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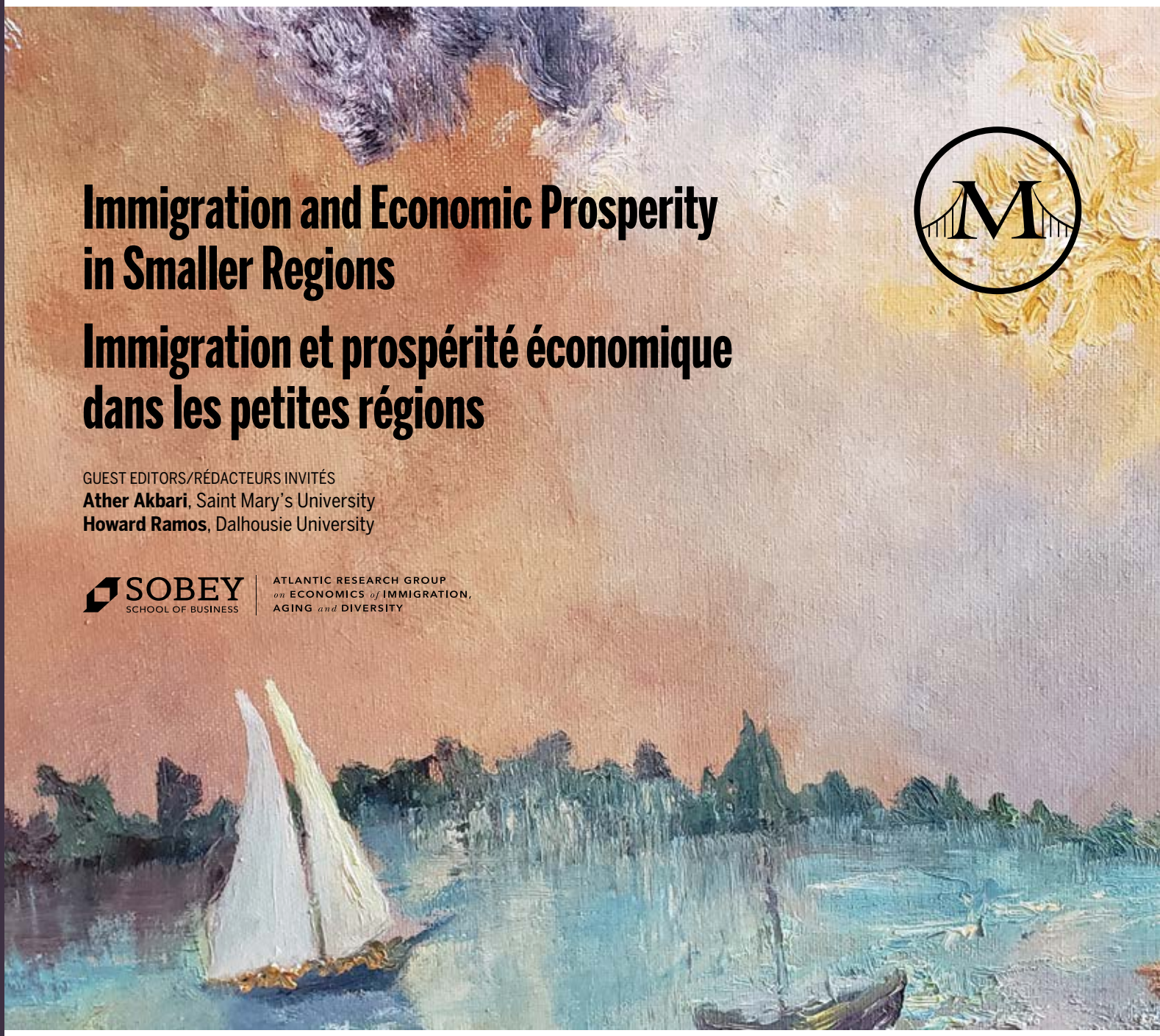

Immigration and Economic Prosperity in Smaller Regions

Immigration et prospérité économique dans les petites régions

GUEST EDITORS/RÉDACTEURS INVITÉS
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The Atlantic Research Group on Economics of Immigration, Aging and Diversity was established in 2014 with the mandate to promote research on economics of immigration in the region. The Group's members work in universities and the settlement sector across Atlantic Canada.

The Group holds public outreach events annually across the region. Past events have invited policy experts, government representatives, community members, immigrant settlement sector workers and academics to come together to explore these topics:

- Economic effects of demographic change
- Mainstreaming of Atlantic Canada
- Impact of demographic shift on future of work and housing
- Immigration and sustainable economic development

The Group is continuing work on a major research project: "Who comes, who stays, who leaves Nova Scotia and why."

To subscribe to the Group's quarterly newsletter on recent trends in Atlantic immigration, see recent research or learn more, visit **smu.ca/atlanticresearchgroup**.

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3 INTRODUCTION
Doing Immigration Differently in Secondary Centres
Ather Akbari & Howard Ramos

5 INTRODUCTION
Accueillir l'immigration autrement dans les centres secondaires
Ather Akbari et Howard Ramos

8 The Contribution of Immigration to Population Change in the Atlantic Provinces
Barry Edmonston

12 The Growing Recognition of Newcomer Recruitment and Retention in Canada as a Local Imperative
Michael Haan

16 Settlement and Retention of Immigrants in Non-gateway Cities: Trends since the 2000s
Lisa Kaida, Feng Hou & Max Stick

21 Migrating to and from Atlantic Canada: The Role of Middle Eastern Transnational Families and Ethnic Networks
Evangelia (Evie) Tastsoglou & Serperi Sevgur

24 Refugee Retention in Newfoundland and Labrador
Tony Fang, Kerri Claire Neil & Halina Sapeha

28 New Administrative Data for Research on Immigrants to Canada
Ted McDonald & Michael Haan

32 Big Enough/Small Enough
Nabiha Atallah

35 Linking Housing with Wrap Around Supports for Newcomer Families in Winnipeg
Jill Bucklaschuk

38 Les étudiants internationaux francophones de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick face à l'incomplétude institutionnelle de leur communauté d'accueil
Leyla Sall

41 Faire sa place dans la mort: L'enjeu des cimetières musulmans dans des petites villes du Canada
Chedly Belkhodja

44 Hockey and Immigrant/Ethnic Integration
Lloyd Wong & Howard Ramos

47 Saisir le rapport à la diversité dans la vie quotidienne, dans les espaces publics
Annick Germain

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LETTERS

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DOING IMMIGRATION DIFFERENTLY IN SECONDARY CENTRES

Ather Akbari is a professor of economics at Saint Mary's University (Halifax). His research interests are mainly in the area of immigration economics with current emphasis on immigration in smaller areas. He has published in several academic and non-academic outlets and his work is often cited in national and international media. He has appeared before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Immigration in Ottawa to present his work. Dr Akbari chairs the Atlantic Research Group on Economics of Immigration, Aging and Diversity. He also serves as Academic Director of the Sobey School of Business' Master of Applied Economics program.

Howard Ramos is Professor of Sociology at the University Dalhousie University who investigates issues of social justice and equity. He has published on immigrant and refugee settlement, social movements, human rights, environmental advocacy, ethnicity, race, and Atlantic Canada. He is currently working on projects looking at Atlantic Canadian immigration, secondary cities, state funding of NGOs, and environmental advocacy. To learn more about his work visit www.howardramos.ca or www.perceptionsofchange.ca.

Human capital, as the source of new ideas created, is necessary for the long-term economic growth of a country and it is equally important for smaller and secondary regions. However, the growth of human capital depends in large part on population growth. While the Canadian population has been experiencing a decline in its population growth for decades, this decline has been faster in secondary centres and rural areas and most pronounced in Atlantic Canada. To keep pace with the rest of the country in developing human capital, federal, provincial and municipal governments are responding by exploring how to promote immigration outside of the country's major cities and have been working to develop innovative new policies through Provincial Nominee Programs and experiments such as the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program. It has meant that in recent years a greater share of immigrants are landing outside of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. In this issue of *Canadian Diversity* we explore immigration to non-traditional immigration centres, with a focus on Atlantic Canada, and examine what is working, what is not, and consider how to do immigration differently.

The issue begins with an examination of demographic trends in Canada and a focus on how they are most pronounced in Atlantic Canada. Barry Edmonston compares provinces in the region to national trends. In doing so he paints a picture of population change from 1971 to 2018 and also looks at birth rates and in- and out-migration. The picture is bleak, however, he concludes with optimism reminding readers that communities can make a difference as can policy makers to offset trends and change the pattern secondary centres are facing.

The situation is explored further by Michael Haan who analyzes the role of Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP) in redistribution of immigrants from larger provinces towards smaller ones and also from larger to smaller cities. He finds that PNP has done little to change provincial distribution of new arrivals, however, it has caused more newcomers to choose smaller cities instead of larger ones. Thus, while PNP does not affect choice of province, it does affect location within a province. Similar issues are examined by Lisa Kaida, Feng Hou and Max Stick who examine secondary migration of immigrants. That is, where immigrants move after they initially land in Canada. In doing so, they find that immigrants who initially settle in a

smaller city are likely to choose a smaller city, if they relocate within Canada. These are encouraging findings for municipal programs in smaller cities, such as those in Atlantic Canada, aimed at attracting immigrants.

Several economic and noneconomic factors account for why immigrants leave a community. Evie Tastsoglou and Seperi Sevgur analyze these factors through a survey they conducted of Middle Eastern immigrants to Atlantic Canada. They find that family and ethnic networks play important roles in mobility decisions. Networks provided settlement support and also information and connections in the job market. Tony Fang, Kerri Neil and Halina Sapeha explore similar issues in their reporting of their survey of Syrian refugees in St. John's Newfoundland. They found that most newly arrived Syrian refugees were uncertain about whether they would stay in St. John's or leave for other parts of Canada. Their desire to stay was largely based on the friendliness of local communities, feeling of safety and educational opportunities in St. John's. The intention to leave was largely based on lack of job opportunities.

The ability to examine these patterns on a broader scale, however, is dependent on the data we have to examine immigrants in Canada. Ted McDonald and Michael Haan outline data options and show the importance of administrative data in investigating questions of immigration and settlement in secondary centres. They also highlight the importance of linking provincial data to national administrative records and Statistics Canada surveys and Censuses. They do this by showing how New Brunswick health records can help better understand immigrant retention in that province.

The success of retaining and integrating immigrants in secondary centres is largely contingent on communities and service provider organizations. Nabiha Attalah shares her experience with the Immigrant Settlement Services Association of Nova Scotia's (ISANS) growth and history. In doing so, she highlights the "big enough/small enough" factor of organizations in secondary centres. Unlike in larger centres, those in smaller cities are often the only organization or one of a few organizations operating. This means they are tasked with offering a full range of services and play a core linking function across agencies and across the community. On this front they are big. But at the same time, they are small and tightly knit with many human connections that help ease immigrants into communities and which help the organization move quickly when unexpected opportunities and challenges arise. Jill Bucklaschuk, explores this further in her piece which discusses the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM) and the services it provides. Its approach is to create an all-inclusive service system (wrap around supports) for newcomers that include affordable transitional housing and settlement services for three years. This is a great example of the big enough/small enough opportunities that secondary centres can offer. By providing all these services within a building, the system also promotes social inclusion.

Yet, at the same time, smaller centres also have barriers. Leyla Sall explores some of these as they pertain to international students in New Brunswick, highlighting that, in many smaller cities and secondary centres, there are a lack of institutional supports that help facilitate economic transitions and integration. International students pose a great opportunity for smaller cities to attract newcomers and transition temporary residents into new citizens. Chedly Belkhodja also explores how secondary centres often lack the cultural and institutional supports that newcomers need to fully participate in communities. He does this by looking at Muslim burial services and cemeteries in secondary cities in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes. Through his work he shows that if communities aim to be welcoming, they also need to consider the full needs of newcomers and adapt to provide culturally relevant services.

As important as it is to focus on economic integration, it is clear that cultural factors are important, as are the relationships between children and parents and families vis-à-vis the rest of the community. Lloyd Wong and Howard Ramos suggest that hockey arenas and the game of hockey are key sites to assess whether communities are truly welcoming and multicultural spaces. They illustrate how this might be done by looking at Calgary and Halifax as cases and use them to show the kinds of questions researchers could examine if they broaden their analytic lenses to the cultural and social milieu and interactions in everyday settings.

The focus on the everyday is also stressed by Annick Germain in her piece looking at differences between national polls and everyday interactions in neighbourhoods in Montreal. She shows that in the quotidian most people get along and welcome one another, opposite to some of the trends one might find in polls. Even in areas with few newcomers, openness can be found in everyday interactions and lessons can be learned on how to facilitate those points of contact for smaller and secondary centres.

As issues of affordability and urban sprawl make Canada's largest cities less attractive, secondary centres and rural areas are increasingly sites of immigration and they are increasingly big enough and small enough to offer vibrant, engaged communities of settlement. Successful settlement is important to encourage greater participation at all levels. This special issue of *Canadian Diversity* explores how secondary centres are thriving sites for newcomers, and also stresses the obstacles and challenges they need to overcome in order to be successful in doing so. An understanding of these outcomes and challenges is important to help design complementary policies that ensure the full benefits of immigration and economic growth.

ACCUEILLIR L'IMMIGRATION AUTREMENT DANS LES CENTRES SECONDAIRES

Ather Akbari est professeur d'économie à Saint Mary's University (Halifax). Ses recherches portent principalement sur l'économie de l'immigration, l'accent étant mis sur l'immigration dans des petites régions. Il a publié dans plusieurs revues académiques et non académiques et ses travaux sont souvent cités dans les médias nationaux et internationaux. Il a comparu devant le Comité permanent de l'immigration de la Chambre des communes à Ottawa pour présenter ses travaux. Dr. Akbari préside le Atlantic Research Group on Economics of Immigration, Aging and Diversity. Il est également directeur académique du programme de maîtrise en économie appliquée de la Sobey School of Business

Howard Ramos est professeur de sociologie à Dalhousie University. Il étudie des questions de justice sociale et d'équité. Il a publié des ouvrages sur l'établissement des immigrants et des réfugiés, les mouvements sociaux, les droits de la personne, la défense de l'environnement, l'ethnicité, la race et le Canada atlantique. Il travaille actuellement sur des projets portant sur l'immigration au Canada atlantique, les villes secondaires, le financement des ONG par l'État et la défense de l'environnement. Pour en savoir plus sur son travail, visitez www.howardramos.ca ou www.perceptionsofchange.ca.

Le capital humain, en tant que source de nouvelles idées créées, est nécessaire à la croissance économique à long terme d'un pays et il l'est tout autant pour les petites régions et les régions secondaires. Cependant, la croissance du capital humain dépend en grande partie de la croissance démographique. Bien que la population canadienne connaisse un ralentissement de sa croissance démographique naturelle depuis des décennies, ce déclin a été plus rapide dans les centres secondaires et les zones rurales et plus prononcé dans le Canada atlantique. Afin de suivre l'évolution du développement du capital humain dans le reste du pays, les gouvernements fédéral, provinciaux et municipaux réagissent en explorant des moyens de promouvoir l'immigration en dehors des grandes villes du pays et continuent d'élaborer de nouvelles politiques novatrices par le biais du Programme des candidats des provinces, et d'expériences telles que le Programme pilote d'immigration au Canada atlantique. Cela signifie qu'au cours des dernières années, une plus grande proportion d'immigrants se sont établis à l'extérieur de Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver. Dans ce numéro de *Diversité canadienne*, nous explorons l'immigration vers des centres d'immigration non traditionnels, en mettant l'accent sur le Canada atlantique, et examinons ce qui fonctionne ou non, et examinons comment faire de l'immigration différemment.

Ce numéro débute avec un examen des tendances démographiques au Canada en soulignant le fait que ces tendances sont le plus prononcées au Canada atlantique. Barry Edmonston compare les provinces de la région aux tendances nationales. Ce faisant, il brosse un tableau de l'évolution de la population de 1971 à 2018 et se penche également sur les taux de natalité et les migrations d'entrée et de sortie. Malgré que la situation soit sombre, il conclut sur une note optimiste en rappelant aux lecteurs que les communautés peuvent faire la différence, tout comme les décideurs peuvent contrebalancer les tendances auxquelles sont confrontés les centres secondaires, et donc changer le portrait.

La situation est également étudiée par Michael Haan qui analyse le rôle des programmes de candidats des provinces (PCN) dans la redistribution des immigrants des plus grandes provinces vers les plus petites, ainsi que des grandes villes vers les plus petites. Il constate que le PCN a peu fait pour changer la répartition provinciale des nouveaux arrivants. Cependant, cela a amené davantage de nouveaux arrivants à choisir des villes plus petites au lieu de villes plus grandes. Ainsi, bien que le PCN n'affecte pas le choix de la province, il affecte l'emplacement dans une province. Lisa Kaida, Feng Hou et Max Stick étudient des questions analogues dans leur examen de la migration secondaire des immigrants; c'est-à-dire où ils se déplacent après avoir atterri au Canada. Ce faisant, ils constatent que les immigrants qui s'établissent initialement dans une petite ville sont susceptibles de choisir une petite ville s'ils déménagent au sein du Canada. Ce sont des résultats encourageants pour les programmes municipaux dans les petites villes, tels que ceux du Canada atlantique visant à attirer des immigrants.

Plusieurs facteurs économiques et non économiques sont à l'origine du départ des immigrants d'une communauté en particulier. Evie Tastsoglou et Seperi Sevgur analysent ces facteurs dans le cadre d'une enquête menée auprès d'immigrants au Canada atlantique provenant du Moyen-Orient. Ils constatent que les réseaux familiaux et ethniques jouent un rôle important dans les décisions de mobilité. Les réseaux ont fourni un soutien à l'établissement ainsi que des informations et des liens sur le marché du travail. Tony Fang, Kerri Neil et Halina Sapeha explorent des problèmes semblables dans leur rapport enquêtant sur les réfugiés syriens à St. John's, à Terre-Neuve. Ils ont constaté que la plupart des réfugiés syriens nouvellement arrivés ne savaient pas s'ils resteraient à St. John's ou partiraient pour d'autres régions du Canada. Leur désir de rester était en grande partie basé sur la convivialité des communautés locales, le sentiment de sécurité et les possibilités d'éducation offertes par St. John's. L'intention de partir était largement basée sur le manque d'opportunités d'emploi.

