CANADA'S TWO-WAY STREET INTEGRATION MODEL: NOT WITHOUT ITS STAINS, STRAINS AND GROWING PAINS

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ABSTACT
This article explores the Canadian "two-way street" model of integration. In addition to exploring the context within which it has been developed and implemented, the authors provide an overview of the specific programs the Government of Canada has developed to facilitate this reciprocal approach to integration. Importantly, they also address how the Canadian approach has tackled the stains, strains and growing pains with which any diversity policy must contend in the changing world in which we live.

Respect for diversity is now held as a cornerstone of the Canadian integration model, and is cited consistently in public policy discourse as central to the sense of a common or shared Canadian identity. It has not always been the case: Canadian history is littered with public policy that cannot be reflected upon with anything but shame, including the internment of Japanese Canadians that was redressed in 1988 and the explicitly racist nature of immigration head taxes imposed on immigrants from China (redressed in 2006). A significant body of literature chronicles these egregious moments in Canadian history (Adachi 1976, Ferguson 1975, Ward 1990). That said, Canadians and their governments have worked assiduously for generations to construct a more inclusive Canada. While the progress on this front has been uneven and much remains to be done, a remarkably inclusive and robust model has been developed. A model that has served Canada well as its population has diversified rapidly in the wake of immigration reforms in the 1960s and 1970s with the introduction of the famed "points system" that removed explicit racial and country-of-origin bias from the selection of immigrants to Canada.[1]

The strength of this approach and its wide support can best be understood by looking at moments of "crises" and how Canadians and their institutions have reacted to such moments. For example, the arrival of three shiploads of Chinese refugee claimants off the west coast of Canada in 1999, the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the SARS outbreak in Toronto in 2003, and the arrest of 17 terrorist suspects in Toronto in the summer of 2006. In each case, public discourse was briefly tinged with intolerance and xenophobia, but in each instance the wider support for a multicultural and inclusive approach prevailed.[2] This clearly situates Canada in a different space than many of the countries covered in this issue of *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne*, where a withdrawal from inclusive multicultural approaches can be seen.

Rather tellingly, in the Canadian context, political resolve remains strong. For example, in the wake of the arrests of 17 alleged terrorists in Toronto in summer 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper reinforced the Canadian public policy position on multiculturalism when he noted that the arrests had:

> led to some commentary to the effect that Canada's open and culturally diverse society makes us a more vulnerable target for terrorist activity...I believe that exactly the opposite is true. Canada's diversity, properly nurtured, is our great strength. (Harper 2006)

This political support may simply be based on an understanding of Canadian demographics. The intersection of immigration and ethnoracial and religious diversity is a profound reality in Canada. At the time of the 2001 Census, 5.4 million or 18.4% of Canada's population of 31 million were foreign-born. The visible minority[3] population accounted for 13.4% of the Canadian population, or 4 million people, which is an increase of 25% from 1996 to 2001 as compared to an increase of

4% for the overall Canadian population. Statistics Canada's demographic projections suggest that by 2017, the visible minority population will increase to 20% of Canada's total population.

Religious pluralism is also an increasingly important feature of the Canadian demographic landscape. For example, the Canadian Muslim population grew at a rate of 128.9% between 1991 and 2001. The 2017 demographic projections mentioned above estimate that adherents of religions other than Christianity will increase from 6.3% of the total population reported on the 2001 Census to between 9.2 and 11.2% of the total population in 2017 (GoC 2005b).

The rate of growth of diversity in Canada (Canadians listed more than 200 ethnic groups in their responses to the 2001 Census question on ethnic ancestry) is due in large part to Canada's relatively open immigration program and shifting immigrant source countries over the past 20 years – which has contributed to the vast majority of recent immigrants being visible minorities. While the majority of immigrants to Canada prior to the mid 20th century were European in origin, Canada has increasingly accepted immigrants from Asia, South and Central America, the Middle East and Africa. In 2005, the top five source countries for immigrants were the People's Republic of China (16.1%), India (12.6%), the Philippines (6.7%), Pakistan (5.2%) and the United States (3.5%).

