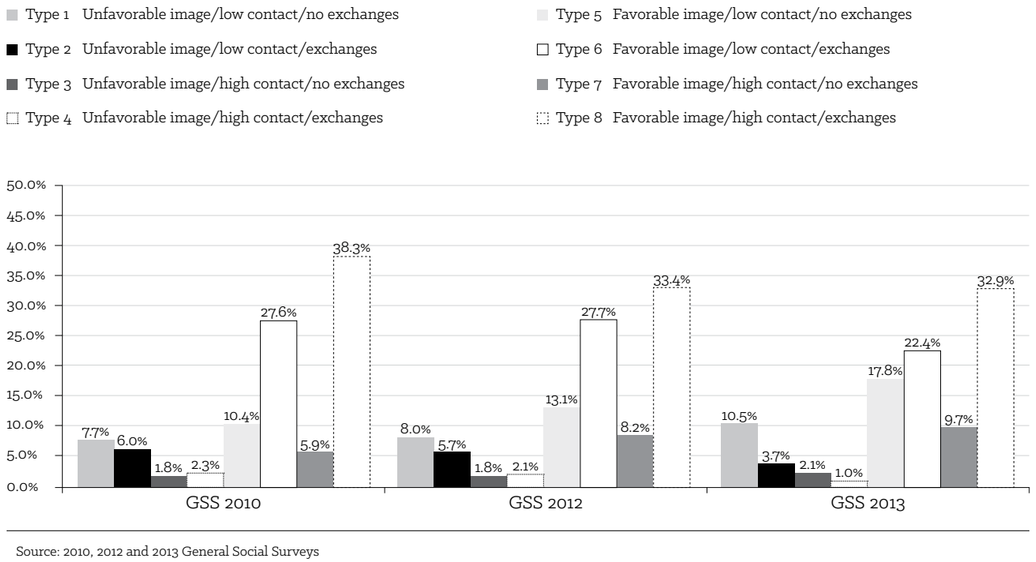
The data for this analysis is drawn from a pooled sample of the 2010, 2012 and 2013 General Social Surveys (public microdata files of GSS cycles 24, 26 and 27). Pooling respondents from the GSS surveys offered important analytical advantages for the study of neighbourly environments such as obtaining larger minority population counts and increasing confidence in population parameters. Merging the 2010, 2012 and 2013 datasets produced a pooled dataset containing 68,017 individuals representing a weighted average population of approximately 27.4 million adult Canadians.[2] The composition of the pooled GSS sample was as follows: Canadian-born (n=48,898,73%), foreign-born 20+ years residence (n=8,489,13%), foreign-born 10-19 years residence (n=4,127, 6%), foreign-born 5-9 years of residence (n=2,420, 4%) and foreign-born less than 5 years residence (n=1,295, 2%). The three domains of neighbourly environments were measured by the following GSS questions: *1)* Would you say this neighbourhood is a place where neighbours help each other? (coding:0=no,1=yes), *2)* Would you say that you know most, many, a few or none of the people in your neighbourhood? (coding; 0=knows no neighbours or a few neighbours, 1=knows many or most neighbours), *3)* In the past month, have you done a favour for a neighbour? done a favour for you? (coding: 0=no, 1=yes). Answers to these questions were used to classify GSS 2010, 2012 and 2013 GSS respondents into the basic eight-fold typology of environmental reporting.

FINDINGS

Regardless of immigrant status, adult Canadians responding to the three GSS surveys viewed their neighbourhood environments in a favourable way. Four out of five Canadian-born and foreign born (83% and 82% respectively) described their neighbours as helpful across the three GSS surveys. Differences were most noticeable, however, with respect to the levels of social contact established with neighbours established with neighbours and participation in help exchanges with them. About 46% of the Canadian-born knew many or most neighbours in their neighbourhoods compared to only 33% among the foreign-born. Similarly, 68% of the Canadian-born had participated in exchanges of help with their neighbours in the last month compared to 63% among the foreign-born.