La capacité d'examiner ces tendances à une plus grande échelle dépend toutefois des données dont nous disposons pour étudier la situation des immigrants au Canada. Ted McDonald et Michael Haan exposent les options de données et démontrent l'importance des données administratives dans les enquêtes sur les questions d'immigration et d'établissement dans les centres secondaires. Ils soulignent également l'importance de relier les données provinciales aux registres administratifs nationaux, aux enquêtes de Statistique Canada ainsi qu'aux recensements. Ils montrent en exemple le fait que les dossiers de santé du Nouveau-Brunswick peuvent aider à mieux comprendre les facteurs qui contribuent à la rétention des immigrants dans cette province.

Le succès de la rétention et de l'intégration des immigrants dans les centres secondaires dépend en grande partie des communautés et des organisations de fournisseurs de services. Nabiha Attalah partage son expérience de la croissance et de l'histoire d'ISANS (Immigrant Settlement Services Association of Nova Scotia). Ce faisant, elle souligne le facteur « assez grand / assez petit » des organismes dans les centres secondaires. Contrairement aux grands centres, ceux des petites villes sont souvent le seule organisme ou l'un des rares organismes en activité. Cela signifie qu'ils sont chargés d'offrir une gamme complète de services et jouent un rôle central de liaison entre les agences et au sein de la communauté. Sur ce front, ils sont gros. Mais en même temps, ils sont petits et étroitement liés, avec de nombreuses relations humaines qui aident les immigrants dans les communautés à se retrouver facilement et permettant à l'organisation d'agir rapidement lorsque des opportunités et des défis imprévus se présentent. Jill Bucklaschuk examine cette question plus en détail dans son article qui traite de l'Organisation de la communauté des immigrants et des réfugiés du Manitoba (IRCOM) et des services que celle-ci fournit. Son approche consiste à créer un système de services tout compris (soutiens intégrés) pour les nouveaux arrivants, comprenant des logements de transition abordables et d'autres services d'établissement pour une période de trois ans. C'est un excellent exemple des opportunités assez grandes / assez petites que peuvent offrir les centres secondaires. En fournissant tous ces services sous un toit, le système favorise également l'inclusion sociale.

Cependant, les plus petits centres ont également leur lot d'éléments qui entravent la réussite. Leyla Sall évalue les obstacles rencontrés par les étudiants internationaux du Nouveau-Brunswick, en soulignant que, dans de petites villes et centres secondaires, il y a souvent un manque de soutien institutionnel dont la fonction est de faciliter les transitions économiques et l'intégration. Les étudiants internationaux offrent aux petites villes une excellente occasion d'attirer de nouveaux arrivants et des résidents temporaires en voie de devenir de nouveaux citoyens. Chedly Belkhodja évalue également le manque, dans les centres secondaires, du soutien culturel et institutionnel dont les nouveaux arrivants ont besoin pour participer pleinement aux activités des communautés. Il donne en exemple les services d'inhumation et les cimetières musulmans dans les villes secondaires d'Ontario, du Québec et des Maritimes. Dans le cadre de son travail, il montre que si les communautés veulent être accueillantes, elles doivent également prendre en compte l'ensemble des besoins des nouveaux arrivants et s'adapter pour fournir des services adaptés à leur culture.

Bien qu'il soit important de mettre l'accent sur l'intégration économique, il est évident que les facteurs culturels sont importants, de même que les relations entre les enfants, les parents et les familles de nouveaux arrivants en lien avec le reste de la collectivité. Lloyd Wong et Howard Ramos suggèrent que les arènes de hockey et le jeu de hockey sont des sites clés pour déterminer si les communautés sont vraiment des espaces accueillants et multiculturels. Ils donnent en exemple les villes de Calgary et de Halifax et se servent de ces cas-

types pour identifier l'éventail de questions que les chercheurs devront poser s'ils veulent étendre leurs recherches analytiques au milieu culturel et social et aux interactions au quotidien.

Annick Germain souligne également l'importance accordée au quotidien dans son article sur les différences entre les sondages nationaux et les interactions quotidiennes dans les quartiers de Montréal. Elle démontre que, dans le quotidien, la plupart des gens s'entendent et s'accueillent, contrairement à certaines tendances que l'on pourrait trouver dans les sondages. Même dans les régions où il y a peu de nouveaux arrivants, l'ouverture se retrouve dans les interactions quotidiennes et des leçons peuvent être tirées sur la manière de faciliter ces points de contact pour les centres plus petits et secondaires.

Les problèmes d'abordabilité et d'étalement urbain rendent les grandes villes du Canada moins attrayantes pour les nouveaux arrivants. Par conséquence, les centres secondaires et les zones rurales deviennent de plus en plus des sites d'immigration, assez grands mais également suffisamment petits pour former des communautés d'établissement dynamiques et engagées. Un établissement réussi entraine à son tour une plus grande participation à tous les niveaux. Cette édition spéciale de *Diversité canadienne* se concentre sur les centres secondaires en tant que sites florissants pour les nouveaux arrivants, mais met également l'accent sur les obstacles et les défis qui doivent être surmontés pour assurer un établissement réussi. L'assimilation de ces réalités et défis est essentielle pour l'élaboration des politiques complémentaires qui nous aideront à maximiser les avantages de l'immigration et de la croissance économique.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION TO POPULATION CHANGE IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

Barry Edmonston is Research Professor at the University of Victoria. He received his PhD in demography from the University of Michigan. He has been a faculty member at Stanford and Cornell universities and senior researcher at the U. S. National Academy of Sciences. He served as President of the Canadian Population Society from 2010 to 2012. He co-edited with James Smith the widely-cited two-volume study of the demographic, economic, and fiscal effects of immigration on the United States, entitled *The New Americans*. With Eric Fong, he co-edited *The Changing Canadian Population*, which presents analysis of major Canadian demographic issues.

Because of declining natural increase – the difference between the number of births and deaths – in the Atlantic Provinces, migration has become the most important component in population growth. Overall, population growth slackened during the past five decades, with particularly marked reductions in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Present rates of natural increase in the Atlantic Provinces are close to zero, with the result that population change is primarily influenced by the movement of people into or out of the provinces. During the past thirty years, there has been moderate out-migration of younger adults from rural areas and small towns. Immigrant arrivals have partially counterbalanced the net out-migration of Canada-born residents in the Atlantic Provinces because immigrant arrivals exceed losses from net interprovincial migration. Currently, there is net in-migration for Prince Edward Island and smaller but still positive net in-migration for the other three Atlantic Provinces.

En raison de la diminution de l'accroissement naturel (la différence entre le nombre de naissances et de décès) dans les provinces de l'Atlantique, la migration est devenue la composante la plus importante de la croissance démographique. Dans l'ensemble, la croissance démographique s'est ralentie au cours des cinq dernières décennies, avec des réductions particulièrement marquées à Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador, en Nouvelle-Écosse et au Nouveau-Brunswick. Les taux actuels d'accroissement naturel dans les provinces de l'Atlantique sont presque nuls, de sorte que l'évolution de la population est principalement influencée par les mouvements de population qui entrent ou sortent des provinces. Au cours des trente dernières années, il y a eu une émigration modérée de jeunes adultes des zones rurales et des petites villes. Les arrivées d'immigrants ont partiellement contrebalancé l'émigration nette des résidents nés au Canada dans les provinces de l'Atlantique car les arrivées d'immigrants dépassent les pertes dues à la migration interprovinciale nette. À l'heure actuelle, il y a une migration d'entrée nette pour l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard et une migration d'entrée nette plus petite mais toujours positive pour les trois autres provinces de l'Atlantique.

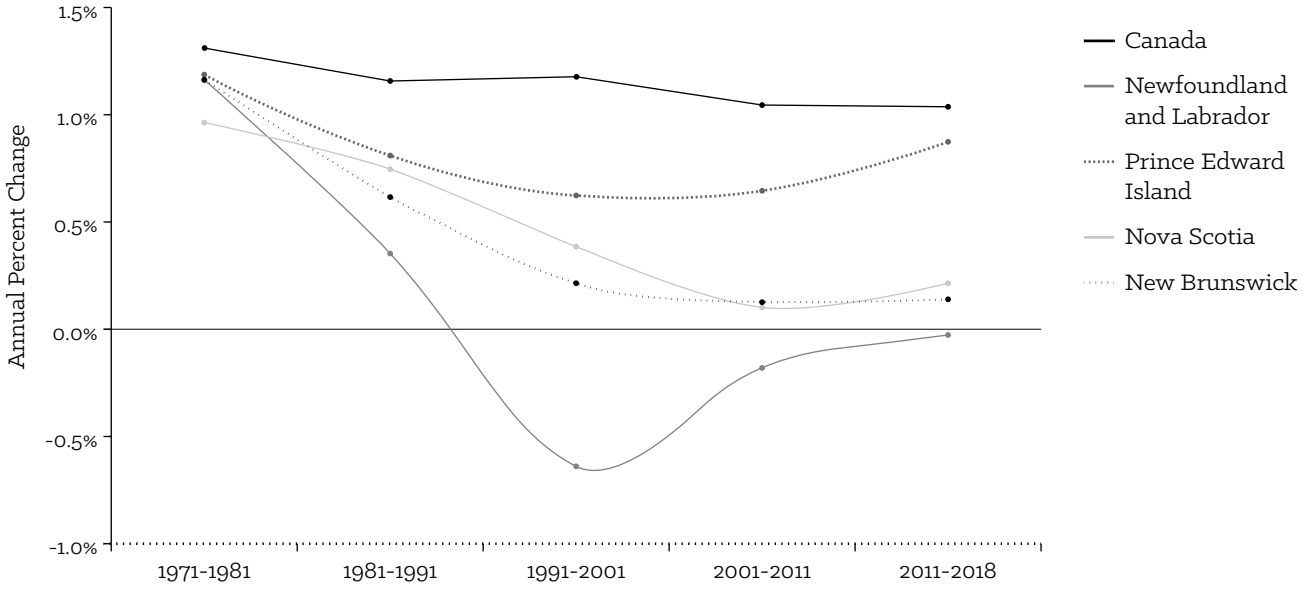
Because of declining natural increase in the Canadian population, migration has become the most important component in the population growth nationally as well as provincially. Hence, it is understandable that provincial and municipal authorities are keenly interested in factors that affect migration. For this reason, the role of immigrant settlement and resettlement needs to be placed within the broader context of migration (Edmonston 2011). Although immigrants comprise nearly one-fifth of the Canadian population, in most rural areas and small towns immigrants are a relatively small proportion and usually comprise less than ten percent of the resident population. During the past fifty years, there has been moderate out-migration of younger adults from rural areas and small towns. This is true throughout Canada and is not a pattern limited to the Atlantic Provinces. The four Atlantic Provinces, however, are distinctive because their populations are more likely to live in smaller towns and rural areas, and because the region lacks larger metropolitan centers of employment growth.

POPULATION CHANGE

Statistics Canada makes annual population estimates for all provinces, including estimates for the components of annual population change (see Statistics Canada 2018 and earlier years). These data are useful for analyzing the sources of provincial population change because they provide estimates of population changes due to natural increase (births minus deaths) and migration (including net interprovincial migration, immigration, and emigration).

As shown in Figure 1, average annual population growth rates for the Atlantic Provinces were between 1.0 and 1.2 percent in the 1970s, only slightly below Canada's average annual rate of 1.3 percent. During 2011 to 2018, however, annual population growth rates for the Atlantic Provinces had diminished from earlier levels, ranging from negligible growth in Newfoundland and Labrador to 0.9 percent in Prince Edward Island. Average annual population growth rates since 2011 have been modest in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, at 0.2 and 0.1 percent respectively.

FIGURE 1: AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF POPULATION CHANGE, 1971 TO 2018



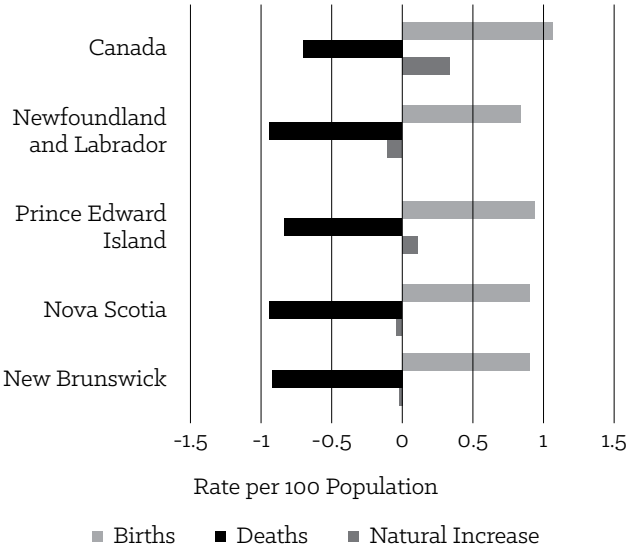
Overall, population growth slackened in the Atlantic Provinces during the past five decades, with particularly marked reductions in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Growth rates decreased slightly in Prince Edward Island, and current rates are only slightly lower than national rates. What accounts for these changes in population growth?

NATURAL INCREASE

There are two major components of population change: natural increase and migration. Natural increase is the difference between births and deaths. If there are more births than deaths, then there is a positive contribution to population changes. And, when deaths exceed births, there is a negative

contribution. Currently, in the 2010s, the average birth rate in Canada is 1.1 per 100 and the death rate is 0.7 per 100, which produces an annual rate of natural increase of 0.4 percent, as shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2: AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE AND BIRTH AND DEATH COMPONENTS (PER 100 POPULATION), 2011 TO 2018



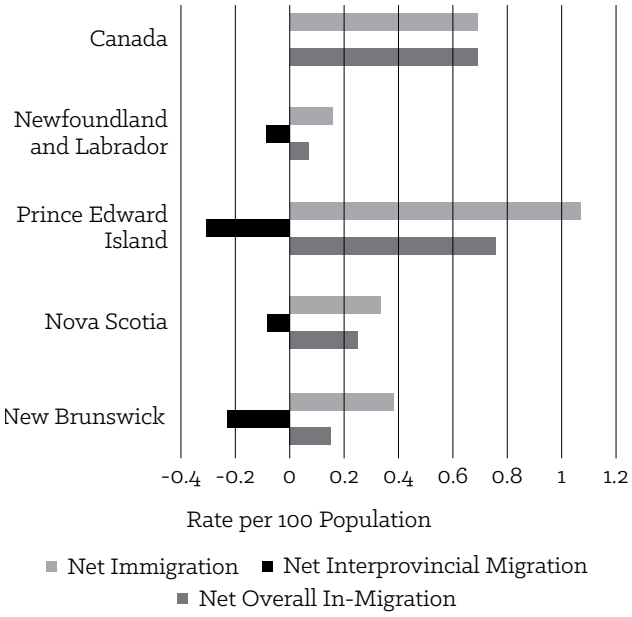
For the four Atlantic Provinces, however, the annual rate of natural increase is either negative (-0.3 percent in Newfoundland and Labrador) or close to zero (+0.1 percent in Prince Edward Island and -0.1 percent in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick).

Natural increase in the Atlantic Provinces was strongly positive in the 1970s; however, two powerful demographic changes led to the diminution of natural increase rates in recent years. First, Canadian fertility rates have fallen significantly over the past fifty years. Canada's total fertility rate (a measure of how many children a woman would have over her lifetime) dropped from 1.8 in the 1970s to 1.5 in 2017, a decrease of 0.3 children. Declines in the total fertility rate have been even larger for the Atlantic Provinces, with decreases of 1.1 children for Newfoundland (from total fertility rates of 2.4 in the 1970s to 1.3 at present), 0.7 children for Prince Edward Island (from 2.2 to 1.5 children), and 0.6 children for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (from 2.0 to 1.4 and from 2.1 to 1.5, respectively). Current fertility rates in the Atlantic Provinces are among the lowest in Canada. The second important demographic change is the aging of national and provincial populations. Relative to the 1970s, current populations have fewer younger adults and a greater proportion of elderly. These shifts in the population age distribution reduce the number of births and increase the number of deaths, contributing in declines in the rate of natural increase. Present rates of natural increase in the Atlantic Provinces are close to zero, with the result that population change is primarily influenced by the movement of people into or out of the provinces.

MIGRATION

Net provincial migration is the second major component of population change. Provincial migration comprises the movement of people within Canada – called interprovincial or internal migration – as well as the arrival and departure of people who are originally from outside Canada, or international migration. As Figure 3 shows, internal and international movements vary greatly for Canadian province.

FIGURE 3: AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES OF NET IN-MIGRATION AND ITS COMPONENTS (PER 100 POPULATION), 2011 TO 2018



Since 2011, all provinces and territories have gained population from international arrivals. Although Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta received the largest number of immigrants, the relative contribution of immigrant arrivals to population growth in recent years has been the greatest in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Net interprovincial migration, however, has offset gains from international migrants in most provinces and territories. Residents have been departing most provinces in the 2010s, with net out-flows of about 25,000 annually to Alberta and British Columbia – the only two provinces to gain from interprovincial migration during this decade. In the Atlantic Provinces, international immigrant arrivals exceed losses from net interprovincial migration, which results in net in-migration for Prince Edward Island and smaller but still positive net in-migration, on per capita basis, for the other three Atlantic Provinces.

REASONS FOR OPTIMISM

Despite the above trends, there are reasons for optimism. First, local people have been engaged in attempts to deal with the changing economic and social conditions for some time. Indeed, the current situation may have been worse if recognition had not been made years ago, and programs were not developed to improve conditions. As it is, many communities have engaged in sustainable community development, as can be seen in Canada's Community Futures program, which has existed since the mid-1980s and offers a useful history. Second, federal and provincial governments have given increased attention and more funding to local and regional development programs and greater support for public services in outlying areas. Although significant challenges exist to create and maintain adequate public services and employment opportunities in rural areas and remote communities, immigrant settlement and resettlement can help address these challenges.

