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# Multi-method Assessment of Newcomer Settlement Experiences in Kitchener-Waterloo

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$ 

Qaseem Ludin

A thesis
presented to the Wilfrid Laurier University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
In
Geography and Environmental Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2008

#### **ABSTRACT**

Every day hundreds of newcomers begin a new life in Canada. Some are refugees fleeing persecution, others come to join family, and yet others (mostly the economic and independent categories) are seeking to make a better life for themselves. In all, since 2000 around 250,000 people have settled in Canada each year. Their backgrounds and personal histories may be widely different and each one's experience on arrival is unique. The communities across Canada into which they integrate differ too in their character and in the manner in which they receive newcomers. For many new Canadians, there are, nevertheless, certain shared experiences, as they make a home for themselves in this country. They must find somewhere to live and a job, familiarize themselves with a different society and culture, make a new network of friends and acquaintances and often learn a new language. In the process, they may experience success -- but also alienation, loneliness, frustration, xenophobia and racism. Refugees often face particular challenges in adapting partly because their arrival was not planned or a matter of choice, but a matter of survival. They may be deeply traumatized by their past experiences. They often arrive separated from their immediate families whom they have had to leave behind, perhaps in the country of origin or in a refugee camp elsewhere.

This thesis is based on research on Afghan newcomer refugees in two second-tier Ontario cities – Kitchener and Waterloo. The study involves assessing the settlement challenges of a sub-population that I refer to as one the most vulnerable groups for they share characteristics that render them vulnerable – refugee newcomers from smaller ethnic groups that are visible and linguistic minorities. This research followed their everyday activity patterns for one week utilizing a novel form of passive tracking based on GPS technology and an internet based prompted recall diary system. The main question this thesis examines is how effective the service provision and social network systems in KW are in assisting refugee newcomers with their immediate and long term needs. This includes how the daily activity patterns of newcomers are influenced by the social system in which they interact with both strong ties – families, friends, ethnic groups, and weak ties – co-ethnic service providers, community and municipal services. It also provides an assessment of the specific barriers Afghan newcomer refugees face in their efforts to make their settlement a successful experience, and the alternatives they seek in an attempt to overcome these barriers. The research finds that for a number of reasons, such as language difficulty and issues related to using transportation, access to settlement services continues to be a key concern of this group of newcomers. The research reveals how various service barriers become interrelated; this is particularly evident in relation to the challenges posed by transportation and how this compounds problems with access to medical services.

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#### 1.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

Immigration has been fundamental to the growth of Canada and to its history of achievement. From the earliest days through to the transformations of recent years, hardworking people and their families have come to Canada from all over the world. Collectively, they have made a significant contribution to the development of Canada's economy, society and culture. In addition, hundreds of newcomers begin a new life in Canada every day. Some are refugees fleeing persecution, others come to join family, and yet others (mostly the economic and independent categories) are seeking to make a better life for themselves. In all, since 2000 around 250,000 people have settled in Canada each year. Their backgrounds and personal histories may be widely different and each one's experience on arrival is unique. The communities across Canada into which they integrate differ too in their character and in the manner in which they receive newcomers.

For many new Canadians, there are, nevertheless, certain shared experiences, as they make a home for themselves in this country. They must find somewhere to live and a job, familiarize themselves with a different society and culture, make a new network of friends and acquaintances and often learn a new language. In the process, they may experience success, but also alienation, loneliness, frustration, xenophobia and racism (Alexander 1994). Newcomer refugees often face particular challenges in adapting partly because their arrival was not planned or a matter of choice, but a matter of survival. They may also be deeply traumatized by their past experiences and often arrive separated from their immediate families whom they have had to leave behind, perhaps in the country of origin or in a refugee camp elsewhere.

Despite Canada's rich history of immigration and the strategic role it plays in future nation building, the issue of newcomer settlement and adaptation is still prominent.

Researchers, policy makers, and practitioners in this field, are still grappling with many important questions such as: How do new immigrants adapt to a society very different from their own, with a different language, culture, and tradition? Where do they go for assistance? Where do new migrants get the services and programs they need to effectively settle, integrate and become new citizens? What is the role of voluntary organizations concerning immigrants' settlement and adaptation? How do newcomers cope with the ruptures that accompany their settlement experiences?