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Integration paradigm

The preferred model of immigrant integration in Canada is multiculturalism. Often described as what it is not – neither segregation nor assimilation – it is widely held that the Canadian integration process is a continuum that stretches from initial selection, settlement and adaptation through to and beyond formal acquisition of citizenship. From a public policy perspective, immigrant integration is described from a perspective of reciprocity. More than just helping a newcomer find a job and a place to live, integration in Canada is described as a "two-way street" requiring accommodation and adjustments, as well as rights and responsibilities, on the part of both the newcomers and the host society.[4]

Legislative/constitutional base

The multicultural model of immigrant integration in Canada is enshrined in a comprehensive legislative and constitutional framework that expresses support for linguistic, religious, ethnocultural and ethnoracial pluralism within the context of Canada's commitment to individual rights. It is this framework that provides the impetus for the "two-way street of integration" described above.

The key pieces of legislation that define the Canadian approach to integration include the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) of 2001. Section 3(1)c of the former notes that it is the policy of the Government of Canada to "promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation." Thirteen years later this was echoed in Section 3 of *IRPA*'s objectives: "(e) to promote the successful integration of permanent residents into Canada, while recognizing that integration involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society."

These two critical pieces of legislation are, of course, framed by the Constitution: Section 27 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982) calls for the Charter to be interpreted "in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians." Finally, other key pieces of legislation include the *Citizenship Act* (1947 and 1977), the *Canadian Human Rights Act* (1977), the *Employment Equity Act* (1985 and 1995) and the *Official Languages Act* (1969 and 1995), which all support multiculturalism. Naturally, the entire legislative framework is also structured within international human rights agreements.

Delivery of services

As a shared responsibility,[5] integration programs and services follow as a logical consequence of the decision to admit someone to Canada. Newcomer settlement and adaptation takes place across various domains of integration, such as housing, health, education and the labour market.[6] As such, prospective immigrants and newcomers are provided with a range of federally and provincially funded settlement and integration programs and services, both pre- and post-arrival in Canada. While the federal government funds delivery of settlement services including orientation, mentoring and language training for adult immigrants, in Canada, the sectors of health, education and housing services fall under provincial jurisdiction. As well, immigrants live and work in cities and communities, thus municipalities often have a vested interest in planning for how to meet the needs of newcomers at the local level.

Given the multi-sectoral and multi-jurisdictional nature of integration in Canada, partnership with all levels of government, and with the private and NGO sectors, is essential to successful integration of newcomers. Community-based immigrant and refugee-serving organizations are especially instrumental in assisting newcomers with their immediate and ongoing settlement needs, since they are very sensitive to the needs of the local community as well as to the diverse cultural backgrounds and experiences that recent immigrants and refugees bring to Canada.

Major services

While the Government of Canada's immigration system seeks to select immigrants on the basis of human capital like education and language skills, and thus attempts to minimize the need for settlement and integration services, there is, of course, no such thing as what one of our colleagues has referred to as a "ready-to-wear immigrant." The migration process is disruptive and settlement and integration is challenging. It is in the best interests of both immigrants and Canadian society as a whole that the disruption be minimized and that the challenges be met as effectively and rapidly as possible. Importantly, the responsibility for meeting these challenges is shared by newcomers and other Canadians.

To respond to these challenges, the Government of Canada has developed a suite of core settlement programs consisting of the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), and the Host Program. These services are delivered through formal contribution agreements with a range of partners including community-based and non-governmental organizations, businesses, educational institutions and other levels of government.

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Settlement programming specific to refugees includes the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), an income support program that also provides reception, temporary accommodation and basic orientation services specific to government assisted refugees, and the Private Sponsorship Program where groups in Canada take on responsibility for resettling refugees from abroad by providing the necessary financial, orientation and emotional support.[7]

ISAP is targeted to meet the needs of the whole family, and funding allows for social and economic bridging services, such as translation, interpretation and job-search; orientation sessions in Canada and abroad; settlement support in schools for teachers, immigrant children and their parents; and funding for Enhanced Language Training, which provides higher levels of language training including job-specific language training in English or French, and bridge-to-work assistance, including mentoring, work placement and other assistance in accessing the labour market. ISAP also funds activities that support the delivery of settlement programming such as research, conferences, settlement worker training and delivery tools for service providers and community partners.