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THE GROWING RECOGNITION OF NEWCOMER RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION IN CANADA AS A LOCAL IMPERATIVE

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As immigration policies become increasingly decentralized, it is of growing importance to learn about the individual and community-level factors that predict the successful recruitment and retention of immigrants. In this paper, I elaborate on the importance of these policies, and demonstrate how the provincial nominee program has affected the location choice of newcomers.

À mesure que les politiques d'immigration deviennent de plus en plus décentralisées, il est de plus en plus important de se renseigner sur les facteurs individuels et communautaires qui prédisent le recrutement et la rétention réussis d'immigrants. Dans cet article, je précise l'importance de ces politiques et montre comment le Programme des candidats des provinces a eu une incidence sur le choix des nouveaux arrivants en matière d'emplacement.

Aside from its largest cities, most of Canada is seeing declining employment rates, rising health care costs, and shrinking sources of labour supply. Most, though certainly not all, of the reasons for these challenges are demographic; as the proportion of young people in the population trends downward, the share of older Canadians continues to rise. Nowhere is this shift more evident than in Atlantic Canada.

The Atlantic region has grappled with dismally low rates of return on early childhood health, education, and infrastructure investments. The population has been too small a share to sustain the investments made by a province, and it has lost many of its best and brightest to other parts of Canada and the world.

Although as a region Atlantic Canada felt the sting worst, it is certainly not alone. Even in Ontario, Canada's indisputable demographic powerhouse, the farther you go from a major city (especially Toronto), the more the local population looked, and looks, like that of a demographic have-not province.

The low fertility, population aging, and high rates of out-migration that exist for populations living in roughly 95 percent of Canada's land mass make an obvious case for increased immigration – replace domestic out-migrants with international in-migrants. But, the historical record shows that newcomers to Canada tend to settle in the same locations as internal migrants, so rather than ameliorate a population distribution challenge, many immigrants have instead

exacerbated infrastructure mismatch.[1]

Thankfully for these demographic have-nots, a new chapter on Canada's population history is currently being written, one where sub-national governments – provinces, and, increasingly, municipalities – are emerging as key players in the quest to attract and retain newcomers.

PROVINCIAL NOMINEE PROGRAMS

As provinces realized that Federal selection schemes did not always serve their goals of population rejuvenation, they began to push for some control of the selection process. An early response to this from the Federal Government was the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Table 1 lists the program enactment dates by province.

TABLE 1: YEAR OF INTRODUCTION OF PROVINCIAL NOMINEE PROGRAM, BY PROVINCE

Province/Territory	Date of First Signed PNP Agreement	Start of PN Program in P/T
Newfoundland and Labrador	September 1, 1999	1999
New Brunswick	February 22, 1999	1999
Manitoba	October 22, 1996	1999
Prince Edward Island	March 29, 2001	2001
Saskatchewan	March 16, 1998	2001
British Columbia	April 19, 1998	2001
Alberta	March, 2002	2002
Yukon	April, 2001	2002
Nova Scotia	August 27, 2002	2003
Ontario	November 21, 2005	2007
Northwest Territories	August, 2009	2009

Source: Government of Canada 2012

As provinces began to control more of their demographic destiny, they became more invested in immigrant recruitment. Provincial officials would travel to other countries, often alongside Federal officials via the Destination Canada initiative, promoting the benefits of living in their province.

At first glance, however, it appears as though these programs did very little to affect the location choices of newcomers to Canada. Table 2 lists the intended destination provinces of immigrants by year and shows that provincial nominee programs did very little to affect the flow of migrants.

If the story ended here, we would conclude that there are no discernable effects of the provincial nominee program on location choice for newcomers to Canada. As is often the case, however, the full story appears to be more complex.

If we switch focus away from looking at settlement across provinces, and focus instead on whether immigrants intend to settle in a major urban centre or if they instead choose one of Canada's less urban destinations within a province, a different picture emerges. In Table 3, we look at principal applicants between the ages of 18 and 64 only, and only at 1996-2009 arrivals, to ensure that we have independent results that capture the years around the introduction of Provincial Nominee Programs. The results are from a logistic

1 Although it is true that several federal initiatives over the years have tried to influence where newcomers live in Canada, most of the programs have had relatively limited success.

TABLE 2: INTENDED DESTINATION PROVINCES OF IMMIGRANTS BY YEAR

Landing Province	Year of Landing						
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
NF	581	414	402	424	417	392	404
NB	717	663	724	659	758	798	705
MB	3,933	3,702	2,997	3,725	4,635	4,591	4,615
PE	150	144	136	135	189	135	108
SK	1,814	1,733	1,564	1,728	1,882	1,704	1,667
BC	52,023	47,845	35,975	36,122	37,428	38,482	34,057
AB	13,897	12,831	11,187	12,095	14,363	16,405	14,783
NS	3,224	2,833	2,043	1,595	1,608	1,698	1,419
ON	119,723	117,733	92,400	104,167	133,510	148,641	133,588

Landing Province	Year of Landing							% Change
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	
NF	359	579	497	508	546	627	606	-1.7%
NB	666	795	1,091	1,646	1,643	1,856	1,913	15.0%
MB	6,503	7,426	8,096	10,047	10,954	11,218	13,523	24.4%
PE	154	310	330	565	992	1,454	1,759	-20.0%
SK	1,668	1,943	2,119	2,724	3,516	4,835	6,890	-2.2%
BC	35,229	37,028	44,770	42,083	38,961	43,992	41,439	-11.5%
AB	15,893	16,475	19,404	20,716	20,861	24,199	27,017	7.1%
NS	1,474	1,771	1,929	2,586	2,523	2,651	2,388	20.1%
ON	119,722	125,094	140,525	125,892	111,315	110,878	106,867	-0.4%

Source: The Permanent Resident Data System (PRDS)

regression where the outcome of interest is living outside a major Census Metropolitan Area.

The first noteworthy trend is the increase in the proportion of newcomers that choose to live outside of Canada's largest cities. Aside from all other variables included in this model, it seems that there is still a growing tendency to settle in smaller centres.

Demographic and educational characteristics, though all statistically significant, do little to affect destination choice.

There are significant differences across source region. Newcomers from other parts of North America and the United Kingdom were both roughly twice as likely to avoid Canada's major cities than Europeans are. Africans, Filipinos, Latin Americans, and Asians were more likely to choose our biggest cities.

Finally, turning to admission category, we see a fairly large and positive coefficient for Provincial Nominees. People that landed in Canada under this provincial selection scheme were more than four times as likely to live outside a major urban centre than other immigrants.

Although the same is true for Refugees and members of the Family Class, the magnitudes are not as large, strongly suggesting that the introduction of the Provincial Nominee Program is helping all of Canada enjoy the benefits of immigration. These results are robust to various model specifications.

PROVINCIAL NOMINEE PROGRAMS AFFECT WHERE PEOPLE LIVE

The Provincial Nominee Program represents one of the more durable programs for affecting the location choices of immigrants. By corresponding directly with provincial officials, prospective newcomers have an opportunity to learn about lesser-known parts of the country. Although movement to gateway cities remains strong, the movement appears to be slowing suggesting that the program is helping to encourage immigrants to give other parts of Canada a try. Our results suggest that although the program does not appear to affect choice of province, it does affect location within provinces.

TABLE 3: DETERMINANTS OF RESIDING OUT OF A MAJOR CITY

Years or landing		
1996	Ref.	
1997	0.876	***
1998	0.894	***
1999	0.920	***
2000	0.909	***
2001	0.838	***
2002	0.876	***
2003	0.967	***
2004	1.024	
2005	1.034	*
2006	1.095	***
2007	1.131	***
2008	1.164	***
2009	1.210	***
Demographic Characteristics		
Age	1.000	
Married	1.045	***
Male	1.031	
Education		
Trades	1.058	***
Bachelor or More	0.883	***
Source Region		
North America	2.216	***
United Kingdom	1.973	***
Africa	0.755	***
The Phillipines	0.464	***
Latin America	0.618	***
Asia	0.401	***
Admission Categories		
Provincial Nominee Program	4.317	***
Refugee	1.477	***
Family	1.527	***
Other	Ref.	

* p <0.05 ** p <0.01*** p < 0.001

Source: The Permanent Resident Data System (PRDS)

In recent years, the recognition of immigration as a local issue has been gaining even more traction, with Atlantic Canada initiating its own pilot program for recruitment and retention. Additionally, a growing number of municipalities are launching immigration strategies, suggesting that the future may contain even more localized programs. If the Provincial Nominee Program is any indication, it is possible that these local initiatives will further encourage newcomers to live outside of Canada's big cities.

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SETTLEMENT AND RETENTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN NON-GATEWAY CITIES: TRENDS SINCE THE 2000S

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Steering immigrants away from traditional gateway cities of Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver may help balance the geographic distribution of immigrants and counter declining populations and labour shortages in smaller cities. However, a large-scale analysis on immigrant retention in smaller cities is limited. Using the Longitudinal Immigration Database, we analyze the geographic distribution of recent immigrant cohorts (2000-2014 arrivals) by city size. We find smaller cities, especially those in Atlantic Canada and Quebec, are less successful in retaining newcomers. However, the geographic distribution of an immigrant cohort is fairly stable over time, suggesting immigrants who initially settled in smaller cities are likely to relocate to other smaller cities, staying away from the gateway cities. Thus, if non-traditional destinations like Atlantic Canada, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan are able to increase the number of entering immigrants through specific immigration selection programs like the Provincial Nominee Programs, they will likely remain in smaller cities.

L'éloignement des immigrants des villes d'accès traditionnelles, telles que Toronto, Montréal ou Vancouver, peut aider à équilibrer la répartition géographique des immigrants et à contrer le déclin de la population et la pénurie de main-d'œuvre dans les petites villes. Cependant, une analyse à grande échelle sur la rétention des immigrants dans les petites villes est limitée. À l'aide Banque de données longitudinales sur les immigrants (BDIM), nous analysons la répartition géographique des cohortes d'immigrants récents (arrivées entre 2000 et 2014) par taille de ville. Nous constatons que les petites villes, en particulier celles du Canada atlantique et du Québec, réussissent moins bien à retenir les nouveaux arrivants. Cependant, la répartition géographique d'une cohorte d'immigrants est assez stable dans le temps, ce qui suggère que les immigrants qui se sont initialement installés dans des villes plus petites sont susceptibles de s'installer dans d'autres villes plus petites, et d'éviter les grandes villes d'entrée. Ainsi, si des destinations non traditionnelles comme le Canada atlantique, le Manitoba et la Saskatchewan sont en mesure d'augmenter le nombre d'immigrants entrants grâce à des programmes de sélection d'immigration spécifiques tels que le Programme des candidats des provinces, ces immigrants resteront probablement dans des villes plus petites.

Steering immigrants away from traditional gateway cities of Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver may help balance the geographic distribution of immigrants and counter declining populations and labour shortages in smaller cities (Hou 2007). Using the Longitudinal Immigration Database, we analyze the geographic distribution of recent immigrant cohorts (2000-2014 arrivals) by city size. We examine where these immigrants intended to settle and actually settled, and how immigrant retention varied by region and admission category. Further, we look at the trends in geographic distributions of new arrivals over time.

COMPARISON OF INITIAL AND INTENDED DESTINATIONS

We look at six categories of urban areas defined by population size: Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver; secondary cities including Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Ottawa, Quebec City, and Winnipeg; small Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs including Halifax, Moncton, St. John's, etc.); and small urban areas including Census Agglomeration (CAs) - areas surrounding a core with a population of at least 10,000. We also examine immigrants through four groups of admission categories: Provincial Nominees; other economic immigrants; family class immigrants; and refugees. Table 1 presents our findings. It shows the percentage of adult immigrants who landed in Canada in 2000-2014 and who initially settled in their intended urban areas by city size. The percentages for Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are relatively high at 87 percent, 91 percent, and 90 percent, respectively. However, as city size declines, so does the percentage of immigrants who actually settled in their intended destination. The percentage for secondary cities is 86 percent, followed by small CMAs at 78 percent and small urban areas at 72 percent.

When these percentages are broken down by admission category, we find that family class immigrants are more likely to settle in their intended destinations than other immigrants. There is also a large variation in the rate of immigrants settling in their intended destination across regions. In Atlantic Canada, only 55 percent of immigrants who intended to settle in small urban areas in the region actually settled there, compared to 78 percent in Alberta.

TABLE 1: PERCENT OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS INITIALLY SETTLED IN THEIR INTENDED URBAN AREAS. 2000 TO 2014

	Montreal	Toronto	Vancouver	Secondary Cities	Small CMAs	Small Urban Areas
All	**87.1**	**90.9**	**90.1**	**85.8**	**78.2**	**72.1**
By Immigration Class						
Provincial Nominees	84.1	88.0	92.7	87.7	77.8	69.7
Other Economic Immigrants	86.1	87.0	86.0	80.9	70.1	68.7
Family Class	94.5	95.6	94.5	91.1	84.7	76.8
Refugees	86.7	92.4	90.6	81.9	79.0	72.9
By Intended Regions						
Atlantic					72.0	55.0
Quebec	87.1			80.1	69.9	70.6
Ontario		90.9		80.0	78.0	69.9
Manitoba/Saskatchewan				84.7	81.7	76.7
Alberta				89.7		78.4
British Columbia			90.1		83.2	73.9

Source: Statistics Canada. Longitudinal Immigration Database 2016

IMMIGRANT RETENTION BY CITY SIZE

Once immigrants settle in a specific urban area, it is important to also ask how likely they are to remain there over time. Table 2 shows that immigrants who first settled in small cities are less likely to stay in their initial destination. Five years after arrival, 86 percent, 74 percent, and 65 percent of immigrants remain in the initial destinations if they settle in secondary cities, small CMAs, and small urban areas, respectively. After ten years, the retention rates of immigrants in these three urban areas further drop to 81 percent, 65 percent and 52 percent, respectively. By contrast, nine out of ten immigrants who originally settled in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver remain there five years after arrival.

TABLE 2: PERCENT OF IMMIGRANTS STAYING IN THEIR INITIAL URBAN AREAS 5 AND 10 YEARS AFTER IMMIGRATION

		Montreal	Toronto	Vancouver	Secondary Cities	Small CMAs	Small Urban Areas
				5 years after immigration			
All		**89.0**	**91.3**	**91.7**	**86.0**	**73.6**	**64.9**
By Immigration Class	Provincial Nominees	90.3	90.8	93.8	86.0	73.6	64.9
	Other Economic Immigrants	80.3	89.2	90.9	84.5	67.9	63.5
	Family Class	91.1	93.4	92.2	88.3	79.1	68.7
	Refugees	85.5	93.0	89.7	84.4	73.6	57.5
By Initial Regions	Atlantic					64.9	49.8
	Quebec	89.1			79.9	55.8	59.2
	Ontario		91.3		81.6	73.9	62.7
	Manitoba/Saskatchewan				84.6	79.3	70.1
	Alberta				89.5		68.5
	British Columbia			91.8		80.3	67.3
				10 years after immigration			
All		**84.3**	**88.3**	**89.2**	**80.5**	**65.1**	**52.4**
By Immigration Class	Provincial Nominees	88.1	87.6	92.6	77.1	56.7	46.7
	Other Economic Immigrants	71.0	86.3	88.4	79.1	58.6	51.1
	Family Class	86.7	90.6	89.7	84.3	73.1	58.7
	Refugees	79.1	90.0	87.5	79.3	64.8	44.0
By Inital Regions	Atlantic					57.4	45.4
	Québec	85.8			74.7	50.0	50.2
	Ontario		88.5		76.2	65.8	48.9
	Manitoba/Saskatchewan				77.0	67.2	47.9
	Alberta				87.2		57.0
	British Columbia			89.8		72.2	56.6

Source: Statistics Canada. Longitudinal Immigration Database 2016

When we further break down the retention rates by admission category, several notable patterns emerge. First, the retention rates of refugees in small urban areas and other economic immigrants in small CMAs five and ten years after arrival are notably low. The trend is also seen in Montreal. Second, family class immigrants' retention rates are relatively high across cities of all sizes. Third, the Provincial Nominees' retention rates in small CMAs and small urban areas drop rapidly after the five-year mark. Ten years after arrival, less than 60 percent of those who initially settled in these small cities remain in their initial destination. Smaller cities in Atlantic Canada and Quebec have the lowest retention rates of newcomers. Five years after arrival, 65 percent of immigrants who initially settled in small CMAs or small urban areas in Atlantic Canada still remain in the initial destination. Ten years after arrival, the rates drop to 57 percent (small CMAs) and 45 percent (small urban areas). Similar trends are observed in Quebec.

TRENDS IN GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS

So far, we find that smaller cities are less successful in retaining immigrants than the largest metropolitan centres. Does this mean immigrants eventually leave smaller cities and move to big cities? Table 3 examines these issues and illustrates two trends worth noting. First, the geographic distribution of an immigrant cohort is fairly stable over time across city sizes.

For example, 8.1 percent of immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2000-2004 initially settled in small CMAs. This percentage rose slightly to 8.4 percent and 8.5 percent five and ten years after arrival, respectively. Second, across the entering cohorts, the proportion of immigrants who initially settled in Toronto is rapidly declining (44 percent for the 2000-2004 arrival; 31 percent for the 2010-2014 arrival), while the share of secondary cities as the initial destination is on the rise (14 percent for the 2000-2004 arrival; 22 percent for the 2010-2014 arrival). The increase in new immigrants in Western Canadian CMAs, namely Calgary, Edmonton, and Winnipeg, is in particular contributing to this upward trend.