## 1.2 Aims and Objectives

This thesis explores how newcomer refugees negotiate the service landscape of Kitchener-Waterloo, and the coping strategies they develop in order to manage the everyday uncertainties and challenges resettlement demands of them. The research location is Kitchener-Waterloo (a second tier city) and the context is informed by immigrant regionalization and neo-liberal state restructuring. The research examines the service provision landscape in order to assess how it contributes to the formation of social networks for recent immigrants and refugees, and how effective these networks are in assisting refugee newcomers with their immediate and long term needs. This includes how the daily activity patterns of newcomers are influenced by the social system in which they interact with both strong ties (families, friends, ethnic groups), and weak ties (service providers and community services). The process of settlement is complex and is linked and affected by a number of issues such as cultural and ethnic diversity of

newcomers, language needs, their distribution in Canadian cities and government policies, and devolution of responsibilities for immigrant settlement and integration. As such, key issues that dominate the current discourse on migration will be explored.

Moreover, I discuss the specific barriers newcomer immigrants and refugees face in their efforts to make their settlement a successful experience, and the strategies they employ in an attempt to overcome barriers they face on the way.

The following constitutes the main research questions:

- 1) How well are services offered for newcomers utilized by the target population?
- 2) How are daily patterns of travel and activity shaped by the social networks (weak and strong ties) newcomers are embedded within?
- 3) How are the daily activity patterns linked to social networks and social network formation and how are they differentiated in terms of gender, generation, class and ethnicity within the immigrant sample population?

#### 1.3 Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized into six chapters including this chapter that presents the research context and objectives. A summary of relevant literature on population and demographic trends including demographic transformation, Canadian visible minority population, immigrant regionalization and Canada's multiculturalism policy is offered in chapter two. This chapter also includes a review of the relevant settlement support systems for immigrants and refugees in K-W including current policy, programs, challenges and constraints. It will offer an analysis of social networks and their role in the process of newcomer settlement. Chapter three is divided into two different sections.

Section one, offers an overview of the geography and population trends in K-W area. It will include a review of the current demographic trends, socioeconomic as well as cultural characteristics of current and future immigrant populations in KW. Section two will provide a background of the researched sub-population which will include their demographic information in K-W based on recent immigration data. It will begin with a brief discussion on the geopolitical and socioeconomic conditions in Afghanistan and some of the push factors which have caused a large and often unregulated emigration to neighboring countries as well as to far remote industrialized countries in Europe and North America. Chapter four includes research methodology. Chapter five presents key findings of the research. Chapter six – Discussion and Conclusion - summarizes the major findings and offers an analysis and discussion of the research findings. In addition to personal reflections, it highlights key gaps in the settlement sector and offers some recommendations for key policy actions in second tier cities and future research. And finally, it discusses the significance of the study for the literature in both immigration and GPS tracking technology.

## 1.4 Definitions

- Newcomer in this context, refers to both recent refugees and immigrants who are in
   Canada for less than a year
- Visible Minority all individuals, apart from Aboriginals, who identify as non-white in colour or non-Caucasian in race. Today visible minorities make up 13% of the Canadian population.

- *Integration* a process whereby the immigrant, or immigrant group, becomes an active member of the host society
- Assimilation can be understood as a process of adaptation whereby the migrant, or
  migrant group, takes on the customs, values, and social attributes of the host society
  to the extent that the immigrant becomes indistinguishable from the majority
- Separation occurs when ethnic minorities seek to maintain distinct identities, refusing (or being refused) active participation in the larger society, and;
- marginalization takes place when one neither identifies with his or her original
   cultural background, nor with that of the host society
- Ethnic Enclave A model of ethnic settlement where dense clustering of residential settlement of a single ethnic group occurs, accompanied by economic and social activity.
- Neo-liberalism A view of the world that emphasizes economic growth, efficiency,
   and the benefits of free markets. A state system emphasizing individualized
   responsibility for personal welfare.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

There are three issues that largely dominate the contemporary immigration debate in Canada each accompanied by varying implications. Firstly, the increasing demographic transformation of the nation as the 'visible minority' proportion of the population increases due to immigration from predominantly non-European countries in Asia, Middle East, Latin America and Africa. Secondly, concern with immigrant settlement concentration in the largest urban centres has directed attention to regionalization or immigrant regional dispersal. This debate is motivated by two factors: a) the perception that the immigrant concentration in the gateway cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (that receive over 70% of all immigrants to Canada annually) is threatening the ability of local municipalities to manage integration and affecting quality of life; b) the argument that Canada's ageing population and low rate of natural increase creates a necessity for immigration to replenish the population in the regions (Walton-Roberts 2005). Thirdly, these general demographic shifts are occurring during a period of neoliberal state restructuring, which is defined as a shift from the collective/redistributive state to an individualized model of advancement (Arat Koc 1999).