While some orientation services funded by ISAP are available to newcomers pre-arrival through Canadian Orientation Abroad, pre-arrival orientation services are limited in their reach and substantive content. Critics have suggested that Canada needs to do more to inform prospective newcomers about life in Canada, even before they make the decision to migrate. Stakeholders have identified the lack of detailed and specific information available to prospective and new immigrants as one barrier to the successful integration of immigrants into the Canadian labour market and society. Through the 2005 Budget, funding was provided for the development of an integrated, comprehensive, national immigration portal. The Going to Canada Immigration Portal is being developed in collaboration with the provinces and territories through the enhancement of the existing Going to Canada Website.

The volunteer-based Host Program is designed to create connections among newcomers and established Canadians and permanent residents by matching newcomers with an in-Canada host (individual, youth, families) to support settlement and integration activities such as orientation, practice of new language skills, or enhancement of economic and social networks. While the Host Program is one of the most obvious settlement programs that articulates the "two-way street" of integration by creating connections between hosts and newcomers, thereby engaging Canadians and established residents in the integration process itself, it could be doing more.

As a volunteer-based program that has historically been funded at less than approximately 2% of the federal settlement budget, challenges exist for service providers with respect to promotion, volunteer recruitment and retention, and waiting lists with respect to matching challenges. Through additional funding announced in the 2005 Federal Budget for *Canada's Action Plan against Racism* (the Government of Canada's new horizontal approach to eliminate barriers to opportunities for Canadians of all ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic backgrounds), Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has committed to expand the Host Program to more children and youth, families and business.

LINC funds language instruction for adult newcomers in English or French, and includes delivery support and assessment services. It includes a child-minding component in order to encourage the participation of women, and flexible hours of instruction and a transportation allowance are also available. Unfortunately, the delivery of LINC is uneven across the country and even in the locations with the most advanced level of delivery, it only provides basic levels of language training.[8] To further complicate the matter, education of children is under provincial jurisdiction so

federal language training for newcomers to Canada is delivered solely to adult immigrants. English as a Second Language programs for newcomer children are offered by provincial governments through the education system.

According to the Parliamentary Main Estimates, in 2005 federal funding for immigrant integration programs outside of Quebec included $44.7 million for ISAP programming, including Canadian Orientation Abroad, Settlement Workers in Schools activities, and Enhanced Language Training projects; $2.8 million for the Host Program; $100.5 million for LINC; and $44.5 million for RAP. The Federal Government also provided $227.5 million for provincial agreements with British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec.[9]

While eligibility for federally-funded settlement programs and services generally spans the first three years in Canada[10] or until an immigrant becomes a Canadian citizen, it is not expected that a newcomer is fully integrated and all settlement needs met after such a relatively short time in Canada. At the same time that public policy discourse describes citizenship as the "ultimate policy objective" of the integration program, it also recognizes that the integration process does not end at the official citizenship ceremony.

Role of naturalization and citizenship

Canadian citizenship means having legal status as a citizen of Canada as set out in the *Citizenship Act* (1977); sharing equally in the rights and responsibilities that belong to each Canadian; and taking an active part in Canadian society.[11]

Unlike the law in effect in Canada up to 1977, the current *Citizenship Act* allows a Canadian citizen to voluntarily acquire foreign nationality without automatically losing Canadian citizenship. Since February 15, 1977, a Canadian citizen may retain Canadian citizenship, unless he or she voluntarily applies to renounce it and the application is approved by a citizenship judge. The current Act thus makes it possible to have several citizenships and allegiances at the same time for an indefinite period.[12]

In general, to become a Canadian citizen, applicants must be permanent residents who have lived in Canada for at least three of the four years prior to their application for citizenship. Applicants must be at least 18 years old and parents may apply on behalf of their minor children. People applying for a grant of citizenship must be able to speak English or French. They must also demonstrate knowledge of Canada, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. This is evaluated with a written test or oral interview (hearing with a citizenship judge).