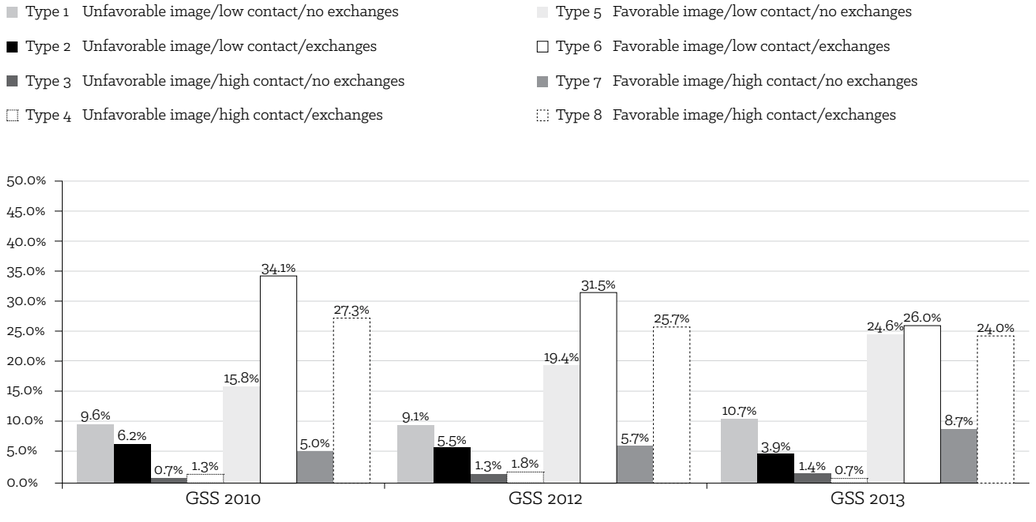
Graphs 2 and 3 present distribution of the eight environmental types reported by the Canadian and foreign-born at each GSS survey period. Among the Canadian-born, the most positive environment type 8 was the most frequently reported across the GSS year cycles (at least one third of respondents) although its reporting rate decreased from 38% in 2010 to about 33 % in 2013. Environmental types 5 and 6 (favourable images, low contacts) increased their reporting from 38% in 2010 to 40% in 2012, due mostly to an increase of type 5 reporting. Mostly negative environmental type 1 reporting remained below 10%. Foreign-born reporting of environmental types (see chart 2) suggests that half of immigrants resided in neighbourhoods of low contact with neighbours. The reporting of environment 5 (favourable images, low contact but no help exchanges) in particular, rose from 16% in 2010 to 25% in 2012. Pooled sample comparisons not controlling and controlling for time of residence in the community revealed significant statistical differences between the distribution of environmental type reporting between Canadian and foreign-born.[3]

FIGURE 2: ENVIRONMENTAL TYPES REPORTING (%) BY GSS YEAR CYCLE: CANADIAN-BORN



Source: 2010, 2012 and 2013 General Social Surveys

FIGURE 3: ENVIRONMENTAL TYPES REPORTING (%) BY GSS YEAR CYCLE: FOREIGN-BORN

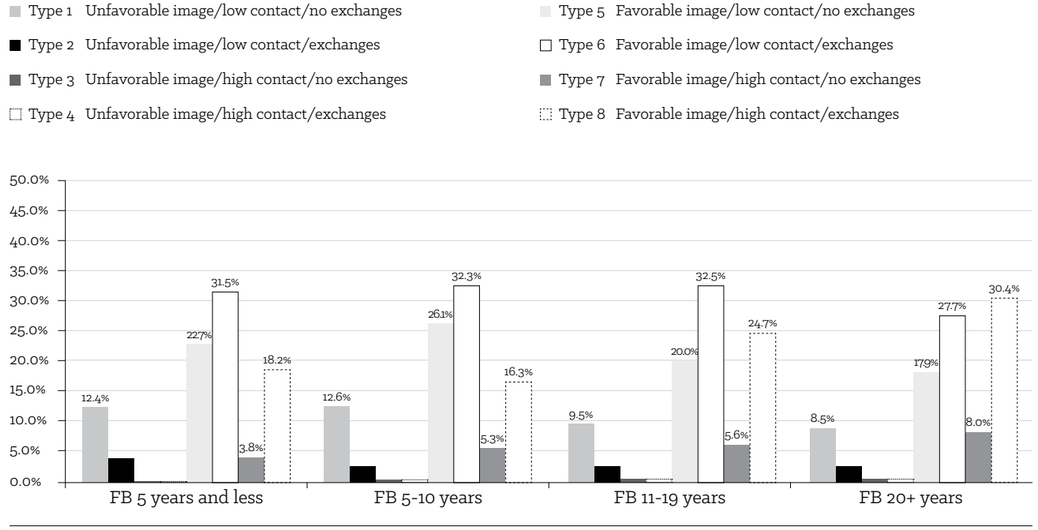


Source: 2010, 2012 and 2013 General Social Surveys

Breakdowns of the environmental type reporting by immigrant and visible minority status suggested that, regardless of immigrant status, the reporting of most negative environment type 1 was slightly higher for visible minorities compared to non-visible minorities. These rates hovered around 12% in the former group compared to 8% in the latter one. Foreign born-visible minority women had the highest rate of reporting this type of environment compared to other groups (14%). With regards to type 8, the most positive environment, the highest rate was found among Canadian-born non visible minorities (35%) while the lowest one was found among foreign-born visible minorities (21%).[4]