This chapter is divided into two main sections. Section one provides 1) an overview of the current demographic trends and their impact on population and labour market, 2) various views on the current immigrant dispersal policy and challenges for second tier cities, 3) a conceptual framework to contextualize visible minority generational challenges and opportunities across the life course, 4) overview of selected research on Canada's multicultural policy and its challenges. Section two will offer a discussion of

immigrant settlement in Canada. It will include a conceptual framework and current challenges in the settlement sector. It will also include a discussion on the role and impact of social networks on settlement.

#### Section I

## 2.1 Population and Demographic Trends

Immigration has played an important role in transforming Canada into an ethnoculturally diverse and economically prosperous nation. The 2006 Census enumerated 6,186,950 foreign-born people in Canada. They accounted for one in five (19.8%) of the total population, the highest proportion in 75 years. Between 2001 and 2006, Canada's foreign-born population increased by 13.6%. This was four times higher than the growth rate of 3.3% for the Canadian-born population during the same period. The census estimated that 1,110,000 immigrants came to Canada between January 1, 2001 and May 16, 2006. These newcomers made up 17.9% of the total foreign-born population or 3.6% of Canada's total population of 31.2 million (Census Canada 2006).

Recent immigrants born in Asia (including the Middle East) made up the largest proportion (58.3%) of newcomers to Canada. This was virtually unchanged from 59.4% in 2001. In contrast, in 1971, only 12.1% of recent immigrants for this period were born in Asia (Census Canada 2006).

As demographers and media commentators frequently remind us, immigration is responsible for the lion's share of population growth (Hiebert 2005). It is interesting to note that this balance only arose recently - in the early 1990s. Before that, at every point since formal statistics have been collected, domestic births were the key determinant of

population growth (Hiebert 2005). According to the latest figures, the number of births in Canada exceeded the number of deaths (in the year ending on June 30, 2004), by around 97,000 persons; net international migration, during the same period, added twice that number to Canada, (approximately 193,000 people) (Hiebert 2005: 36). Demographic projections demonstrate that the contribution of migration to net population growth is projected to reach 100 percent some time between now and 2025 (Statistics Canada 2005, cited in Zietsma, D. 2007). There are two dimensions to this demographic shift that are already well known: the cultural composition of immigrants to Canada has become remarkably globalized in the past few decades; and the process of immigrant settlement in Canada is geographically uneven, and highly concentrated in the largest metropolitan centres, especially Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Metropolitan regions in general, and these three in particular, are therefore at the forefront of Canadian population change, and are becoming more diverse every day. Given the pervasive sense that relatively high rates of immigration will continue into the foreseeable future, increasing diversity will be a fact of life for many Canadian communities in the years to come (Hiebert 2005).

## 2.2 How do demographic patterns impact labour market integration?

According to the Labour Force Survey, in 2006 there were roughly 26.2 million people aged 15 and over in Canada (Figure 2.1). Of this, an estimated 6 million, or 22%, were landed immigrants to Canada. Out of the total population, one in six (16%) were immigrants who had been in Canada for more than 10 years, while those landing in Canada between 5 and 10 years ago and in the last five years were roughly equal in their share of the population 15 and over (3% each) (Statistics Canada 2006).