People may be prohibited from being granted citizenship if they were charged or convicted of certain crimes. As a policy, people over 55 years of age are exempt from the language and knowledge requirements. Minors must be permanent residents and are not submitted to residence, language or knowledge requirements. The final step in becoming a Canadian citizen is to take the oath of citizenship. Applicants attend a citizenship ceremony where a citizenship judge administers the oath and presents each new Canadian with a Certificate of Canadian Citizenship.

As CIC has responsibility for the administration of the *Citizenship Act*, the Department also promotes the rights and responsibilities of citizenship to all Canadians. Established Canadians are also encouraged to reflect on these rights and responsibilities through citizenship re-affirmation ceremonies, special events and the production of teacher's activity guides. In addition, the establishment of the Institute for Canadian Citizenship (ICC), an independent not-for-profit organization, was announced in September 2005 as a legacy project in honour of former Governor General Adrienne Clarkson. One of the objectives of the ICC is to explore ways to help new Canadians understand the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, as well as what it means to be an active and engaged citizen in one's community.

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Federal public policy recognizes that the process of immigrant integration that facilitates attachment to the country and a sense of belonging can take many years. While CIC has the primary responsibility for settlement programs during the first three years of the integration process, the Department of Canadian Heritage also plays an important role in immigrant integration through responsibility for Canada's multiculturalism policy and programs at the federal level. Canadian Heritage takes up where CIC's responsibility leaves off, through programs that strengthen diversity, enhance capacity in ethnocultural communities, and aim to foster substantive equality for all Canadians. As Biles and Mulholland (2006) have pointed out, "In some ways one could conceive of CIC's role in the first three years to be working primarily with newcomers themselves to ensure successful integration, and Canadian Heritage works primarily on Canadian society to ensure that the two-way street model of integration is a success."[13]

This integration process is nested within a broader Government of Canada approach to shared citizenship that is described in articles by Van Wyck and Donaldson, as well as Lazar, included in this issue. In broad brush strokes, this approach creates a dynamic Canadian identity that evolves over time and that embraces diversity and accompanying change rather than clinging to an autochthonous and never changing approach.

Outcomes: Handling stains, strains and growing pains

When looking at immigrant outcomes, there are questions as to whether or not the two-way street of integration is working. As with any integration model there are the stains of injustice (real or perceived, past or

present); the strains of a system that is not delivering (or does not appear to be delivering) the desired outcomes; and the growing pains that accompany not only an immigration program that wishes to bring in more newcomers, but also one that wishes to encourage an ever increasing diversity of newcomers to settle in a wider range of locations than has typically been the case. It is our assertion that the Canadian model is working because of the commitment of Canadians and their governments to tackle all three in a spirit of reciprocity: newcomers must adapt, but so too must other Canadians.

An excellent example of this two-way approach is the willingness of the Government of Canada to reflect on past policy and to redress injustices. For example, the present government has worked to tackle one of the most prominently discussed historical biases in Canadian immigration history – the so called "head tax" charged to Chinese immigrants for the first half of the 20th century. On June 22, 2006 the Prime Minister described this as a "grave injustice, and one we are morally obligated to acknowledge." The Government of Canada will make symbolic payments to those required to pay the tax, and the spouses of those who have passed way, and will create a fund for community projects designed to acknowledge the impact of past wartime measures and immigration restrictions targeting ethnocultural communities (GoC 2006).

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Injustice can continue to stain present-day society. For example, racism remains a concern for many Canadians, especially Black Canadians who reported significantly higher levels of discrimination or unfair treatment than others: 32% of Black Canadians reported that they had been discriminated against or treated unfairly by others because of their ethnocultural characteristics, compared to 21% of South Asian Canadians, and 18% of Chinese Canadians (GoC 2003). As a result, the Government of Canada launched a three-year initiative called *A Canada for All: Canada's Action Plan Against Racism* with six key components: 1). Assist victims and groups vulnerable to racism and related forms of discrimination; 2). Develop forward-looking approaches to promote diversity and combat racism; 3). Strengthen the role of civil society; 4). Strengthen regional and international cooperation; 5). Educate children and youth on diversity and anti-racism; 6). Counter hate and bias (GoC 2005).