TABLE 3 : DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY ARRIVAL COHORTS (PERCENTAGE)

	Intended Destination	Initial Destination	5 Years after Immigration	10 Years after Immigration
		2000-2004 Arrivals		
Montreal	15.0	14.9	13.6	13.0
Toronto	46.3	44.2	43.0	42.8
Vancouver	14.0	14.3	14.4	14.2
Secondary Cities	13.4	14.2	15.8	16.7
Small CMAs	7.3	8.1	8.4	8.5
Small Urban Areas	2.2	2.4	2.8	2.9
Rural Areas	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.1
		2005-2009 Arrivals		
Montreal	16.4	15.8	14.6	
Toronto	37.5	36.8	36.4	
Vancouver	14.4	14.5	14.5	
Secondary Cities	16.2	17.4	18.9	
Small CMAs	9.1	9.1	9.0	
Small Urban Areas	3.7	3.9	3.9	
Rural Areas	2.8	2.6	2.7	
		2005-2009 Arrivals		
Montreal	17.3	15.7		
Toronto	31.2	31.3		
Vancouver	12.1	12.6		
Secondary Cities	20.9	22.3		
Small CMAs	9.8	9.8		
Small Urban Areas	5.2	5.1		
Rural Areas	3.6	3.2		

Source: Statistics Canada. Longitudinal Immigration Database 2016

IMMIGRANTS TO SMALL URBAN DESTINATIONS MOVE TO OTHER SMALL CITIES

The size of initial destination matters. If newcomers initially settle in smaller cities, they will mostly stay away from larger metropolitan areas, although they may move between smaller cities. If non-traditional destinations like Atlantic Canada, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan are able to increase the number of entering immigrants/refugees through targeted immigration selection programs such as the Provincial Nominee Programs and refugee private sponsorship, these newcomers will likely remain in smaller cities.

Finally, one cautionary tale is that the rising proportion of entering immigrants in Western Canadian cities (e.g. Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon) may be attributed to regional economic conditions. The boom in resource industries in Alberta and

Saskatchewan over the 2000s and early 2010s might have attracted new immigrants, accelerating the geographic redistribution of recent arrivals (Bonikowska et al. 2017). Although the present study offers an optimistic picture of the geographic dispersion of immigrants, it may not be a long-term trend as the resource sectors experience slowdown in the second half of the 2010s.

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MIGRATING TO AND FROM ATLANTIC CANADA: THE ROLE OF MIDDLE EASTERN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES AND ETHNIC NETWORKS

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Transnational connections, social capital and networks, and family considerations which are found to be central in migrants' lives and decisions in relation to migration and settlement may not be sufficient for migrant retention when some key expectations are not met. Our qualitative research investigated the migration trajectories and histories of Middle Eastern migrants in Atlantic Canada and Ontario. Our findings revealed that transnational family and ethnic networks provided support to migrants in their initial move to Atlantic Canada. On the other hand, the same connections proved equally instrumental and important when migrants, disappointed with Atlantic Canadian political economy of labour, decided to move to Ontario.

Les liens transnationaux, le capital social et les réseaux, ainsi que les considérations familiales, qui sont au cœur de la vie et des décisions des migrants en matière de migration et d'établissement, peuvent ne pas suffire à retenir les migrants lorsque certaines attentes clés ne sont pas satisfaites. Notre recherche qualitative a examiné les trajectoires migratoires et les histoires des migrants du Moyen-Orient au Canada atlantique et en Ontario. Nos résultats ont révélé que les réseaux transnationaux de familles et d'ethnies apportaient un soutien aux migrants lors de leur premier déménagement au Canada atlantique. Par ailleurs, les mêmes liens se sont révélés tout aussi utiles et importants lorsque les migrants, déçus par l'économie politique du travail du Canada atlantique, ont décidé de s'installer en Ontario.

Literature on transnationalism has been steadily growing since its first conceptualization by Schiller, Basch, and Blanc in 1992 by way of calling scholars and policy makers to accept the realities of migrants who simultaneously invest and engage in social, symbolic, economic, and political connections across borders. There is growing evidence that members of families retain their sense of collectivity and kinship in spite of being spread across multiple nations by way of sustaining reciprocal obligations, love and trust, even within unequal power contexts (Tastsoglou and Dobrowolsky 2017). Relatedly, family considerations typically play a key role in migration decision making and home-making of migrants across all immigration streams. Furthermore, new research has begun to focus on family, social capital and networks, because the three are found to lead to better mental health among immigrants and elicit improved success in both the retention and settlement of immigrants as well as their longer term economic outcomes.

The broader social and geo-political context of our analysis is not only situated in relation to an increasingly globalized world and transnational communities but also in relation to the neo-liberal migration policy frameworks, such as marketization of immigration that privilege economic categories of immigrants (entrepreneurs as opposed to family classes); securitization of migration with increased security measures that cast suspicion on categories of immigrants particularly from the Middle East; and successive wars and regional instability as a result in various countries in that region. At the same time, the regional context in Atlantic Canada is one of long-standing and well-established ethnic and religious communities of Middle-Eastern origins (Tastsoglou and Petrinioti 2017), which are expanding with more contemporary migration of diverse kinds from that region.

Through a collection of 47 qualitative in-depth interviews, during 2012, from major urban centres in the four provinces of Atlantic Canada and Ontario we examined family and ethnic networks and how they affect the migration experiences of Middle-Eastern newcomers to and from Atlantic Canada. For this purpose, we ensured that the Ontario residents were immigrants who had lived in Atlantic Canada prior to moving to Ontario. Participants included 31 women and 16 men who had been in Canada ranging from 4 months to 45 years, and had come under different admission categories (refugees, dependent spouses, landed immigrants, students). Among the participants, 38 possessed at least one university or college degree and most who came from Kuwait, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt were Palestinians and Egyptians who had lived and worked in various Gulf countries before immigrating to Canada because of lack of access to citizenship and restrictions on their children's school attendance there.

Participants provided a range of reasons, typically "push factors," for leaving their countries of origin. Some of these included education and better future for themselves and their children, oppressive regimes or conflict in home countries. Of greater interest however are the "pull factors" to Atlantic Canada. While they referred to Atlantic Canada's good reputation as a safe place to raise a family, as well as the reputation of its universities, a job offer or the Provincial Nominee Program system facilitating immigration, key reasons included the presence in Atlantic Canada of extended family members, co-ethnic friends or colleagues, and especially for the older generations, the Lebanese "village connections." While few respondents received direct financial help, in many cases, the familial and ethnic networks provided initial shelter, transportation, orientation/guidance to the new environment, childcare, introduction to friends, sharing of experiences, and sometimes even jobs. This assistance was sometimes in addition to mainstream institutional support. Some families had ongoing "astronaut" arrangements, with wife and children in Atlantic Canada being supported by a husband/father still working in the Middle East. In the case of students, several had been fully supported by their families overseas. It should be noted here that while family and ethnic networks were supportive in terms of concrete services to newly arrived kin and co-ethnics, they were not behind the legal sponsorship arrangements and were not interested in sponsoring family members or co-ethnics.

Another interesting finding of this study is the role of familial and ethnic networks in facilitating exit from Atlantic Canada for their immigrant kin/co-ethnics who were disappointed with the employment opportunities in Atlantic Canada. It was these very family and ethnic/transnational networks that helped the would-be "leavers" to move to Toronto or Ottawa by providing contacts, job opportunities or temporary shelter in the respective cities. The "friendly" Atlantic Canadian communities, even the presence of extended family and ethnic networks or "village connections," the reputation of universities etc. were not sufficient reasons by themselves for many Middle Eastern immigrants to permanently settle in Atlantic Canada. These second-time migrants in Ontario spoke openly about their disappointment with Atlantic Canada with respect to their job expectations, tiny ethnic communities, small towns and limited diversity. They were lured by better career prospects for themselves, more opportunities for their children and cosmopolitanism of large Canadian cities west of Atlantic Canada. However, they also recognized that their move west was facilitated by extended family contacts and co-ethnic networks both in Atlantic Canada and Ontario.

FAMILY AND ETHNIC NETWORKS: NOT A PANACEA FOR ATLANTIC CANADIAN POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT ISSUES

The political and pragmatic commitment to countering neo-liberalism in the area of immigration by strengthening family immigration should not overlook the fact that transnational families are as astute in making decisions on where

to settle and how best to mobilize networks as native-born ones. Important as the transnational family and ethnic networks maybe in immigration and settlement, the findings of this study point to the direction of the political economy of labour and development in Atlantic Canada as representing the major factor in the retention of immigrants. More intersectional and quantitative research is needed, paying attention to immigration category, age, gender, education, and period of immigration, as well as their combined action, for more broadly generalizable conclusions.

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REFUGEE RETENTION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

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Our study examines settlement experiences of refugees that have settled in Newfoundland and Labrador and analyzes factors that influence refugee integration and retention in the province. Atlantic provinces tend to struggle more than the rest of Canada to attract and retain newcomers. Canada's regionalized refugee resettlement program offers an opportunity for the Atlantic provinces to increase their immigrant population but this is hindered by the unwillingness of refugees to remain in their first destination. Our research found that while many respondents enjoyed living in St. John's and had positive experiences with local people and service providers, they shared concerns about their employment prospects, which was a major factor in their consideration or intention of relocating.

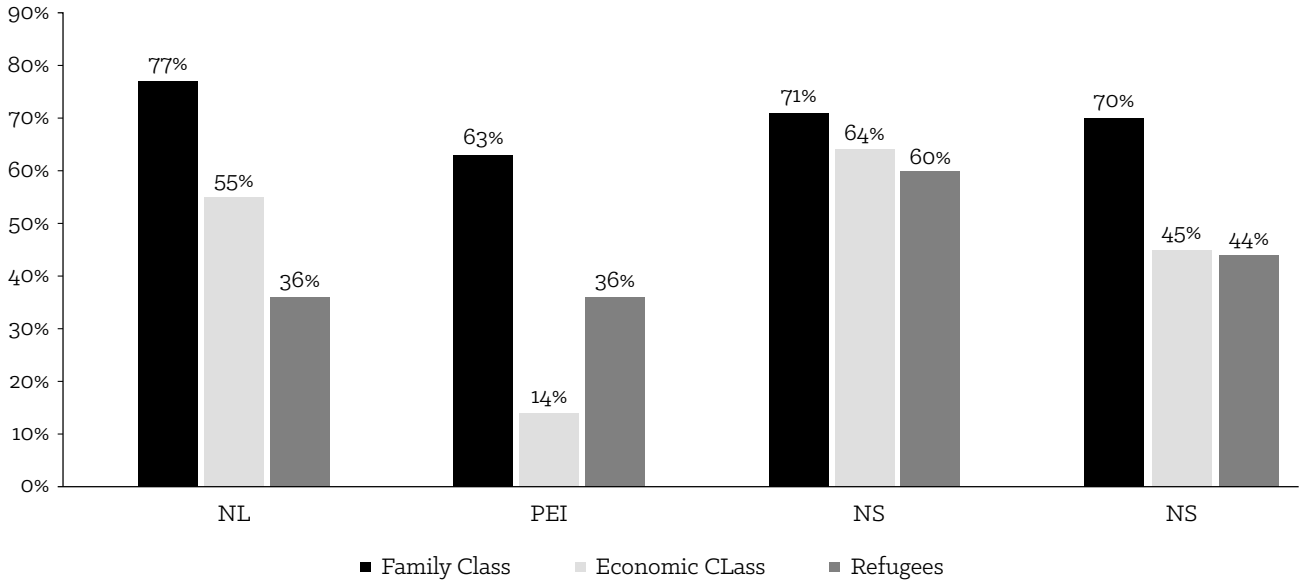
Notre étude examine les expériences d'établissement des réfugiés qui se sont installés à Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador, et analyse les facteurs qui influencent l'intégration et le maintien des réfugiés dans la province. Les provinces de l'Atlantique ont plus de difficultés que le reste du Canada à attirer et à garder les nouveaux arrivants. Le programme de réinstallation des réfugiés régionalisé du Canada offre aux provinces de l'Atlantique une occasion d'accroître leur population immigrante, mais ceci est entravé par le fait que les réfugiés ne veulent pas rester dans leur première destination. Notre étude a révélé que si de nombreux répondants vivaient bien à St. John's et vivaient des expériences positives avec la population locale et avec les fournisseurs de services, ils partageaient des inquiétudes quant à leurs perspectives d'emploi, ce qui était un facteur important dans leur considération ou leur intention de déménager.

Like many countries in the Global North, Canada has an aging population and relies heavily on immigration for labour force and economic growth. In 2018, immigrants accounted for 71 percent of the country's annual population growth. The Conference Board of Canada forecast that by 2034, this will rise to 100 percent. Permanent residents have tended to settle in three larger cities - Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver – owing to the greater economic opportunities and cultural diversity of their populations.

In Atlantic provinces, the impact of aging population on the economy is further exacerbated by youth outmigration. This demographic decline has caught the attention of all four provinces, as well as the federal government, which have all adopted strategies aimed at growing Atlantic Canada's population through immigration.

Compared to other provinces, Atlantic Provinces have struggled more to attract and retain newcomers. Their five year retention rates for newcomers who arrived from 2001 to 2007 have ranged from 40 percent to 65 percent, while the rest of Canada maintained 85 percent retention rates on average (Haan and Prokopenko 2016). As Figure 1 shows, rates are higher for family class immigrants and lower for refugees.

FIGURE 1: 5 YEAR RETENTION RATE OF IMMIGRANTS IN ATLANTIC CANADA



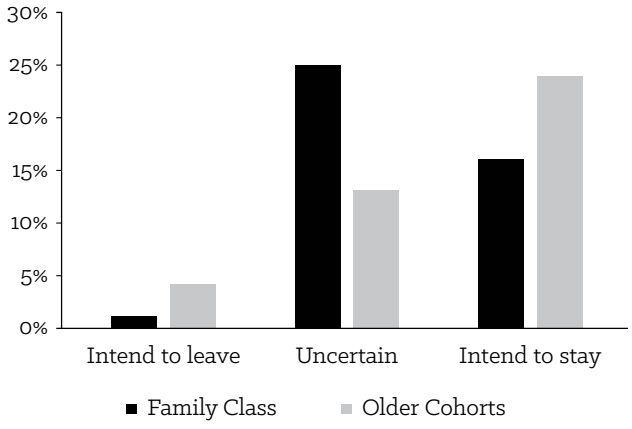
Source: Greenwood and McDonald 2018

While the five year retention rate in NL improved, from 40 percent among the 2003 cohort to 65 percent among the 2007 cohort, the retention rate of refugees has remained low. In 2015, the newly elected Trudeau government initiated an ambitious policy to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees by the end of that year. While it took a few more months to achieve their goal, more than 40,000 Syrian refugees had arrived by January 2017. Canada's regionalized refugee resettlement program offers an opportunity for the Atlantic provinces to increase their immigrant population but, as implied in the data shown above, this is hindered by the unwillingness of refugees to remain in their first destination.

Our research team interviewed 114 refugees residing in St. John's, NL, using an in-depth, semi-structured guide and divided them into two sets. The first set comprised of 64 Syrian refugees who arrived in 2016, including 42 adults and 22 minors. The second set of older cohorts comprised of 50 non-Syrian refugees, who had lived in St. John's for 2 to 15 years, and included 41 adults and 9 minors from varying source countries, including Sudan, Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Palestine, Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone. We also interviewed 16 stakeholders from various community groups, private organisations and government agencies involved in the settlement and integration of refugees.

Our research found that overwhelmingly, newly arrived refugees were uncertain of their future and undecided whether they would stay in St. John's or move elsewhere in Canada. Older cohorts, in contrast, were more likely to report that they intended to stay, although some were similarly uncertain about their future and several stated their intention to leave (Figure 2). The greater desire of the older cohort to stay may be due to so-called "survival bias" given that those who were initially most dissatisfied with their settlement may have already left the province.

FIGURE 2: MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF NEW ARRIVALS (N=40) AND OLDER COHORTS (N=41)



For those who intended to remain in the province, Figure 3 shows that their decision was primarily based on the feeling of safety, friendliness of the people, and the educational opportunities offered in St. John's. Respondents felt that this made St. John's an attractive place to raise their children, whose well-being was often the priority.

However, the feeling of safety and the friendly welcome were not enough to encourage everyone to stay. Figure 4 shows that while many respondents indicated that they enjoyed living in St. John's, they shared concerns about their employment prospects, which was a major factor in their consideration or intention of relocating.

New arrivals and older cohorts shared a perception of greater economic opportunities in cities like Toronto and Montreal, and more generally, in Alberta. This knowledge was imparted from cross-country networks that relayed information about job prospects in other regions.

To learn about the experiences of those who had already left, our interview included questions about whether respondents knew any refugees who had moved away and the reasons why. Responses emphasized the greater economic opportunities on the "mainland" or continental Canada, but also included cultural and social isolation, and discrimination that had pushed them out of the province.

In conclusion, migration is a complex phenomenon as individuals consider many different factors when making the decision to move or stay. Economic opportunities are important, but not always the only determining factor. Positive experiences with local people and service providers made newcomers feel welcome in their new homes. However, for those who had been living in St. John's longer, lack of employment opportunities, social isolation and discrimination had been major factors in their decision to move out. Whether this suggests that St. John's is becoming more welcoming of diversity or that new arrivals had yet to face these interactions is uncertain but points to the importance of community support in the migration decision.