Chart 4 presents a breakdown of environmental reporting rates by length of residence in the country. The likelihood of reporting residence in the most positive environment type 8 increased with the length of stay (from 18% among those residing 5 years or less to 30% among those of 20 years or more residence in Canada). Regardless of their length of stay in Canada, however, about a third of the foreign-born reported residing in environment type 6 characterized by favourable images, low contact with neighbours and places where exchanges of help occurred frequently. Notably, reporting of low contact environmental types (types 5 and 6) accounted for about 46% among immigrants of longer stay in the country (20 years or more). With respect to the most negative environment type 1, immigrants of more recent stay in the country (5-10 years and less than 5 years) had somewhat higher likelihoods of reporting residence in these neighbourly environments (about 13%) compared to immigrants of a longer stay in the country.

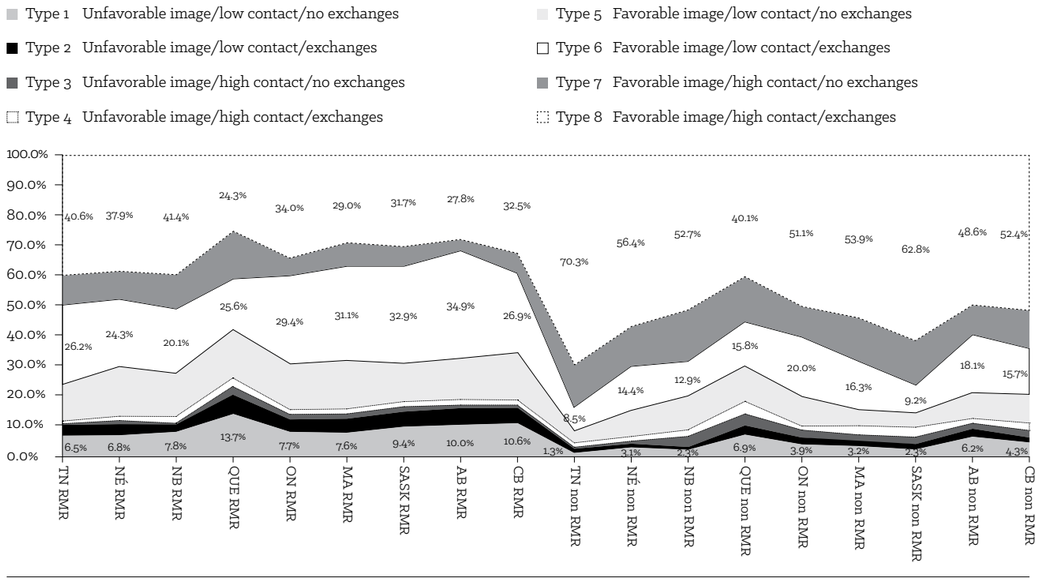
FIGURE 4: ENVIRONMENTAL TYPES (%) BY IMMIGRANT STATUS AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE



Symbols: FB=Foreign-born. Source: 2010, 2012 and 2013 General Social Surveys

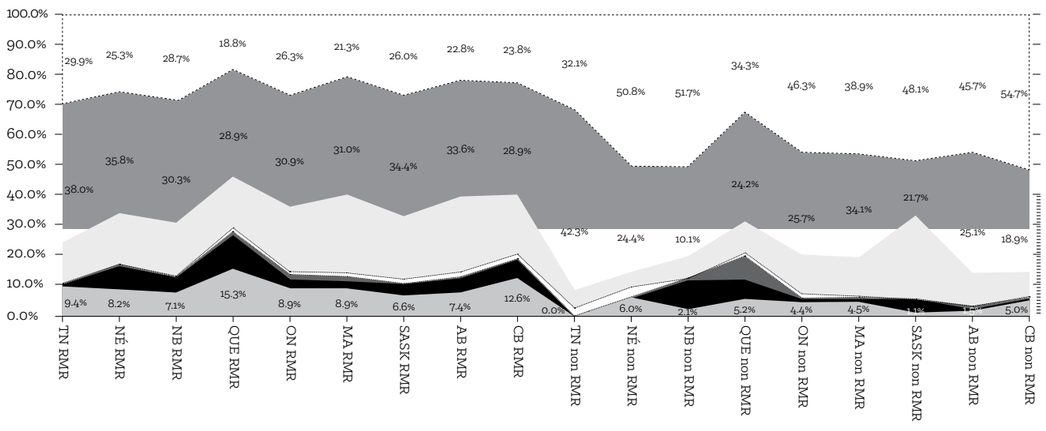
Detailed distributions of environmental type responses by province of residence and CMA status for the Canadian-born and the foreign-born are presented in charts 5 and 6. A first examination of the most negative environment type 1 among the Canadian-born suggests that there was a somewhat greater likelihood of reporting this type of environment for Quebec and Alberta residents of large cities (13% and 10%) compared to other province-metropolitan groups. These percentages were higher also for Quebec CMA residents and British Columbia CMA residents among the foreign-born groups (15% and 13% respectively). With respect to the most positive environment type 8, residents non CMA areas of the various provinces were the most likely to report living in these neighbourly environments among both Canadian and foreign-born (e.g. Atlantic provinces). As previously found, low contact environments type 5 and 6 were the most commonly reported among foreign-born groups compared to Canadian-born ones.