A third stain that is presently frequently mooted in Canadian public discourse is the question of profiling used by police and security agencies. While it is officially denied, and the absence of widespread statistics collected by these agencies makes it difficult to judge the extent of the practice, work by criminologist Scot Wortley and his colleagues do indicate that the Black community is both subject to greater police surveillance, and they are more likely to get caught when they do break the law (Wortley and Tanner 2004). Meanwhile, Muslim Canadians feel that they are often the subject of tighter than justified security surveillance (Khan and Saloojee 2003, Hamdani, Bhatti and Munawar 2005).

Several strains have also emerged in the integration of newcomers in Canada in the last decade. As we discussed earlier, with the move to a stronger focus on the "human capital" model under the present immigration act (*IRPA*) the assumption was that selection of higher education and language skills would lead to more flexible labour market participation (Tolley 2003). It is premature to ascertain whether this will, indeed, be the case since a sizeable backlog of applications means that only five years after the introduction of the new Act are the first immigrants selected under its revised selection grid arriving in Canada. That said, we do know that poverty levels among immigrants have been rising with 47% of recent immigrants living below the low-income cut-off line (Picot and Hou 2003). In addition, a new range of strains to emerge includes complex issues like foreign credential recognition and how to effectively gauge facility in a language.

Facility in one of Canada's official languages (French or English) is key to participation in all aspects of life in Canada and remains one of the principle integration challenges. Acknowledging the importance of language to successful integration, more points were linked to language in the revised selection criteria flowing from the 2001 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*'s regulations. However, this only applies to principle applicants and, in a limited manner, their spouses. Despite this requirement, the reality is that many newcomers, even with some fluency in English or French, lack the higher levels of language competence required to obtain employment in their chosen fields. The recently announced Enhanced Language Training may help with this process. Additionally, those newcomers who arrive as refugees or through family sponsorship are likely to require language training to facilitate integration into Canadian society. An interesting emerging measure of the efficacy and reach of language programs such as LINC is the assessment of language ability at time of citizenship acquisition. If LINC primarily funds basic language training, it could be expected that LINC participants would have achieved a competency level necessary to

participate fully as citizens at the time of naturalization. Data from a study on this question will be available in the near future. This information should guide needed enhancements to settlement and integration programming funded at the federal level by the announcement of additional settlement funding for provinces and territories outside of Ontario and Quebec in the 2006 Federal Budget.

On the other side of the two-way integration street, questions of citizenship and who has a right to Canadian citizenship have become increasingly common. This erupted recently into Canadian public discourse surrounding the Khadr family, a family of Canadian Muslims who were implicated in Al-Qaeda activities (*Maclean's* 2006). More recently it has been making headlines because of the number of Canadian citizens in Lebanon when the most recent conflict began (Granatstein 2006, Savage 2006). Others have speculated on what would happen if China, Taiwan and Hong Kong were ever to become an international hot spot with 300,000 Canadians living overseas in these areas (Skelton 2006). This debate has gained little traction and falters on the same points as several recent attempts to revise the *Citizenship Act* – who should be empowered to revoke citizenship, on what basis, and within what parameters? (Garcea 2003)

Finally, a series of growing pains is increasingly apparent in Canada as the Government of Canada strives to both increase the number of immigrants to Canada and to encourage them to settle outside of major centres (especially Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal, but also increasingly Calgary). These changes raise questions of "absorptive capacity" and broaden the range of partners necessary to successfully integrate newcomers. For example, municipalities are becoming increasingly involved in the settlement and integration of newcomers. This runs the gamut from developing the expertise required to deliver municipal services to a more diverse population, to the formal agreement negotiated by the City of Winnipeg with the provincial government and the federal government on immigration topics.

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As Van Wyck and Donaldson point out in their article in this magazine, there is a complex interplay between Canada's two official language communities and immigration. This relationship has historically been quite antagonistic, but has more recently evolved in a collaborative fashion with the recognition that immigration is a key factor in the growth and vitality of Francophone communities outside Quebec.