While Syrian refugees were largely uncertain about their intention to move, the arrival of a comparatively large group of people from the same region has potential to improve retention rates. As one stakeholder noted, the Syrian refugees had built a strong ethnic community and were eager to help each other. This was in contrast to previous years where a smaller

FIGURE 3: POSITIVE IMPRESSION OF NL, NEW ARRIVALS (N=40) AND OLDER COHORTS (N=33) (SOME RESPONDENTS HAD MORE THAN ONE ANSWER)

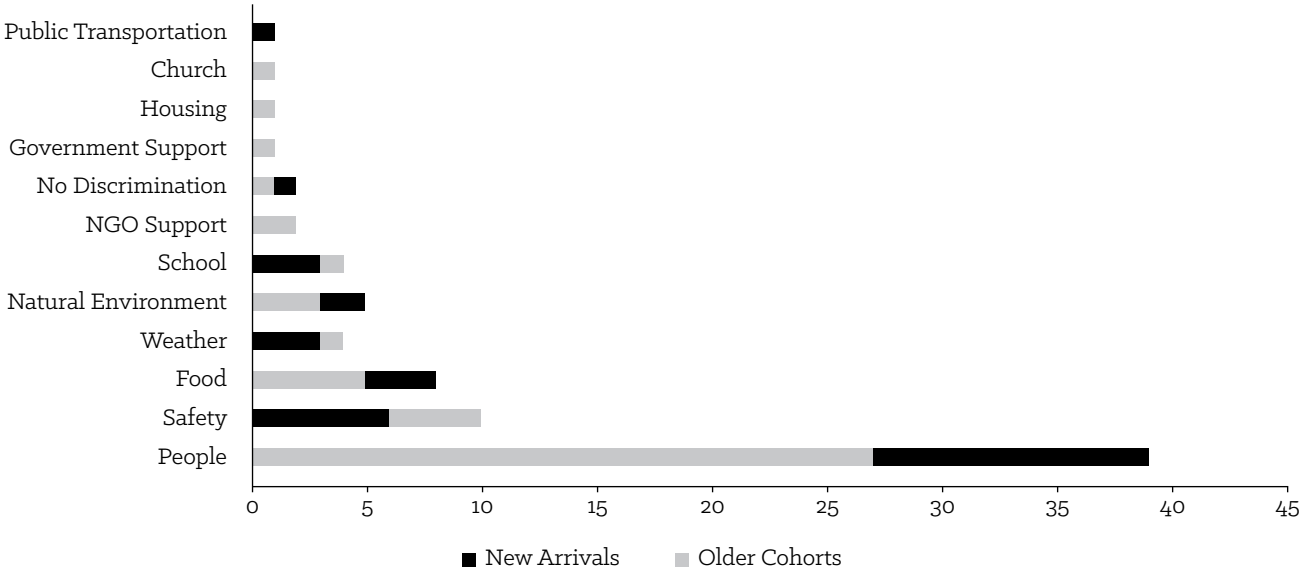
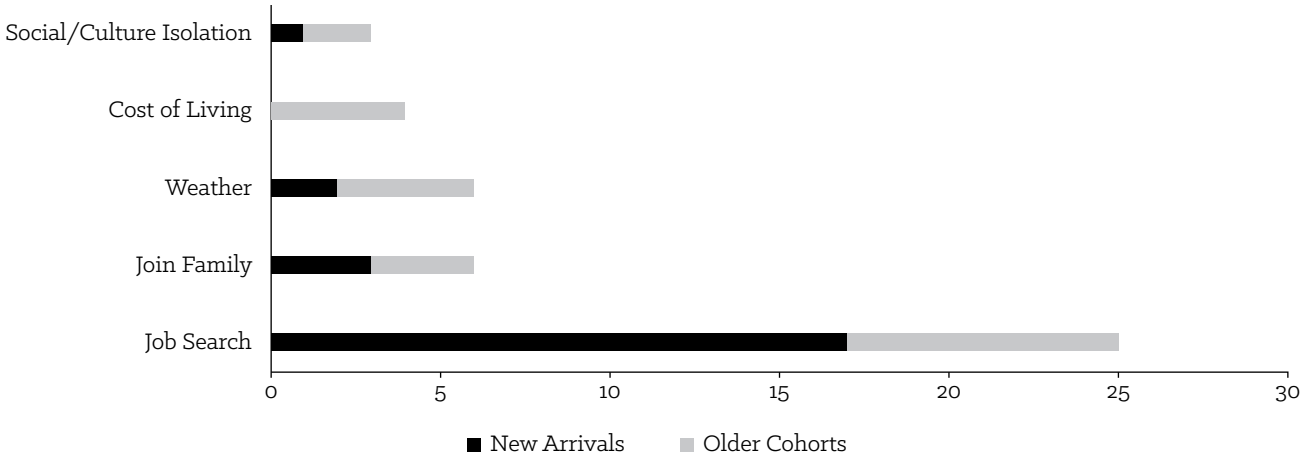


FIGURE 4: REASONS FOR WHY THEY WOULD OR SOMEONE THEY KNOW HAS LEFT NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR, NEW ARRIVALS (N=25) AND OLDER COHORTS (N=30) (SOME RESPONDENTS HAD MORE THAN ONE ANSWER)T



number of refugees arrived from a greater number of countries and were less able to build a community based on shared language and culture. While stakeholders also suggested the sudden influx of refugees put a strain on settlement services, particularly in terms of finding affordable housing and short of stable funding, the benefits of building that community could offset the costs. Still, more research following up on this cohort will be necessary to determine whether the Syrian refugees would stay in the long run.

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NEW ADMINISTRATIVE DATA FOR RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

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Much of the published literature on immigrants and immigration in Canada has been based on a narrow list of data sources: Censuses of Canada, Statistics Canada surveys, and some longitudinal datasets. More recently, researchers' access to new data sources has markedly expanded through the availability of administrative data. This article reviews the strengths and limitations of two new data sources that can be used to study the experiences of immigrants in Canada: 1) the IMDB, a file based on immigrant landing records plus tax filer information, and 2) Provincial Medicare Registry data. The article also briefly presents some results on the settlement and mobility decisions of recent immigrants using these datasets in order to illustrate their potential for new research.

Une grande partie de la littérature publiée sur les immigrants et l'immigration au Canada est basée sur une liste restreinte de sources de données: recensements du Canada, enquêtes de Statistique Canada et certains ensembles de données longitudinales. Plus récemment, l'accès des chercheurs à de nouvelles sources de données s'est considérablement élargi grâce à la disponibilité de données administratives. Cet article passe en revue les forces et les limites de deux nouvelles sources de données pouvant être utilisées pour étudier les expériences des immigrants au Canada: 1) la BDIM, un fichier basé sur les dossiers d'établissement des immigrants et des informations des déclarants fiscaux, et 2) les données des régimes d'assurance-maladie provinciaux. L'article présente également brièvement quelques résultats sur les décisions d'établissement et de mobilité des immigrants récents en utilisant ces ensembles de données afin d'illustrer leur potentiel pour de nouvelles recherches.

As Canada pursues an immigration policy that sets annual immigrant targets of more than 300,000 people, the need for timely evidence on its impacts for new immigrants, established immigrants, and non-immigrants alike, is high. Much of the published literature has been based on a narrow list of data sources: Censuses of Canada, Statistics Canada surveys, and some longitudinal datasets. More recently, researchers' access to new data sources has markedly expanded through the availability of administrative data. Although every data source has strengths and limitations, they are sometimes not well understood.

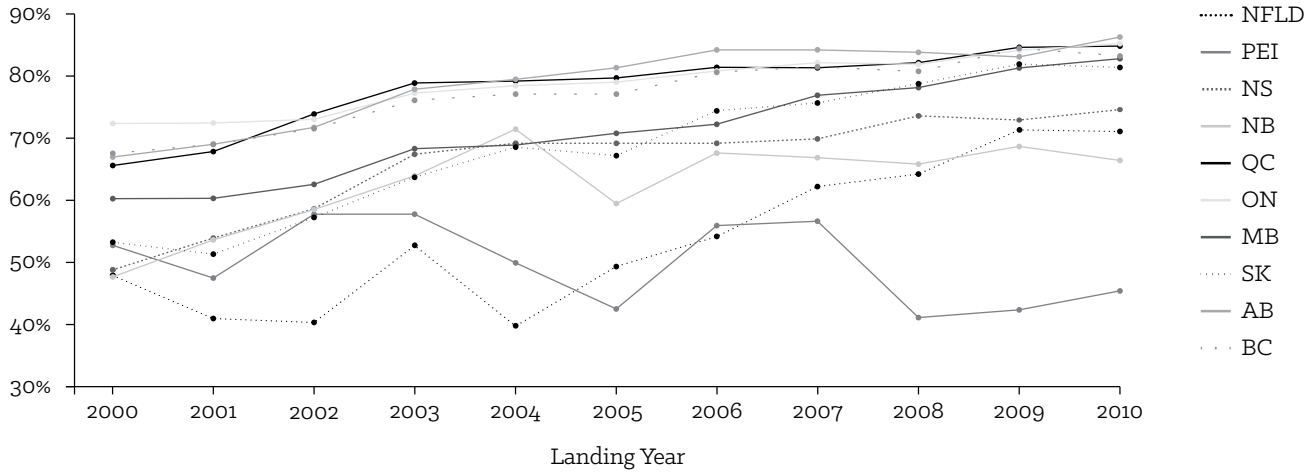
ADMINISTRATIVE DATA SOURCES

When it comes to administrative data for studying immigration, the Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB), is probably the most important file currently available. The original IMDB consisted of landing records linked to the family tax-filer data. The landing records contain all of the information that a newcomer must submit to Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada when they land in Canada. This includes admission category, education, intended destination, knowledge of official languages, size of immigrating unit, and host of other useful pieces of information. When linked to the tax files, annual information on earnings, union dues, self-employment and investment income, as well as marital status, number of dependents, and postal code of residence, are available.

The IMDB is promising for a number of reasons. First, it is the first long-term longitudinal file that can be used to study immigrants in great detail. Second, it contains 100 percent of Canada's foreign-born tax-filing population, enabling detailed analysis of populations that are small, in remote locations, or are otherwise hard to track. With a host of planned future linkages, the strengths of the IMDB will only become more manifest. That said, the IMDB has three main limitations. First, only data on immigrants are included so that comparisons to native-born Canadians require data from other sources and a synthetic cohort approach. Second, the postal code provided for individuals is not necessarily always an individual's personal residence but rather the address for tax purposes; there are occasions where it appears as though the residence of the accountant is listed. This probably does not matter for studying some aspects of migration (such as inter- and many types of intra-provincial moves), but it may make movements within low levels of geography difficult to study. Finally, there are a few noteworthy substantive pieces of information that are not on the file. These include improvements in education after landing, occupation, and visible minority information, all of which are important for understanding the immigrant experience.

One of the insights that can be gained from the IMDB is investigating how many people go to their intended destination because the landing records contain information on where people plan to live, and the tax files provide the postal code of where they actually end up living. Figure 1, generated by Jonathon Amoyaw and Yoko Yoshida of Dalhousie University, presents the percentage of new arrivals that file their first Canadian tax return in the same province that was their intended destination in the landing records.

FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF NEW ARRIVALS THAT FILE THEIR FIRST CANADIAN TAX RETURN IN INTENDED PROVINCE OF DESTINATION



Source: IMDB

For most provinces, a majority of immigrants file their first tax return in their intended destination province. Although this was already true for 2000, a growing number of newcomers headed to their intended destination province over

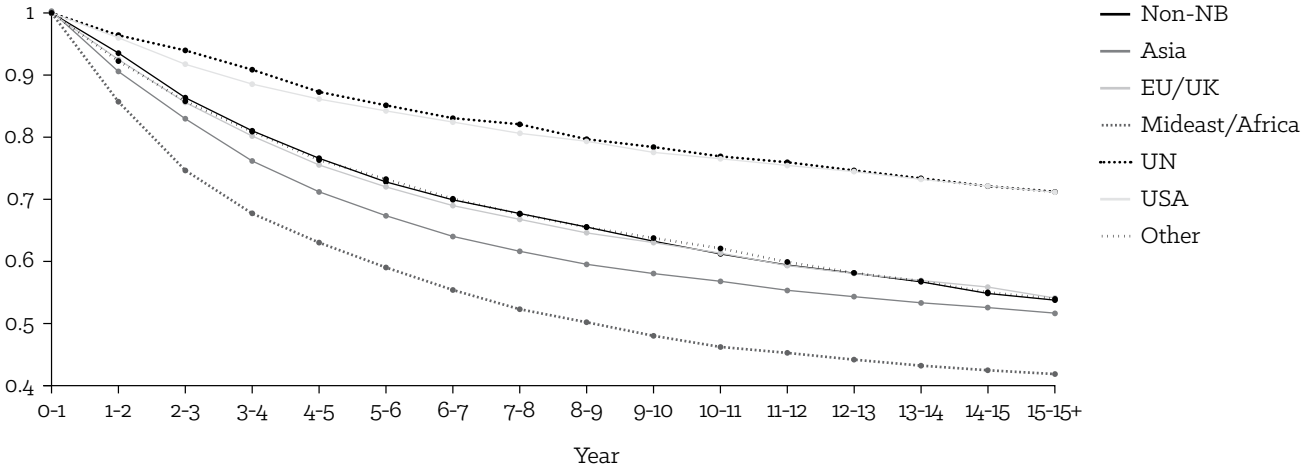
time, so that by 2010 six provinces had match rates of over 80 percent. In three Atlantic Provinces (all but Prince Edward Island, PEI, discussed below), match rates vary from 66 percent in New Brunswick to 75 percent in Nova Scotia. PEI had the lowest rate of landings from those that stated they were heading there but ended up elsewhere, and it also had the most dramatic fluctuations over the period.

There are also multiple administrative files collected by the provinces. Each province in Canada is responsible for the provision of health, education and social assistance services, and in doing so, they collect large amounts of data on the recipients of those services. With few exceptions, provincial health insurance is universal for residents of each province. In New Brunswick, the Medicare Registry includes data on an individual's date of birth, preferred language, gender, country or province of previous residence, year of arrival to the province, Medicare eligibility status, citizenship status, and postal code. It is therefore possible to identify immigrants based on citizenship status and country of previous residence. Since Medicare coverage ceases when an individual moves out of the province, Registry data will record the date of departure from New Brunswick and so enable examination of immigrant retention. Furthermore, by linking Registry data with other administrative datasets, it is also possible to study issues as diverse as the educational outcomes of immigrant children, the health service use of older immigrants, and the extent to which immigrants rely on social assistance.

Medicare data offer both advantages and disadvantages relative to survey, Census and the IMDB. Advantages include the fact that almost all residents of a province are covered; the data is longitudinal since Medicare data date back to the 1970s in New Brunswick and changes of address within New Brunswick are recorded; data on entry to and exit from New Brunswick do not rely on self-reported information; and data are made available to researchers substantially faster than is the case for other datasets. Disadvantages mainly centre around what is missing – there is no information on entry class for permanent residents; country of last residence is self-reported and country of birth is not available; and the date at which immigrants leave NB and Canada for another country will not be known – only the date at which Medicare registration lapsed. As well, given privacy laws, analysis also must be conducted on a province by province basis and linkage across provinces is still a long way off.

NB invests significant resources in the recruitment and retention of new immigrants in an effort to address the challenges of an aging population and stagnant economic growth. One of the key questions for its policymakers is therefore what factors are likely to improve immigrant retention. Using NB Medicare registry data, it is possible to examine immigrant retention without the need for linkages to other datasets by relying on the duration for which immigrants were enrolled in Medicare. McDonald, Cruickshank and Liu (2018) take this approach and define immigrants as individuals who came to NB from another country and who were listed as non-citizens at the time of registration into Medicare. In Figure 2, statistical survival curves are plotted that give the proportion of initial arrivals who are still in NB after the number of years they have been in the province, disaggregated by region of last residence. Retention rates are the highest for immigrants coming from the US and humanitarian immigrants (classified as UN immigrants) and lowest for immigrants from the Middle East and Africa. For comparison, the Non-NB category references Canadian-born but not-native New Brunswickers and their likelihood of leaving NB.

FIGURE 2: PROPORTION OF INITIAL ARRIVALS STILL IN NB AFTER A NUMBER OF YEARS



While this result generally accords with results using other datasets, what is notable is that five-year retention statistics – approximately 75 percent of initial arrivals on average – are substantially higher than what is often estimated using the

IMDB. The difference reflects the number of individuals who legally 'land' in New Brunswick based on intended province of destination compared to the number who actually arrive in NB and are resident at least long enough to register for health care. Thus, the Medicare statistics appear significantly more encouraging for immigrant retention.

MULTIPLE LINES OF INQUIRY NEEDED

Recently available datasets are expanding the range of policy-relevant questions that can be answered, leading to a better understanding of the outcomes of Canadians and thus to more effective policy development. This includes not just the datasets described here but the increasing array of linked Census-survey-administrative datasets being provided by Statistics Canada through the Research Data Centre network. However, every dataset comes with strengths and limitations, and this can limit the generalizability of results and require caveats be noted alongside those results. The best approach is to undertake an analysis using multiple lines of inquiry – defining consistent research approaches applied to multiple complementary datasets. In that way the robustness of results can be assessed and notable differences in results can highlight policy issues warranting further investigation.

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BIG ENOUGH/SMALL ENOUGH

Nabiha Atallah has worked with Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia (ISANS) since 1996, first as Manager of Immigrant Business Development and then from 2009-2018 as Manager of Communications & Research. In September 2018 she took on the new role of Advisor on Strategic Initiatives. Prior to her work in Nova Scotia, she taught and developed curriculum for English as an Additional Language for ten years in Winnipeg, Vancouver and Cairo. Nabiha has been active in Canadian immigration research networks including Metropolis, Pathways to Prosperity and the Child and Youth Refugee Research Coalition.

Smaller communities across the country now consider immigration one important way to develop their economic and social capacity. With a population of just over 400,000, Halifax is a small city on the national scale. It is also home to Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia, ISANS, which ranks nationally as one of the largest multi-service settlement agencies. Being a large immigrant settlement organization in a small city has given ISANS some unique advantages. This article discusses the advantages of being big enough and small enough in the immigrant settlement sector.

Les petites communautés du pays considèrent désormais l'immigration comme un moyen important de développer leur capacité économique et sociale. Halifax, avec une population d'un peu plus de 400 000 habitants, est une petite ville à l'échelle nationale. La ville abrite également l'ISANS (Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia), qui est l'une des plus grandes agences d'établissement multiservices à l'échelle nationale. Le fait d'être une grande organisation qui aide à l'établissement des immigrants dans une petite ville a procuré à l'ISANS des avantages uniques. Cet article traite des avantages d'être assez grand et assez petit dans le secteur de l'établissement des immigrants.