FIGURE 5: ENVIRONMENTAL TYPES 1-8 REPORTING BY PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE AND CMA STATUS: CANADIAN-BORN



Symbols: CB=Canadian-born, FB=Foreign Born, NF=Newfoundland, NS=Nova Scotia, NB=New Brunswick, QUE=Quebec, ON=Ontario, MA=Manitoba, SASK=Saskatchewan, AB=Alberta, BC=British Columbia

FIGURE 6: ENVIRONMENTAL TYPES 1-8 REPORTING BY PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE AND CMA STATUS: FOREIGN-BORN



Symbols: CB=Canadian-born, FB=Foreign Born, NF=Newfoundland, NS=Nova Scotia, NB=New Brunswick, QUE=Quebec, ON=Ontario, MA=Manitoba, SASK=Saskatchewan, AB=Alberta, BC=British Columbia

In the next phase of analysis, logistic regressions using as binary dependent variables the memberships in the eight environmental types were undertaken using predictors selected variables related to immigration-related markers, residential and socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Of special interest was to determine if the effects of immigrant status and length of residence disappeared after the introduction of other statistical controls. Other predictors included gender, age, visible minority status, religious affiliation, home language, marital status, education, work status, education, income level, number of children under 14 in household, CMA residence and GSS cycles.

With respect to the most negative environmental type 1, the pooled GSS data suggested that, net from other predictors, residents of large cities (CMA) were the most likely to report living in this type of environment compared to those who did not (OR=2.30). Higher propensities were also observed for those whose home language was French (OR=1.57). The enhancing effect of CMA residence (OR=2.65) was also observed in the reporting of environmental type 2. Both Canadian-born individuals and immigrants who reside in large metropolitan areas (CMA) were more likely to report living in negative environments. Logistic predictions of environmental type 3 and 4 did not find any statistical significant predictors. Neither gender, visible minority status and socio-economic indicators such as education and income were found significant predictors of memberships in the first four negative environmental types.

Predictions of environment type 5 reporting (low contact-no help exchanges) revealed that, net from other predictors, recent immigrants (5-10 years and less than 5 years residence were more likely to reside in these places compared to the Canadian-born (ORs of 2.00 and 1.89 respectively). The enhancing effect of large city residence (OR=1.92) was accompanied with cycle effects of the GSS 2012 and GSS 2013 compared to the GSS 2010. This result suggests that compared to the 2010 cycle, the likelihood of this reporting increased in the two latter cycles. In the predictions of environment type 6 (low contact-help exchanges), in addition to the enhancing effect of CMA residence, there was evidence of some demographic effects as there were lower reporting propensities by single individuals compared to married ones and those aged 65 years old and over compared to younger age cohorts. In the predictions of environment type 7 only GSS cycle effects were found statistically significant. Finally, predictions of the most positive environment type 8 revealed that more recent immigrants compared to the Canadian-born were least likely to report residing in these neighbourly environments (ORs <or =0.49 or 2 times less likely). Other results suggest that being older (35 years old and over), having a Christian religious affiliation and/or having children under 14 residing in the household increased these likelihoods of reporting while having French as home language decreased them.