In order to help maintain the Francophone minority communities and enhance linguistic duality in Canada, initiatives have been taken to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants who will settle in these communities across Canada. In March 2003, the Government of Canada released its *Action Plan for Official Languages* (Action Plan), which revolved around three major areas: education, community development and an exemplary public service. There was $751.3 million allocated to implement the Action Plan over five years. The Action Plan allocated $9 million over five years, and $2 million for subsequent years to CIC in order to initiate activities aimed at attracting, settling and integrating immigrants within Francophone communities outside Quebec. To date, under this initiative, CIC established the basic infrastructure to foster immigration to Francophone minority communities.

The Action Plan was updated in September 2006, when federal Minister of Immigration, the Honourable Monte Solberg, along with the Honourable Josée Verner, Minister of International Cooperation and Minister for La Francophonie and Official Languages, launched the new *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (Strategic Plan).[14] The key objective of the plan is to increase the percentage of French-speaking immigrants by 2008: In 2001, approximately 3.1% of immigrants were French-speaking people who immigrated to Francophone communities outside Quebec. The Strategic Plan has a goal of raising this to a minimum of 4.4% of overall immigration by 2008. It proposes to increase, in particular, the number of French-speaking students and economic class immigrants in Francophone minority communities. The Strategic Plan also suggests these communities need to work in close partnership with federal, provincial and territorial governments to recruit people that meet their needs, and to help them succeed. It suggests strengthening a number of integration services, including language and skills training, community awareness and local support networks.

Each expansion in the Canadian immigration programs, in the diversity within the newcomer population, or in the reception sites strains the integration model that has become used to newcomers clustering primarily in Canada's largest cities. Alternative delivery models need to be developed, perfected and shared across jurisdictions. This shared expertise and knowledge across a wide range of players and jurisdictions strengthens the Canadian integration model and ensures that it will be robust enough to handle the inevitable crises of a globalized and unstable world.

Conclusion

As the experiences of many other immigrant receiving societies covered in this issue indicate, the success of any given integration approach will only last as long as the model's ability to address the stains, strains and growing pains with which it is faced. The Canadian approach has

enjoyed success thus far as it has adapted to the challenges posed by mass migration without sacrificing the multicultural framework embedded in the Constitution and in a suite of legislation and policy at all levels of government. As long as Canadians and their governments continue to support an inclusive approach that encourages newcomers to become active and self-reflective or critical citizens, then this success is likely to continue.

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Notes

[1] Citizenship and immigration policies historically made an explicit link between national identity and racial identity at least until the 1960s with the introduction of the points system in the 1967 *Immigration Act* when race no longer was a condition of entry or exclusion. The 1976 *Immigration Act* is held to have continued in removing bias from selection system, and introduced the idea of cultural diversity as a positive benefit of immigration.

[2] Despite the claims of some critics like political pundit and pollster Allan Gregg who claims that 75% of Canadians believe too many immigrants come to Canada (Gregg 2005), other polls find that 49% believe the right number, and 18% believe too few immigrants come to Canada (Ipsos Reid 2005). The latter number is more in keeping with tracking polls as far back as 1988 (Biles 2006).

[3] "Visible minority" is a term used to refer to both immigrants and Canadian-born people of various non-European ethnoracial backgrounds. The term is defined in the *Employment Equity Act* as referring to "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." This category includes the following groups: Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Southeast Asians, Filipinos, Arabs and West Asians, Latin Americans, and Pacific Islanders.

[4] For more on how federal settlement programs encourage the two-way street approach see Winnemore 2005.

[5] Section 95 of the 1867 *Constitution Act* defines immigration as a shared jurisdiction between the federal government and the provincial governments.

[6] For a comprehensive discussion of the multiple sites of integration, see Biles and Mulholland 2006.

[7] This includes Joint Assistance Sponsorship in which private sponsors and government share responsibilities.

[8] Originally launched in 2003, the ELT initiative ($20M annually) addresses this issue to some regard, but it was designed more to help immigrants acquire the level of language proficiency necessary to find and retain work commensurate with their level of skills and experience, and does not address the issue of uneven delivery across the country for basic levels of language training.