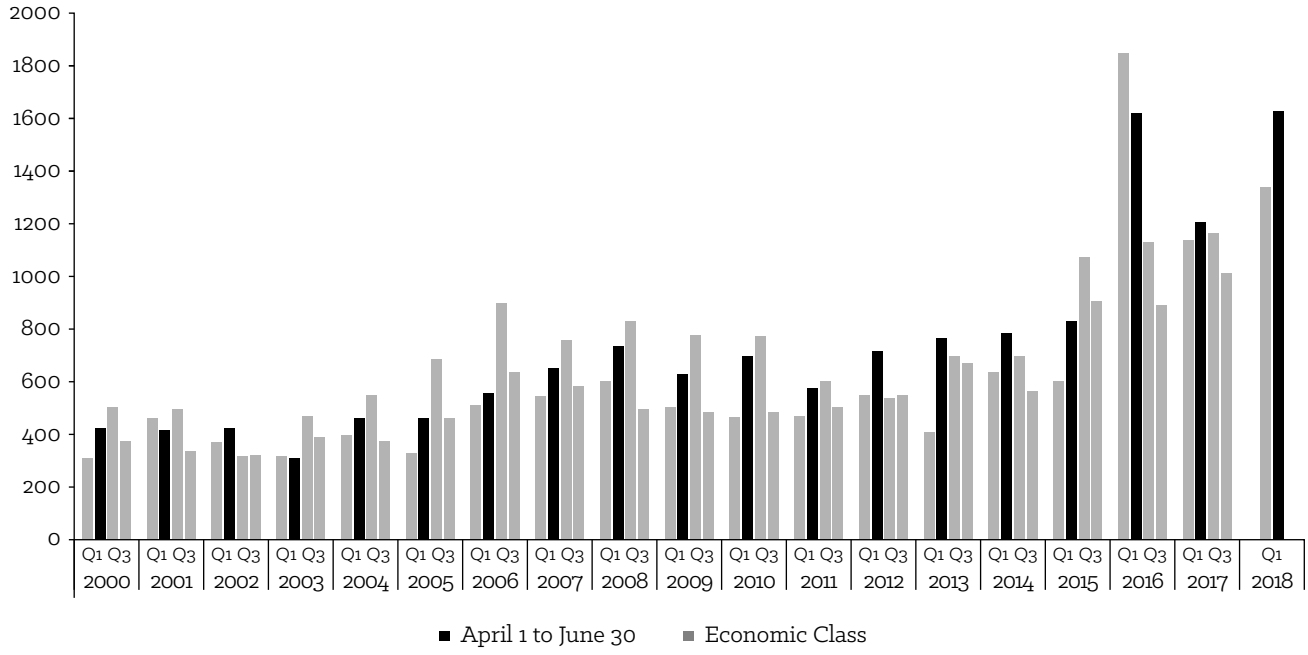
Since the introduction of the Provincial Nominee Programs in the late 1990s, provinces have had a clear role in immigrant selection and have been working to attract immigrants to smaller centres and rural areas. In 2001, Citizenship and Immigration Canada published a special study entitled *Towards a More Balanced Geographic Distribution of Immigrants* that reviewed the then emerging trend, which has now become well established in policy and practice across the country. Seven years later, a study by Andre Bernard of Statistics Canada (2008) reviewed this development and noted that immigrants often do better in smaller centres. Support for extending immigration beyond the largest cities has continued and has taken many forms. Smaller communities across the country now consider immigration one important way to develop their economic and social capacity.

IMMIGRATION TO NOVA SCOTIA

The province of Nova Scotia came on board late to participate in the national immigration program when it signed a provincial

nominee agreement with the federal government in 2002. Immigrant inflows began to increase around 2013, largely through the efforts of the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration to expand its provincial nominee program. In addition, the retention rates have increased to over 70 percent and have held steady for the past several years.

FIGURE 1: NOVA SCOTIA IMMIGRATION



Source: Nova Scotia Finance and Treasury Board, 2018

With a population of just over 400,000, Halifax is a small city on the national scale. Its status is enhanced by the fact that it is the provincial capital and the largest city in the Atlantic region. Census 2016 data show that about 9 percent of the city's population consists of people born outside Canada, which is less than half of the Canadian average. Immigrant settlement services began officially with the establishment in 1980 of MISA, the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association, intended to support Vietnamese refugees. Government-funded training in English as an Additional Language was soon delivered by HILC, the Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre, and two other organizations affiliated with the Halifax School Board. The YMCA also began to serve immigrant youth through various programs, including school support workers. MISA grew steadily and took on other areas of immigrant settlement services.

BIG ENOUGH AND SMALL ENOUGH

In 2009, MISA merged with HILC to form ISANS. Today, ISANS has over 270 employees and delivers a wide range of services. It ranks nationally as one of the largest multi-service settlement agencies. Being a large immigrant settlement organization in a small city has given ISANS some unique advantages.

Over the years, as ISANS has grown and expanded services, it has also needed to expand its networks and connections with the community – with employers, professional associations, business associations, health care providers, other service groups, landlords and more. Being in a small city that is the provincial capital has meant that it is not difficult to reach people in key positions in these organizations. Decision makers are involved in work with ISANS and many have become not only partners, but also champions. Being in a small city has also meant having to deal with strong local connections that sometimes are less inclusive of newcomers. Local connections are key to finding jobs, so mentorship programs, professional practice programs and the Halifax Partnership Connector Program all work to create these informal networks, connections and personal champions for newcomers.

ISANS is now big enough to be known, respected, included and consulted by the community. It is also big enough that it has been able to develop some specialized services and expertise in various areas of immigrant settlement. This has been especially important in the work on recognition of international qualifications of professional immigrants, which is

a complex and multi-layered issue. Being large and having many projects means that ISANS has the resources to create distinct roles such as communications, which many smaller agencies cannot afford to do.

While big enough to provide a breadth and depth of services, ISANS is also small enough to work as one organization, with an integrated and holistic approach to client support. Staff in various teams often work closely together to provide wrap-around services, where clients are accessing language training, pre-employment support and family services. Many new initiatives have emerged as staff from different teams identify needs together and come up with innovative ways to meet those needs. This also ensures that there is no duplication of services. In the past few years, employment and language teams have developed new and effective Bridge to Work projects for clients with beginner level English skills. Staff have become adept at collaboration and have sparked synergy that creates new opportunities and approaches on a regular basis. ISANS, as a multi-service centre with program expertise, can also support settlement workers, employers and clients in even smaller centres and rural areas of our province.

The advantages extend to clients, as individuals and families receive support for many aspects of their new lives in one place. This reduces confusion and anxiety in the early days of settlement. In addition, the clients are in a multi-ethnic setting, where they learn to relate to other newcomers and begin to understand what it means to live in a multi-cultural society. The diverse staff model represents the Canadian mosaic and social networks soon extend beyond one ethnic community. Ethnic communities are smaller, which means that newcomers often make connections in the broader community more quickly, out of necessity.

BIG ENOUGH/SMALL ENOUGH IN OTHER CENTRES?

What does this example of being big enough and small enough mean for other small centres and settlement agencies? Is there something that they can benefit from in this story? Certainly, it is clear that small centres can be innovative and can make the most of their unique circumstances. The leadership of ISANS, while working towards continual improvement of service to immigrants, could not have anticipated in detail the trajectory of the organization. They deserve credit for being open to opportunities, willing to take risks and always committed to working in partnership.

While many immigrants continue to flock to the largest cities in Canada, especially to reunite with friends and family, there needs to be more awareness and promotion of the benefits of settling in smaller centres.

At this time, immigration to Nova Scotia is on the rise and will likely continue to rise. As Nova Scotia and Halifax grow, will they remain small enough? It is likely that for some time to come the benefits of being big enough and small enough will remain and be enjoyed by immigrants and those who work with them. We need to remember those benefits, be aware of them and continue to be open to opportunities, willing to risk and committed to partnership.

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LINKING HOUSING WITH WRAP AROUND SUPPORTS FOR NEWCOMER FAMILIES IN WINNIPEG

Jill Bucklaschuk holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of Manitoba and was a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada postdoctoral fellow at the University of Guelph. Currently, she is a community-based researcher, specializing in collaborative community-engaged research on immigration and settlement in Manitoba. She also works as the Research Coordinator at the Manitoba Association for Newcomer Serving Organizations (MANSO) and is the Academic Research Director for the Community Engaged Research on Immigration (CERI) Network.

Immigrants and refugees face numerous challenges when navigating the housing market, which are then compounded by inadequate supplies of good-quality affordable housing and social housing in urban centres in Canada. As such, immigrants and refugees are at risk of living in 'core housing need' and, increasingly, are becoming the 'hidden homeless'. These issues are concerning since research shows that housing is foundational to successful settlement. In Winnipeg, Manitoba, the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba Inc. (IRCOM) works to alleviate the stresses that newcomers experience in their early settlement process by providing wrap-around supports within an affordable housing complex. This article highlights the impact of this model on low-income newcomer families by discussing findings from a three-year research project that interviewed current and past residents of IRCOM. By mitigating barriers to both housing and service provision, IRCOM's holistic vision of settlement addresses many issues commonly faced by newcomer families.

La recherche sur le marché du logement apporte de nombreux défis aux immigrants et aux réfugiés, défis qui sont ensuite amplifiés par l'insuffisance de logements abordables et de logements sociaux de qualité dans les centres urbains du Canada. Ainsi, les immigrants et les réfugiés risquent de vivre avec un « besoin impérieux de logement » et, de plus en plus, deviennent des « sans-abri cachés ». Ces problèmes sont préoccupants, car les recherches montrent que le logement est essentiel au succès de l'établissement. À Winnipeg, au Manitoba, l'IRCOM (Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba Inc.) s'efforce de réduire le stress des nouveaux arrivants au début de leur processus d'établissement en fournissant des soutiens intégrés dans un complexe de logements abordables. Cet article met en évidence l'impact de ce modèle sur les familles de nouveaux arrivants à faible revenu en discutant des résultats d'un projet de recherche de trois ans qui a interrogé des résidents actuels et anciens de l'IRCOM. En réduisant les obstacles à la fois au logement et à la fourniture de services, la vision globale de l'établissement mise en œuvre par l'IRCOM s'attaque à de nombreux problèmes auxquels les familles de nouveaux arrivants sont souvent confrontées.

Immigrants and refugees face multiple barriers such as discrimination, language, family size, and low incomes when navigating the housing market in their new communities. These challenges are compounded by the inadequate supplies of good-quality affordable housing and social housing in urban centres in Canada. As such, immigrants and refugees are at risk of living in 'core housing need; and, increasingly, are becoming the 'hidden homeless,' as they share crowded residences and encounter precarious housing. These issues are concerning because research shows that housing is the foundation of settlement and it impacts all other elements of the process (Carter, Polevychok and Osborne 2009; Shier et al. 2014).

Since its inception in 1991, the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba Inc. (IRCOM) has worked to alleviate the stresses that newcomers experience in their early settlement process by providing wrap-around supports within an affordable housing complex. IRCOM aids the settlement process by implementing structures and relationships that allow people to pursue employment, training, and skill-building opportunities that would otherwise be hampered by isolation, lack of awareness, or other barriers. Families can live in IRCOM House for a maximum of three years, gaining knowledge and skills that will lead to their independence.

At IRCOM House, housing and rent subsidies are available through a sponsor management agreement between the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC) and IRCOM. Rental rates are based on MHRC's Rent Geared to Income program and are inclusive of heat, electricity, water, fridge, and stove. There is on-site management and regular apartment maintenance available. Residents also have access to a variety of core programs, one-on-one supports, and extensive referrals.

Through a three-year project funded by the Winnipeg Foundation and the Manitoba Research Alliance and held at the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba, the author explored IRCOM's model to highlight the impacts of obtaining affordable housing with wrap-around supports on the settlement process for newcomer families. The project found that immigrants face unique housing needs and, as seen in Table 1, are more likely to have core housing needs than non-immigrants.

Using a community-based research approach, qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews with current and past residents of IRCOM over a three-year period to investigate what those needs include.

Of the 19 participants who remained for the duration of the study, 12 were women and seven were men. All except one interview participant came to Canada as refugees. On average, participants had been in Canada for 4.9 years at the time of their last interview with the research team and had lived at IRCOM for 29.3 months.

TABLE 1: IMMIGRANTS IN CORE HOUSING NEED IN WINNIPEG, 2016

	All Households
Non-immigrant	10.0%
Immigrant	12.8%
Immigrants arriving between 2011 and May 2016	23.4%

Source: Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (National Household Survey-based housing indicators and data)

The project found that the IRCOM model eases the transition into a new place by providing families with an environment that many participants explained is similar to 'being back home.' There is a vibrancy within IRCOM as families from diverse cultural backgrounds share similar experiences of settlement and support one another in a collectivistic manner. As one interview participant explained, "IRCOM life was amazing. [It] was like a small world in one place. There are so many cultures, so many nationalities, [and] so many different people together." There is a strong sense of community within the building. Interview participants often expressed how lucky they feel to have the opportunity to live in such an inclusive and supportive environment, comparing their experiences to other immigrants and refugees who do not receive such an opportunity.

Aside from the provision of affordable places to live, the cornerstone of IRCOM is its holistic programming and wrap-around supports. In addition to citing affordability as a central benefit of living at IRCOM, interview participants highlight the importance of the programs that are offered, the most often mentioned being the After School Program and Asset Building program. The former provides children and youth with both drop-in and structured programming focused on education, recreation, employment, and social supports. The latter provides adults with financial literacy resources and increases the capacity of low-income households to manage their finances and save money. Being able to attend programs within the building in which one lives also alleviates barriers (such as transportation, child care, and a lack of awareness) that negatively impact service accessibility. Designed to help families as they navigate all aspects of their new home, the programming and supports equip newcomers with the skills and knowledge necessary to settle.

For some participants, leaving IRCOM is dreaded and feared while many others feel prepared to move out. Many families move into social housing because they still find private market rents to be 'a nightmare' or 'too scary.' Other challenges include language barriers, discrimination, social isolation, and loneliness.

Despite the challenges associated with moving from IRCOM, interview participants do feel prepared to navigate the wider community because of the skills and knowledge they have gained. As one participant explained, "[IRCOM] prepared me to stand by own feet." Another participant likened herself to a baby upon arriving in Canada, with little knowledge of her surroundings. IRCOM helped her grow, learn, and gain independence. Many see their time at IRCOM as having provided a 'strong base' upon which they can settle and build a full life. People are aware of their rights as tenants, understand subsidized housing, and gained some financial independence as IRCOM's programs help them to pay back transportation loans and invest in other purchases. When families leave, they enter the housing market in a very different position than they would have if they had done so upon arrival in Canada.

NOT JUST EMPLOYMENT, SETTLEMENT

When assessing settlement, obtaining employment is often emphasized. Focusing on employment, however, ignores the immense achievements newcomers made during their stay at IRCOM. Interview participants pursued language classes, obtained education, volunteered, and set goals for the future. Their children learned English, excelled in school, and made friends. Because they lived in a supportive environment with accessible programs and affordable rents, newcomers could obtain the necessary tools needed to eventually enter the labour market, instead of accepting 'survival jobs,' which far too many newly arrived immigrants and refugees do to meet the necessities of life. Living at IRCOM positively contributed to social inclusion, developed families' independence, and set them on a path toward achieving their goals, which are all important markers of settlement.

Considering the positivity expressed by residents toward their time at IRCOM and the resulting benefits they experience, the IRCOM model and others that integrate housing with wrap-around supports warrant more widespread attention. They could be an intervention to promote settlement in other secondary immigration sites. By mitigating barriers to both housing and service provision, IRCOM's holistic vision of settlement addresses many challenges faced by newcomer families.

Full reports of the project are available online at:
www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/reports/ircom-model

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LES ÉTUDIANTS INTERNATIONAUX FRANCOPHONES DE L'ACADIE DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK FACE À L'INCOMPLÉTUDE INSTITUTIONNELLE DE LEUR COMMUNAUTÉ D'ACCUEIL

Leyla Sall est professeur agrégé de sociologie à l'Université de Moncton. Ses recherches portent sur les dynamiques migratoires en France et en Acadie des Maritimes. Il a publié plus d'une quinzaine d'articles, de chapitres de livre et de rapport de recherche sur les entrepreneurs immigrants, les travailleurs étrangers temporaires et l'immigration francophone en Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick. Il vient de publier un article sur l'immigration française et belge au Nouveau-Brunswick dans la *Revue d'Études sur le Nouveau-Brunswick / Journal of New Brunswick Studies*.

En s'intéressant aux étudiants internationaux francophones, l'objectif de cet article est de mesurer la capacité de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick à assurer l'intégration économique d'une catégorie d'immigrants qu'elle a formée dans ses institutions postsecondaires d'enseignement. En tant que communauté d'accueil minoritaire, l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick est confrontée à une incomplétude institutionnelle pluridimensionnelle en matière d'immigration. Cette dernière limiterait les opportunités d'accès des étudiants internationaux à des emplois de qualité, principalement dans les secteurs du marché du travail ayant émergé du fait de la politique de dualité linguistique, soit l'éducation et la santé. Exclus des emplois du secteur public, les étudiants internationaux s'insèrent généralement dans une niche structurelle d'emplois et dans une niche conjoncturelle d'emplois dans lesquelles la diversité est valorisée et mobilisée grâce aux profits qu'elle génère.

Focusing on Francophone international students, this article aims to measure the capacity of Acadian New Brunswick to ensure the economic integration of a category of immigrants educated in its post-secondary educational institutions. As a minority host community, Acadian New Brunswick faces a multidimensional institutional incompleteness in immigration matters. This reality limits international students' access to quality jobs, principally in the sectors of the labor market that emerged from a policy of linguistic duality, notably education and health. Excluded from jobs in the public sector, international students generally fit into a structural and situational niche in the job market — one in which diversity is valued and accentuated thanks to the benefits it generates.