DISCUSSION

Despite some data limitations such as a small sample size of recent immigrants and the static nature of our analysis, several stories emerged from our analysis of the GSS data. Firstly, that there were visible differences between Canadian-born and foreign-born in their appraisals of their neighbourly environments. While the most positive environment, type 8, was most frequently reported by Canadian-born individuals, more than half of foreign-born individuals reported residing in neighbourhoods were social interactions were scarce (type 5 and 6). Time comparisons suggests that environmental type 5 reporting is on the rise for both Canadian and foreign-born in the last years. Many immigrants who have been living in Canada for a long time (i.e. 20 years or more) report nevertheless having limited contact with their neighbours and still have limited contact with their neighbours and do not participate in help exchanges with them. Secondly, logistic regressions revealed that the effect of immigrant status and length of residence cannot be discarded in the prediction of environmental types. Thirdly, that for both Canadian and foreign-born, residence in larger metropolitan areas such as Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver and/or having French as a home language increased probabilities of reporting negative and low contact neighbourly environments.

More research is needed on how individuals appraise their neighbourly environments to determine what groups have the greatest need for social policy interventions. This may be particularly pressing in view that social disengagement with the community is at stake if the process of civic participation in the community can be hampered by the nature of the neighbourly environments. Social policy should identify culturally appropriate mechanisms for strengthening community bonds with neighbours and providing opportunities to know each other, share communal life and reduce personal, family and social isolation. To increase civic engagement at the local level, initiatives should be devised through local, provincial and federal programs that foster the development of frequent interactions amongst neighbours and create welcoming and prejudice-free environments.

NOTES

[1] Paper to be presented to the 2015 Canadian Ethnic Association Meetings, Ottawa-Gatineau.

[2] Merging the GSS datasets required a thorough examination of the content, coverage and mode of data collection in surveys (Thomas and Wanell, 2009). In terms of weighting strategies, Wendt's proposal is of merging the datasets and dividing the global person weight by the number of cycles (three in this case) is followed here (Wendt, 2007). This new global weight in combination with the 500 bootstrap weights were used in the multivariate analysis of the data.

[3] With no controls for period of residence in the community design-based X^2 tests found statistically significant differences of reporting environments 5, 6 and 8 among Canadian-born and foreign-born sub-populations (X^2=19.2, 7.6 and 29.6 respectively, p<.01). With controls for at least five years of residence in their respective communities these differential rates persisted (X^2=522.2, p<.01).

[4] This group difference was found statistically significant (X^1=5.79, p<.01).

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SCHOOL-FAMILY COLLABORATION: THE PERSPECTIVES OF QUEBEC-BORN AND IMMIGRANT PARENTS

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF TWO STUDIES

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For decades, already, the collaboration between schools and families has been an integral part of the prevailing discourse held in Quebec on student retention and academic success. Furthermore, the literature on the topic often presents the link between this relationship and student academic success as obvious. In this article, we highlight the perceptions of family-school partnerships held by Quebec-born (*Québécois de souche*, or "old-stock Quebecers") families and immigrant families. We will see that our participants have clearly integrated the discourse surrounding this type of partnership, but that if we consider this collaboration in light of Epstein' typology, family involvement remains minimal and is mostly limited to monitoring a child's learning progress at home. Can we therefore consider this to be a true partnership between schools and families? Our data indicates that there is in fact an absence of real dialogue between the surveyed families and teachers, but that for the time being, families seem satisfied with this situation.

The partnership between schools and families is now, in Quebec as elsewhere in the West, an integral part of the discourse on student retention and academic success (Dufresne, 2014; Deslandes and Bertrand, 2004; Duval, Dumoulin and Perron, 2014 Larrivée, Kalubi and Terrisse, 2006; Saint-Jacques, Turcotte and Oubrayrie-Roussel, 2012; Tremblay, Dumoulin, Gagnon, Giroux, 2015; etc.). To understand the current interest in Quebec for this type of collaboration, it is necessary to look a few decades back.

In the 1960s, Quebec society experienced profound political upheavals. Indeed, the State invested areas that were previously under the jurisdiction of the Church. This is particularly the case with education. In fact, between 1963 and 1966 the Parent Commission produced a five-volume report of recommendations aiming to democratize Quebec's education system. This report radically changed the face of Quebec schools. Under the influence of this report, education became considered as a right and not a luxury, and consequently, the government wanted everyone to have the same opportunities to access it (Pigeon, sd). In order to achieve this, the government made education free, built new schools and secularized the education system (ibid.). The Ministère de l'Éducation was created in 1964; school boards were grouped together; curricula were standardized; comprehensive secondary schools (offering general and vocational courses) were created and general and vocational colleges (CEGEP) started appearing (ibid).

In parallel, aligning with this reform, government measures were introduced to encourage parental involvement in the