Figure 2.1 Population Estimates Ages 15 and Over, by Immigrant Type, 2006

	Population	Share of popluation	
	number	percentage	<del>radistar man i trass</del>
Total	26,185,000	100.0	
Born in Canada	19,963,000	76.2	
Total landed immigrant	5,765,000	22.0	
Very recent immigrants, 5 years or less	797,000	3.0	
Recent immigrants, 5 to 10 years	810,000	3.1	
Established immigrants, 10 years and over	4,158,000	15.9	
Other	457,000	1.7	

(Source: Labour Force Survey, 2006, cited in Zietsma, D. 2007)

As would be expected, very recent and recent immigrants to Canada were a much younger group than those born in Canada and those who landed in Canada more than 10 years ago (see figure 2.2). Nearly three out of four (73.2%) very recent immigrants and seven out of ten (70.4%) recent immigrants were between the ages of 25 and 54, compared to just over half of Canadian born (54.3%) and just under half of established immigrants (46.9%). Nearly half of established immigrants were in the 55 and older age group compared to just over a quarter of Canadian born. Less than one-tenth of very recent immigrants and just over one-tenth (11%) of recent immigrants were in this age group in 2006 (Labour Market Survey 2006, cited in Zietsma, D. 2007).

The point to make here is that differences in the age structure will have an impact on the labour market outcomes of these groups. Since the three types of immigrants and Canadian born have very different age distributions, analysis of the labour market outcomes has been largely restricted to the core working-age group; those aged 25 to 54 years of age. As this group is the most likely to be actively participating in the labour market, their labour market outcomes indicate how well immigrants have integrated into the Canadian labour market.

In 2006, Ontario (31%) and British Columbia (28%) had the highest share of immigrants in their respective core working age populations. These were the only two provinces where landed immigrants, as a percentage of the core working-age population, exceeded the national average (22%). In Alberta, immigrants made up 17% of the core working age population. Newfoundland and Labrador had the lowest concentration of landed immigrants of all provinces, estimated at just over 1% of its core working-age population (Labour Market Survey 2006, cited in Zietsma, D. 2007).

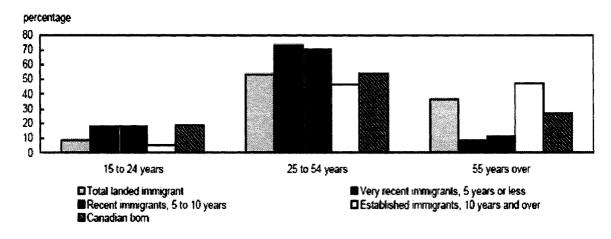


Figure 2.2 Share of Population by Age and Population Type, 2006

(Source: Labour Force Survey, 2006, cited in Zietsma, D. 2007)

In 2006, 60.5% of the Canadian-born core working-age population lived in urban areas (CMAs). Landed immigrants, however, were far more likely to settle in urban areas, with an estimated nine out of ten (91.6%) core working-age landed immigrants residing in a CMA. In fact, the three largest urban destinations for immigrants (Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal) accounted for nearly two-thirds (67.9%) of all Canada's core working-age immigrants; Ottawa-Gatineau and Calgary were the next most popular destinations for immigrants (Labour Market Survey 2006, cited in Zietsma, D. 2007).

## 2.3 Regionalization and Immigrant Dispersal

In recent years, the federal government has become increasingly involved in public policy discussions and promotion of increased settlement of new immigrants in smaller towns and communities. One of the biggest proponents of this policy was the former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Denis Coderre. For Coderre, achieving a higher degree of regional equity in the settlement of new immigrants, especially skilled immigrants to Canada, was of utmost importance. As a result, the former Minister proposed a "dispersion" strategy to help spread immigrants more evenly across communities throughout Canada.

By all indications, the issue of dispersion, and especially the need to balance the distribution of skilled workers to smaller towns and remote regions will continue to be a key concern of the federal government (Kahn 2003). Taking into account reduced birth rates and an aging population, it is recognized that immigration is now and will likely be for the next 25 years - the primary source of population growth in Canada (Kahn 2003). According to the Conference Board of Canada (2003), demographic patterns are a key driver of production, consumption, and the underlying demand of housing. For this reason, immigration will continue to be an even more important part of the discourse on labour force growth and economic development in Canada – especially in regions with rapidly declining populations and acute labour shortages e.g. agricultural sectors.