Depuis le début des années 2000, l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick manifeste sa volonté de passer d'une communauté essentiellement revendicatrice d'égalité à une communauté d'accueil d'immigrants et la rétention d'étudiants internationaux considérés comme de meilleurs potentiels immigrants.

En principe, ces étudiants internationaux francophones devraient s'intégrer à l'Acadie, puisqu'ils ont fait leur formation postsecondaire, soit à l'Université de Moncton, soit au Collège communautaire du Nouveau-Brunswick (Campus de Dieppe). Nous avons choisi de nous intéresser à eux dans un but donné : mesurer la capacité de l'Acadie urbaine du sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick à assurer leur intégration économique en français. Nous savons que l'intégration des immigrants à leur société d'accueil ne se réduit pas à sa dimension professionnelle. Toutefois, nous centrons nos pro-

pos sur cette dernière, vu sa centralité et la place fondamentale qu'elle occupe dans le processus d'inclusion et d'appartenance des nouveaux arrivants à leur pays d'immigration.

Pour arriver à tester la capacité d'accueil et d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants dans la communauté d'accueil acadienne, nous aborderons les points suivants : le degré de complétude institutionnelle de l'Acadie en matière d'immigration; une description sommaire des niches d'emplois qui s'ouvrent aux étudiants internationaux francophones puis les barrières d'accès à un emploi de qualité dans leur nouvelle communauté d'accueil minoritaire.

UNE INCOMPLÉTUDE INSTITUTIONNELLE EN MATIÈRE D'IMMIGRATION PLURIDIMENSIONNELLE

Si l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick se définit comme une communauté d'accueil, force est de constater qu'elle est caractérisée par une incomplétude institutionnelle en matière d'immigration, laquelle a des ramifications sociétale, linguistique, identitaire et géographique. Au niveau sociétal, la configuration démographique et symbolique des communautés acadiennes par rapport aux anglophones les place dans un défi d'attraction et de rétention de nouveaux immigrants francophones en leur sein puisque ces derniers sont souvent attirés par les ressources et les opportunités (emplois, capital linguistique et capital social) offertes par la majorité.

Au niveau linguistique, l'incomplétude institutionnelle en matière d'immigration se manifeste par l'attrait des minorités immigrantes francophones vers la langue anglaise mais aussi par la quasi-nécessité de maîtriser cette langue pour assurer son intégration économique (FCFA 2004) et pouvoir fonctionner quotidiennement.

L'incomplétude institutionnelle en matière d'immigration comporte une dimension identitaire. Elle se manifeste par la volonté de protection d'une identité collective minoritaire (Farmer 2008). Ce repli identitaire peut entrainer une attitude moins inclusive et moins favorable à l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants.

Enfin, l'incomplétude institutionnelle de l'Acadie en matière d'immigration est géographique. L'immigration en provenance de l'international est un phénomène essentiellement urbain. Nous savons qu'il existe une affinité élective entre l'étranger et la ville. Or, les villes de l'Acadie des maritimes sont des villes-rurales comparées à Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver (le MTV) où se dirigent la plupart des immigrants et ceux qui réémigrent au sein de l'espace national canadien, d'où la persistance de la problématique de la rétention au sein des communautés acadiennes.

NICHES D'EMPLOIS POUR ÉTUDIANTS INTERNATIONAUX FRANCOPHONES

Confrontés à cette incomplétude institutionnelle d'ordre sociétal, géographique identitaire et surtout linguistique, quelles sont les possibilités qui s'offrent aux étudiants internationaux ? Ont-ils accès à des emplois dans un marché du travail où la possession du capital linguistique que représente l'anglais constitue une quasi-nécessité ?

En général il y a deux niches d'emplois pour les étudiants internationaux francophones : une niche d'emplois structurelle (foyers de soins, centres d'appels, hôtellerie) et une niche d'emplois conjoncturelle (secteur bancaire et assurantiel). La niche structurelle est caractérisée par un manque chronique de main-d'œuvre, le recours quasi nécessaire à des étudiants internationaux pour combler les postes et une moindre exigence de l'anglais pour y travailler. Toutefois, la sous-niche structurelle qui recrute le plus grand nombre d'étudiants internationaux (finissants et non-finissants) à Moncton demeure les centres d'appels. Ces derniers y occupent des emplois plus stables et parfois bien rémunérés.

Pour la responsable des ressources humaines d'Aeroplan, le recrutement des étudiants constitue une option gagnant-gagnant, non pas uniquement parce qu'ils aident à combler le manque de main-d'œuvre criant de l'entreprise, mais aussi en raison de leur culture de persuasion leur permettant d'avoir de très bonnes performances dans la vente de produits et la rétention de clients de compagnies fournisseurs de téléphonie et de l'internet.

Pour les étudiants internationaux, l'emploi dans la niche structurelle facilite l'accès à la résidence permanente et à l'apprentissage sur le tas de l'anglais. C'est cette socialisation linguistique secondaire qui permet d'établir des liens entre les niches d'emplois structurelle et conjoncturelle puisque la maîtrise de l'anglais permet une plus grande possibilité de mobilité professionnelle vers la niche conjoncturelle.

À la différence de la niche structurelle, la niche conjoncturelle ne connaît pas une insuffisance chronique de main-d'œuvre. Son accessibilité aux étudiants internationaux finissants est principalement due à deux raisons : une politique volontariste de valorisation de la diversité et une mise à l'épreuve réussie des premiers internationaux finissants qui apporteraient une plus-value non négligeable en termes d'attraction d'une clientèle immigrante.

LES BARRIÈRES D'ACCÈS À DES EMPLOIS DE QUALITÉ

Les étudiants internationaux francophones vivent dans une communauté d'accueil acadienne caractérisée par une incomplétude institutionnelle en matière d'immigration. Toutefois, ce sont surtout l'incomplétude institutionnelle linguistique

et l'incomplétude institutionnelle identitaire qui semblent constituer des barrières d'accès à l'emploi.

La barrière linguistique s'explique par le fait que la formation des étudiants internationaux se déroule en français alors que le marché du travail fonctionne en anglais. En conséquence une socialisation linguistique en anglais s'avère nécessaire pour avoir accès à un emploi de qualité.

Quant aux discriminations raciales à l'emploi, elles se manifesteraient surtout dans le domaine de la santé, durant des stages cliniques. Les monitrices attribueraient des notes arbitraires aux étudiants internationaux qui échouent sans avoir reçu la moindre rétroaction.

L'attitude discriminatoire des monitrices comporterait une dimension technique non négligeable : l'assignation de patients atteints de maladies chroniques et nécessitant des soins aigus à des étudiants internationaux de deuxième année qui n'ont pas encore été formés pour traiter de tels cas cliniques. Indépendamment de la dimension technique de l'assignation des patients, des discriminations sont aussi notées au niveau de la charge de travail. Il y aurait une répartition inéquitable de la charge de travail entre étudiants internationaux et Canadiens durant les stages. Ces attitudes discriminatoires entraînent plusieurs conséquences dont les plus importantes sont les suivantes : le décrochage et l'abandon du programme, mais aussi des dépressions à cause des pressions et intimidations indues et inutiles.

INTÉGRER LA DIVERSITÉ EN PROVENANCE DE LA FRANCOPHONIE D'AILLEURS

L'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick à l'instar d'autres francophonies minoritaires canadiennes tente d'intégrer la diversité en provenance de la francophonie d'ailleurs en son sein. Pour ce faire, elle veut assurer la rétention et l'intégration des étudiants internationaux qu'elle a formés dans ses institutions postsecondaires d'enseignement. Toutefois, ces derniers sont largement exclus des secteurs du marché du travail francophone, soit l'éducation et la santé.

Bien que les propos de cet article soient centrés sur l'intégration économique des immigrants francophones en Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick, les aspects identitaires sont présents en filigrane. En effet, comment l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick peut-elle développer un sentiment d'appartenance et un engagement communautaire chez les immigrants francophones si ces derniers ne peuvent pas souvent travailler en français ? Comment les immigrants peuvent-ils se sentir inclus, voire intégrés à la communauté acadienne, s'ils sont exclus des secteurs du marché du travail (santé et éducation) qui ont émergé grâce à la dualité linguistique ? Comment se sentir intégré si l'accès à des emplois de qualité est laissé au bon vouloir de certains employeurs qui perçoivent les bénéfices de la diversité (cas de la Banque Nationale) ?

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FAIRE SA PLACE DANS LA MORT : L'ENJEU DES CIMETIÈRES MUSULMANS DANS DES PETITES VILLES DU CANADA

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De plus en plus de nouveaux arrivants canadiens pratiquent l'islam et s'identifient comme musulmans. Nombre d'entre eux s'installent en dehors des grands centres urbains et découvrent qu'ils arrivent dans des communautés qui ne connaissent pas ou ne comprennent pas leur religion et ne disposent pas d'institutions pouvant tenir compte de leurs pratiques et rituels religieux. Cette différence est particulièrement pressante pour les nouveaux arrivants confrontés à la mort et aux funérailles dans des communautés où la population musulmane n'est pas importante. S'appuyant sur son expérience personnelle ainsi que sur l'analyse d'observation de cimetières, d'installations funéraires et d'options permettant de s'adapter aux pratiques en vigueur au Québec, en Ontario, au Nouveau-Brunswick et en Nouvelle-Écosse, cet article montre qu'il est important d'instaurer des dialogues et des relations entre les nouveaux arrivants et les communautés hôtes dans les régions secondaires afin de sensibiliser le public au fait que des actions à petite échelle peuvent aider les nouveaux arrivants à vivre pleinement leur vie et à faire le deuil de leurs pertes dans de nouvelles communautés.

Increasingly, a larger number of Canadian newcomers practice Islam and identify as Muslim. Many of them settle outside of major urban centres and, when doing so, find that they arrive in communities who do not know or understand their faith and do not have institutions that can accommodate their religious rituals and practices. This gap is particularly pressing for newcomers dealing with death and funerals in communities that do not have large Muslim populations. Drawing on personal experience as well as observational analysis of cemeteries, funeral facilities, and options to accommodate practices in Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, this article finds that it is important to build dialogues and relationships between newcomers and host communities in secondary regions to raise-awareness of how small-scale actions can help newcomers fully live their lives and mourn their losses in new communities.

En novembre 2018, une nouvelle du Réseau CBC a présenté une réalité assez méconnue du quotidien des populations musulmanes installées dans de nombreuses villes et régions canadiennes (Ibrahim 2018). Dans ce reportage, on rapporte que la communauté syrienne récemment installée à Fredericton au Nouveau-Brunswick a été confrontée au décès d'un homme d'origine syrienne mort subitement à l'âge de 49 ans. Selon les rituels religieux de l'Islam, la communauté a procédé à l'enterrement du défunt qui veut que le corps soit inhumé le plus rapidement possible. Il a fallu déplacer le corps pour l'enterrer dans un cimetière multiconfessionnel à Sussex, à une heure en voiture. La communauté a trouvé cette situation peu pratique et demande à avoir un lieu plus proche de Fredericton qui permet une proximité des familles avec le défunt. Cet enjeu est plus présent dans nos sociétés marquées par l'immigration et la diversité ethnique et religieuse.

Au Canada, l'arrivée des populations musulmanes commence au début du XXe siècle et augmente à partir des années cinquante et soixante. Cette migration se caractérise par la diversité des pays de provenance et une grande variation sociologique et économique des nouveaux arrivants (Asal 2016). À partir des années quatre-vingt-dix, elle prend de l'ampleur avec l'immigration magrébine qui s'établit principalement au Québec. De la crise des accommodements raisonnables en 2006-2007 au débat sur la Charte des valeurs québécoises en 2013-2014, la place de l'islam au Québec est devenue un enjeu de société. Dans les médias, cette différence est le plus souvent présentée sous l'angle d'un écart entre les valeurs d'ici et celles des pays d'origine des primo-migrants. Le scénario est plus ou moins le même qu'ailleurs et s'appuie, depuis le 11 septembre 2001, sur la menace terroriste et l'idée d'un infranchissable fossé culturel entre l'Occident et le monde musulman. Les questions de port de signes religieux dans les espaces publics, des lieux de culte, mais aussi de la nourriture halal en sont devenues des polémiques récurrentes. Reflet plus discret de la présence musulmane, les cimetières musulmans permettent de poursuivre le débat sur les contours du vivre ensemble, à distance, pourrait-on penser, de ces médiatisations habituelles.

Pour aborder ces questions, j'ai examiné deux villes, soit Sherbrooke au Québec et London en Ontario. Ces villes présentent des caractéristiques socio-démographiques intéressantes et sont situées à proximité d'une métropole. J'ai aussi visité plusieurs lieux de sépulture musulmans au Québec, en Ontario, au Nouveau-Brunswick et en Nouvelle-Écosse. Ce travail a également été une aventure personnelle émotionnelle pour deux raisons. La première est liée à la mort de mon père en 8 juin 2014 à Moncton. Arrivé à Moncton en 1969, mon père a toujours voulu être enterré à Tunis près de ses parents. Avec mon frère et ma sœur, j'ai organisé le rapatriement de mon père et cette expérience m'a permis de comprendre beaucoup de choses et de rencontrer des gens généreux et aidants tout au long du parcours. J'ai découvert que la Tunisie payait le rapatriement des Tunisiens morts à l'étranger, ce qui enlève beaucoup de poids sur le dos des familles car le coût de l'opération dépasse 10 000 dollars. La seconde a été de se faire rattraper par les événements tragiques de la tuerie à la mosquée de Québec le 29 janvier 2017 et ses suites avec un débat acrimonieux sur le projet d'un cimetière musulman dans le village de Saint-Apollinaire. Cet événement a permis de voir une trame narrative assez constante dans plusieurs controverses autour des cimetières musulmans au Canada et ailleurs dans le monde. Il est évident que les populations musulmanes veulent enterrer leurs morts en terre canadienne et québécoise mais doivent affronter beaucoup d'obstacles et de résistances. Les parents souhaitent rester au Canada pour leurs enfants; la seconde génération exprime un désir de garder leurs parents près d'eux et peut exprimer un attachement différent au pays d'origine et à la société d'accueil.

UN BESOIN DES SERVICES ET DES LIEUX POUR L'INHUMINATION, UN SENTIMENT D'APPARTENIR, ET DIALOGUES

Premièrement, il est important de développer des services et des lieux pour l'inhumation selon les rituels de l'Islam. À London, l'imam du centre culturel islamique me fait la visite de tous les services disponibles, dont ceux pour le décès. C'est impressionnant. La communauté musulmane de London est ancienne et bien ancrée dans le tissu urbain. Dans mes entrevues, l'option du rapatriement en terre d'origine ne se pose pas car il existe un cimetière islamique à l'extérieur de la ville. C'est un peu la même impression que j'ai retrouvé en Nouvelle-Écosse lors de la visite du cimetière islamique dans la région Truro qui est géré par l'Association islamique de la Nouvelle-Écosse. À Sherbrooke, l'histoire est bien différente, car la communauté musulmane demande depuis des années un espace pour l'enterrement. C'est un dossier compliqué qui a progressé récemment avec la mise sur pied d'une coopérative funéraire musulmane.

Deuxièmement, au-delà des services funéraires et religieux, le sentiment d'appartenir à la société d'accueil peut expliquer le choix du lieu d'enterrement. À London et à Sherbrooke, je n'ai pas retrouvé le même sentiment d'appartenance. Le discours me semble beaucoup plus apaisé à London et proche du modèle du multiculturalisme qui valorise la présence d'une communauté musulmane installée depuis longtemps. À Sherbrooke, mes entretiens ont montré un sentiment plus mitigé qui exprime un malaise identitaire autour de la place de l'immigration et des populations musulmanes dans le vivre-ensemble québécois. Chez plusieurs répondants, il y a cette volonté de ne pas rester au Québec. Le retour ou le rapatriement sont toujours vus comme le dernier voyage au pays.

Enfin, nos observations font ressortir l'importance d'engager des dialogues et tisser des liens entre des gens qui ne se connaissent pas beaucoup. Il faut encourager tous les efforts de sensibilisation et d'échanges, comme des visites de cime-

tières qui se font par des associations religieuses et des mosquées. Ces actions, à petite échelle, permettent de réduire l'intensité d'un débat trop contrôlé par les médias. Pour ma part, je garde près de moi un moment lumineux, dans un salon funéraire à Moncton, lorsque nous avons procédé au rituel funéraire avec deux compatriotes tunisiens. À chaque demande que je faisais pour m'assurer de suivre les rituels, l'employé non-musulman qui nous accompagnait nous répondait « pas de problème ».

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HOCKEY AND IMMIGRANT/ETHNIC INTEGRATION

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Over the past decade or so the literature on the integration of immigrants in secondary centres has primarily focused on the attraction and retention of newcomers, economic and labour market integration, housing, and access to health services. Thus, the research literature on the social, cultural and civic integration of newcomers is scant. We argue that it is important to examine these forms of integration and research on the game of hockey, as it is played in the hockey arenas in secondary centres, provides such an opportunity. Hockey is often considered quintessentially Canadian and part of an imagined national culture and a metaphoric representation of Canadian identity and sense of belonging. We suggest that hockey arenas can be considered as multicultural common spaces thus warranting an examination of the extent of interactive pluralism amongst diverse groups in Canada including newcomers.

Au cours des dix dernières années, la littérature sur l'intégration des immigrants dans les centres secondaires s'est principalement intéressée à l'attraction et la rétention des nouveaux arrivants, à l'intégration économique et au marché du travail, au logement et à l'accès aux services de santé. Ainsi, la littérature de recherche sur l'intégration sociale, culturelle et civique des nouveaux arrivants est rare. Nous soutenons qu'il est important d'examiner ces formes d'intégration, et les recherches sur le hockey tel qu'il se joue dans les arénas de hockey des centres secondaires offrent une telle opportunité. Le hockey est souvent considéré comme étant intrinsèquement lié à l'identité canadienne. Cela fait partie de l'imaginaire national, d'une représentation métaphorique de l'identité et du sens d'appartenance des Canadiens. Nous suggérons que les arénas de hockey puissent être considérés comme des espaces communs multiculturels, ce qui justifierait un examen de l'ampleur du pluralisme interactif parmi divers groupes au Canada, y compris les nouveaux arrivants.