[9] CIC has bilateral agreements for administration and delivery of settlement programs and services with provincial governments (British Columbia and Manitoba), and with Quebec via the Canada-Quebec Accord. In 2005, the Government of Canada also signed the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement. In the 2006 Budget, the Federal Government announced $230 million in funding to support implementation of the agreement with the province of Ontario, and an additional $77 million for provinces and territories outside of Ontario and Quebec to enhance settlement programming.

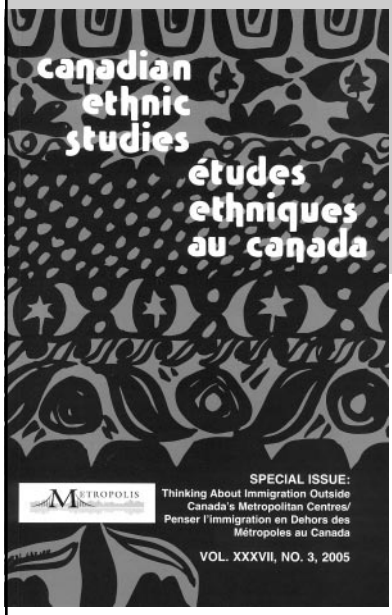
[10] Three years is the length of time for the residency requirement for citizenship, and has little to do with the length of time it takes to integrate.

[11] The acquisition of Canadian citizenship by naturalization awards only a few rights that are not enjoyed by permanent residents. The right to vote and to run for political office in federal and provincial elections; the right to hold certain public offices; and the right to hold a Canadian passport are among those accorded by acquisition of citizenship. There are also some residency restrictions for permanent residents under IRPA that are removed once naturalized.

[12] While some have expressed concerns that multiple allegiances might imperil connections to Canada, there is no research to suggest that this is the case. Indeed, Jedwab finds that Canadian Muslims, often the group against whom the charge of mixed allegiances is presently most commonly leveled, reported higher levels of attachment to Canada than the general population: 83% of Muslims surveyed had a strong sense of belonging to Canada, while 79.4% of the general population reported a strong sense of an attachment (Jedwab 2006).

[13] "Of course, CIC and other federal departments and agencies also work to ensure receptivity on the part of Canadians and their institutions, and Canadian Heritage does also work with newcomers and their communities to build capacity" (Biles and Mulholland 2006). See also Winnemore (2005) for a description of how CIC facilitates the two-way aspect of integration.

[14] The Plan is available at www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/plan-minorities.html.



Thinking About Immigration Outside Canada's Metropolitan Centres

Penser l'immigration en dehors des métropoles du Canada

Special issue of Canadian Ethnic Studies

A recent special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada* (Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, 2005) looks at the regionalization of immigration. It was guest edited by Michèle Vatz Laaroussi (Université de Sherbrooke), Margaret Walton-Roberts (Wilfrid Laurier University), John Biles (Metropolis Project) and Jean Viel (Social Development Canada). The issue includes articles on regional dispersal in British Columbia, immigrant settlement in local labour markets in Ontario, on the settlement of refugees in Québec City and in smaller cities in British Columbia, on francophone Acadians, interculturalism and regionalization, and on the services available to new immigrants in Halifax. There is also a conference report from "Immigration and Out-migration: Atlantic Canada at a Crossroads."

Numéro spécial d'*Études ethniques au Canada*

Un numéro spécial d'*Études ethniques au Canada / Canadian Ethnic Studies* publié récemment (vol. XXXVII, n° 3, 2005) jette un regard sur la régionalisation de l'immigration. Michèle Vatz Laaroussi (Université de Sherbrooke), Margaret Walton-Roberts (Wilfrid Laurier University), John Biles (projet Metropolis) et Jean Viel (Développement social Canada), ont participé à sa publication, à titre de rédacteurs invités. La revue contient des articles portant sur la dispersion régionale en Colombie-Britannique, sur la participation d'immigrants dans les marchés du travail locaux en Ontario, sur l'établissement de réfugiés dans la Ville de Québec et dans des petites communautés de la Colombie-Britannique, sur les Acadiens, l'interculturalisme et la régionalisation, ainsi que sur les services offerts aux nouveaux immigrants à Halifax. La publication présente également un compte rendu de conférence d'« Immigration et émigration : le Canada atlantique à la croisée des chemins ».

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