In the 1990s and early 2000s academic research on immigrants in Canada focused primarily on Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, where a significant proportion of immigrants live. Since the mid-2000s, research has shifted to Canada's secondary centres, which usually include cities like Calgary, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Ottawa-Gatineau, Quebec City or Halifax. In this piece we will focus on Calgary and Halifax and explore how hockey may act as a conduit for integration into the broader community and also explore barriers that immigrants and ethnic minorities may face in the game.

Over the past decade or so the literature on the integration of immigrants in secondary centres has primarily focused on the general topics of attraction and retention of newcomers, economic and labour market integration, housing, and access to health services. In contrast, the research on social, cultural and civic integration have not been a primary focus. It is important to examine these forms of integration as they are importantly related to the notion of welcoming communities, inclusion, and civic participation in secondary centres and the topic of hockey provides an excellent opportunity to do so. Immigrants' participation in sporting activities facilitates their process of social and cultural integration in society (Sibilio et al. 2006). In this respect the game of hockey, as played in the hockey arenas across Canada, may be regarded as potential facilitator of social, cultural and civic integration.

Many scholars argue that hockey is part of the way Canadians live and is an important part of a Canadian collective memory. It acts both as a myth and allegory in Canadian culture and an imagined national culture. It has become a metaphoric representation of Canadian identity. Hockey became an official representation of Canadian identity when, in 1994, it was legislated as the country's national winter sport. In one sense then, hockey is a fundamental part of Canadian nation building and fulfills notions of a sporting nationalism interwoven with national identity. This is so much the case, that hockey has even become a part of some recent citizenship ceremonies with Canadian NHL teams hosting citizenship ceremonies with some of their players as participants.

HOCKEY ARENAS AS MULTICULTURAL COMMON SPACES AND INTERACTIVE PLURALISM

There are two ways to conceptualize pluralism (multiculturalism) in Canadian society: fragmented pluralism and interactive pluralism. Fragmented pluralism exists when ethno-cultural and immigrant communities are insular, inward looking and segregated. They therefore could be described as "ethnic silos", parallel communities, or "ethnic enclaves". A common critique in the literature of multiculturalism is that it emphasizes differences, hence it is divisive and subverts social cohesion and the development of a national identity. In contrast, interactive pluralism exists when ethno-cultural and immigrant communities are engaged with each other and with broader mainstream and non-immigrant groups. Ongoing interaction across groups produces mutual recognition and understanding which is not only cross-cultural dialogue and exchange but also an opportunity for a new and evolving macro-culture that emerges from the interaction between groups and communities. It is in this context that the places and spaces where this interaction occurs can be referred to as multicultural common spaces. Thus, hockey rinks and hockey arenas can be thought of as a multicultural common spaces and as sites of potential social integration.

However, is this the case? Do hockey arenas contribute or facilitate the social integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada, particularly in secondary centres like Calgary and Halifax? Calgary has approximately 700 local minor hockey teams, which includes over 13,300 players between the ages of 4 and 21 years, who play in 41 arenas, some of which include multiple ice surfaces or rinks (Hockey Calgary 2016). The Halifax Regional Municipality has approximately 300 local minor hockey teams and includes approximately 5,000 players between the ages of 4 and 18 years who play in 12 arenas (Hockey Nova Scotia 2016). In Calgary, there is a partnership between the Calgary Police and Hockey Calgary to provide a program called Power Play which offers immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities the opportunity to learn how to skate and to play hockey. In the past, Hockey Nova Scotia has had hockey programs which were initiatives for Black and Indigenous communities and now they are very interested in reaching out to immigrant communities.

RESEARCH TOPICS AND QUESTIONS ON HOCKEY ARENAS IN SECONDARY CENTRES

The above discussion begs the question of whether the hockey arenas in Calgary and Halifax and arenas in other secondary centres are indeed multicultural common spaces that facilitate an interactive pluralism for the residents of each city. Thematically, the academic research has covered the topics of identity (including Canadian identity) and sense of belonging to Canada, as experienced by immigrant and ethno-cultural communities including youth. The communities covered in the literature include Chinese, Indigenous, Indo-Canadian, Muslim, Portuguese, and refugees. However, this research has not examined identity and sense of belonging in the context of participation in sport generally, nor the game of hockey specifically. Two fundamental research questions remain unanswered:

- Does the game of hockey, and its attendant social relations in hockey arenas, contribute to the social, cultural and civic integration of immigrant and

ethno-cultural communities in secondary centres?

- Are the hockey arenas in these secondary cities sites of multicultural common spaces that enable an interactive pluralism?

It is important to examine these research questions in light of the interests in the attraction, recruitment, and retention of newcomers to secondary centres. Answers to these research questions will, in part, help reveal how immigrants are integrating socially and culturally. These are important research questions to explore because the integration of immigrants is a daily lived experience. Research on the social, cultural and civic integration of immigrants needs to occur in tandem with research on economic, labour market, housing, educational and health integration. By examining immigrant participation in sport and recreation, and in this case Canada's official game of hockey, we can contribute to a more holistic understanding of the immigrant integration process in secondary centres.

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SAISIR LE RAPPORT À LA DIVERSITÉ DANS LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE, DANS LES ESPACES PUBLICS

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Saisir le rapport à la diversité par des sondages d'opinion ou par des enquêtes ethnographiques *in situ* peut donner des résultats fort différents. C'est ce que l'on illustre dans cet article basé sur une enquête dans un quartier de la banlieue de la métropole montréalaise, un quartier où la diversité est plus récente que sur l'île de Montréal. Du même coup, on montre l'importance des espaces publics comme lieux d'apprivoisement des différences, même dans des secteurs moins denses, à l'image des centres d'établissement secondaires.

Capturing the public's relationship to diversity through opinion polls or through in situ ethnographic surveys can yield dramatically different results. We illustrated this in the following article based on a survey in a suburban Montreal neighborhood, a district where diversity is more recent than on the island of Montreal. We also demonstrate how public spaces can play an important role in the process of accommodating diversity, even in such less densely populated areas, which resemble secondary settlement centres.

L'immigration admise au Québec est fortement concentrée dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal. Mais la situation et l'expérience de cette diversité varie fortement d'un quartier à l'autre, notamment en périphérie où la vie cosmopolite y est moins dense et plus récente, comme dans le quartier Vimont en plein cœur de l'île de Laval. Nous verrons dans les lignes qui suivent que pour saisir le rapport à la diversité dans ces quartiers, il faut éviter d'en parler d'emblée ! Une petite leçon utile pour aborder l'immigration dans les centres secondaires ?

CONTEXTE

Dans la foulée des débats déchaînés ayant suivi la crise des accommodements raisonnables au Québec dans les années 2007-2008, un certain climat d'hostilité croissante entourant la question de l'immigration semble s'être installée. Lors de cette crise, des sondages d'opinion défrayaient régulièrement la chronique, témoignant notamment des craintes identitaires des classes moyennes, et ce, tout particulièrement dans

les périphéries entourant Montréal, soit l'effet dit « halo » car caractéristique des régions voisinant des zones de forte concentration de l'immigration (Bilodeau et Turgeon 2014). Le portrait était-il aussi sombre ? Et s'il ne correspondait pas au cadrage fait par les habitants dans les espaces de la vie quotidienne ?

Une enquête menée en 2011 dans quatre quartiers de petites classes moyennes dans la région montréalaise allait nous permettre de tester cette hypothèse (A. Germain, X. Leloup et M. Radice 2014). Les deux premiers, Loyola et Saint-Léonard, étaient multiethniques depuis longtemps et situés sur l'île de Montréal ; Loyola est un ancien quartier de petites classes moyennes canadiennes-anglaises qu'ont rejoint des classes moyennes francophones, suivis d'immigrants d'origines très diverses ; Saint-Léonard fut une banlieue italienne puis canadienne-française avant d'accueillir une immigration variée, notamment d'Afrique du Nord. Les deux autres quartiers furent perçus pendant longtemps comme des banlieues de petites classes moyennes canadiennes françaises ; Ahuntsic, au nord de l'île de Montréal, et Vimont situé en périphérie, au centre de l'île de Laval. Vimont affiche les traits classiques d'une banlieue résidentielle plus récente, développée dans les années 1950 et 1960 ; des Italiens s'y sont installés dans les années 1970, suivis de Haïtiens, puis récemment d'immigrants provenant notamment d'Afrique du Nord et d'Asie. Un cinquième de la population de Vimont était composée d'immigrants en 2006, contrastant avec la proportion de 44,5 % à Loyola. Rappelons que Vimont fait partie de la région incarnant l'effet « halo » évoqué plus haut.

Ces 4 quartiers ont donc vu chacun à leur manière se diversifier récemment leur population. Comment se vit cette transformation dans les espaces publics de la vie quotidienne, telle était la question qui a guidé notre stratégie méthodologique composée à la fois d'une centaine d'observations systématiques dans les espaces publics et de conversations courtes in situ avec leurs usagers, en plus d'entrevues préalables avec les intervenants locaux.

SAISIR LE RAPPORT À LA DIVERSITÉ *IN SITU*

Il est important de préciser en quoi consistaient ces conversations courtes in situ. Nous voulions éviter d'interroger les habitants directement sur leurs attitudes face à l'immigration, pour plutôt remettre à l'avant-plan les expériences concrètes de cohabitation dans la vie quotidienne. Il fallait donc aller à leur rencontre dans les lieux publics, fréquenter nous-mêmes ces lieux et entamer une conversation « entre usagers » sur un sujet général et non intrusif sur le mode de la rencontre passagère propre aux interactions dans l'espace public. La conversation a donc porté sur le quartier. Par exemple, dans un parc, au bord d'une pataugeoire, nous regardions les enfants jouer et nous bavardions avec les parents : trouvaient-ils que le quartier avait changé, si oui en quoi et qu'en pensaient-ils, etc. Il ne s'agissait donc pas d'entrevues classiques, enregistrées, menées par des chercheurs.

Dans les 4 quartiers, nous avons ainsi eu 155 « conversations », avec une diversité d'usagers (y compris des immigrants), à l'image des territoires d'enquête, dans une très grande variété de lieux publics, parfois à l'occasion d'évènements organisés comme des corvées nettoyage, des fêtes, des distributions de fleurs, des parties de soccer, etc. Ces conversations nous permettaient de voir comment les habitants cadraient leur quartier, et la place qu'y occupait la diversité.

Au cours du tiers d'entre elles, il ne fut jamais question d'immigration, mais plutôt de problèmes de voirie, de gentrification, etc. Et dans les deux tiers restants les propos de nos interlocuteurs étaient généralement descriptifs et dépourvus de connotations négatives pour parler d'immigration et de diversité. Les quelques conversations moins bienveillantes face aux immigrants, évoquaient généralement des évènements précis. Par exemple, des dames âgées dénonçaient les attitudes turbulentes de jeunes Noirs grimpant sur le toit du chalet au cœur d'un parc.

Si nous avons pu facilement constater des traits communs dans les modes de sociabilité publique dans les 4 quartiers, des différences ont aussi été relevées, ayant trait par exemple à l'ancienneté de l'expérience de la diversité dans un quartier associé à un certain cosmopolitisme, comme Loyola.

On voudrait ici s'attarder au cas du quartier Vimont, qui des 4 quartiers, était au départ le plus homogène et plus « néophyte » en matière d'expérience de la diversité.

UNE PÉDAGOGIE DE LA DIVERSITÉ

Dans cette banlieue résidentielle classique de 27 207 habitants, les espaces publics étaient moins nombreux et moins fréquentés que dans les 3 autres quartiers.

Les habitants rencontrés éprouvaient encore de la difficulté à nommer la diversité, à trouver les mots justes pour décrire la population de leur quartier. Parfois on inventait de nouveaux qualificatifs : « le quartier est polyethnique », nous disait-on. C'étaient généralement les enfants accompagnant leurs parents qui utilisaient les termes les plus précis : « …il y a des Libanais, des Chinois….. », dira une petite fille pour préciser les propos de son père évoquant « des Noirs, des Arabes, des…, Il y a de tout en fait ». On nous parlait aussi des « Voilées », comme d'une catégorie descriptive équivalente aux précédentes, une catégorie neutre sans connotations. Les hésitations pour nommer la diversité témoignaient d'un processus d'apprentissage face à une situation nouvelle, ce que Michel de Certeau appellerait une pédagogie de la diversité. Les

habitants de Vimont étaient en train d'intégrer dans leur cadre de pensée de nouvelles données.

Ce processus était aussi à l'oeuvre pour les intervenants dans différents organismes, peu habitués à repérer les origines ethnoculturelles et à parler de leurs publics.

Mais Vimont est aussi le quartier où nos interlocuteurs évoquaient le plus... l'absence de changement dans ce « quartier stable et calme ». Pourtant nos observations révélaient des publics très diversifiés dans la plupart des espaces publics (sauf dans les parcs à chiens où les propriétaires étaient tous blancs). Les sociabilités publiques n'étaient guère différentes de celles observées dans les 3 autres quartiers. Les interactions entre inconnus, qu'il s'agisse de mobilité coopérative, de civilité, d'indifférences aux différences, d'aide restreinte, (Lyn Lofland 1998), semblaient se dérouler comme si la multiethnicité était en train de devenir une banalité de la vie quotidienne.

Au total, ce portrait faisait contraste avec l'image de frilosité face à l'immigration renvoyée par les sondages d'opinion diffusés dans les médias.

QUELLES LEÇONS TIRER POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DES IMMIGRANTS DANS LES CENTRE SECONDAIRES ?

Le rapport à la diversité se construit d'abord dans les espaces publics du quotidien, comme un mode de cohabitation issu de côtoiements répétés. C'est dans les lieux publics du quartier que se vit une pédagogie de la diversité, comme le montre le cas du quartier Vimont. Ces lieux sont dès lors des ressources précieuses pour construire des convivialités, *bottom up*, même dans des quartiers sans longue tradition cosmopolite. Nous avons vu que les sondages d'opinion ne sont pas toujours un bon indicateur de l'ouverture à la diversité et peuvent nous empêcher de voir ce qui se met en place progressivement au quotidien dans les rencontres dans les lieux publics. Et même dans les quartiers comme Vimont, où les espaces de sociabilité publique sont moins nombreux et moins denses que dans les quartiers de l'île de Montréal, ils restent des lieux d'apprivoisement des différences non négligeables.

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NOTES

Nova Scotia Immigration

Impacting Economic and Population Growth

room TO LIVE
NOVA SCOTIA • CANADA

2018 - A Record Year

6,000
Landings
(approximately)

150
Community & employer events

2,272
Approved applications

2
New streams: Physician & Labour Market Priorities

10
International recruitment events

6
New businesses through entrepreneur streams

Immigration Enables

- Economic & Population Growth
- Education & Healthcare Improvements
- Innovation
- Community Diversity
- Labour Needs
- Retention of Newcomers & Students

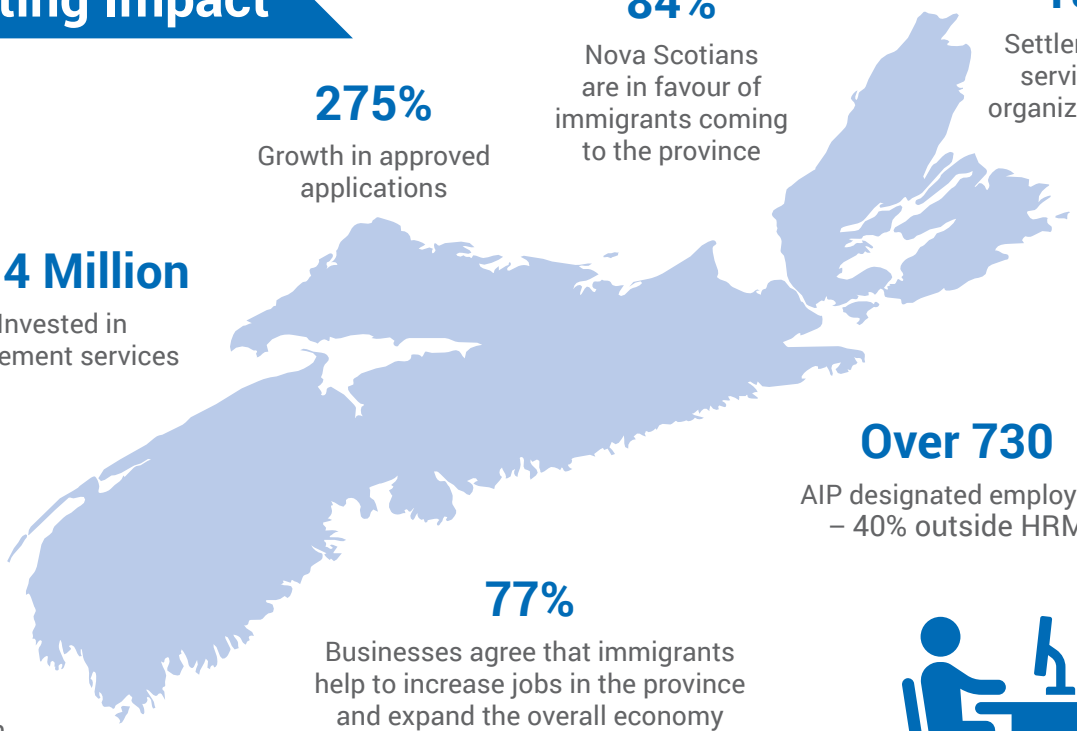
Demonstrating Impact

84%
Nova Scotians are in favour of immigrants coming to the province

15
Settlement services organizations

275%
Growth in approved applications

$6.4 Million
Invested in settlement services



16,000
New immigrants in 3 years

Over 730
AIP designated employers – 40% outside HRM

77%
Businesses agree that immigrants help to increase jobs in the province and expand the overall economy

71%
Retention

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24/01/2019

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In a place where there's room for everyone,
welcome is more than a greeting,
it's a feeling.

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