The discussion on dispersion and regional settlement of immigrants has received attention not only from the federal government, but also from key policymakers at the municipal and provincial levels. Walton-Roberts (2005) asserts that although it is

recognized that immigration brings many benefits to the national economy, there are concerns about the fact that the majority of immigrants to Canada settle in one of the three largest metropolitan areas of Canada: Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver (Walton-Roberts 2005). Public debate has focused on how immigration can cause stress and service overloads at the local level in key areas such as health, housing and education, but Walton-Roberts (2005), maintains that the more accurate cause of the current fiscal stress at the municipal level is to a large extent due to a downloading of services to cities without the necessary financial resources traditionally provided by higher tier governments (Mwarigha 2002, Walton-Roberts 2005). As a result, local policymakers especially in larger cities - have been putting pressure on senior levels of government to make up for the growing immigrant service gap. The Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) signed in November 2005, has been an attempt to address this concern. Since then, there has been a great deal of activity on several fronts. During the summer of 2006, for example, extensive consultations concerning additional funding under COIA were held throughout Ontario with organizations and newcomers, including those representing francophone minority communities. The three main needs expressed in the consultations were employment, language training and better information and guidance (CIC 2006).

According to a report by PROMPT (2005), the dispersion of immigrants has been presented as a liberal government's counter to pressure from conservative politicians and policymakers who argue that Canada should not continue to depend on immigration to make up for its demographic and labour force deficit (PROMPT 2005). According to Stoffman (2002), Canada lets too many of the "wrong" people into the country. He feels

that we are saddling Toronto and Vancouver with too many of these (wrong) immigrants, and that this is producing many adverse effects. Stoffman's viewpoint underlies the approach taken by Ontario's former Conservative government and, at the federal level, the Canadian Alliance (now the Conservative Party of Canada). The current conservative government however, seems to be promoting the dispersion of immigrants vigorously. The support of immigrant dispersion policies by liberal policymakers, however, especially during Jean Chrétien's tenure as prime minister, thus, appears to have had three primary motives:

- to address labour shortages and population declines in the regions,
- to counter claims of service overload by municipalities due to federal and provincial government downloading to major urban centres, and
- to counter populist opposition to the Liberal government's immigration policies (PROMPT 2005)

According to the literature on regionalization/immigrant dispersal, there are two kinds of dispersion policies. Firstly, demand side policies, which compel the re-distribution of immigrants to smaller urban communities or regional settlements. Secondly, supply-side dispersion policies which focus on creating appropriate local conditions in order to influence long term settlement decisions. Typically, in Europe, coercion-based demand side dispersion policies are used to redistribute the so-called 'load' or 'burden' of refugees to different regions within countries. Similar coercive demand side policies are used in Canada to redistribute non-resident migrant labour such as the temporary agricultural workers to different parts of Canada (Devortez 2003). Another example is the concept of so-called social contracts proposed by former Citizenship and Immigration Minister

Denis Coderre that tie people to a community for an initial period with the assumption that they will stay on at the end of their term of contract (Walton-Roberts 2005).

Canada's federal government's primary dispersion initiative is the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Under the PNP, provinces can enter into agreements with the federal government giving them a greater role in selecting immigrants to settle in their province. The program permits provinces to assess skill shortages, set up categories for prospective immigrants and recruit and select immigrants with skills that meet the specific labour needs of the province (Walton-Roberts 2005). For immigrant participants, the PNP has the appeal of faster application processing times and the potential to be matched with appropriate occupations (SCCI 2003; Kahn et al 2003). Currently, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Newfoundland/Labrador, New Brunswick, PEI, Nova Scotia and the Yukon have PNP agreements. Manitoba has by far made the greatest use of the PNP accounting for about 75% of all nominees in the program (SCCI 2003). As part of its PNP, the provincial government of Manitoba has formed partnerships with a number of smaller municipalities, allowing them to actively recruit newcomers to fill their particular labour needs. The Manitoba government treats the program as a success both in terms of increasing the number of immigrants to the province and as a way of distributing newcomers to different regions in the province. However, it is important to note that the numbers are still small - less than 2000 nominees have been placed up to 2005 (PROMPT 2005).

The PROMPT report (2005) also asserts that evidence from Quebec's experience suggests that despite early successes, such regional dispersion programs do not result in retention of immigrants in smaller cities and non-metropolitan regions (PROMPT 2005).

Despite Quebec's substantial investment in regionalization, the programs have had limited success. Of the 35,000 immigrants who arrived in Quebec in 2000, only 13% settled outside of Montreal (CIC 2001). Many other similar medium sized cities that receive significant numbers of newcomers continue to voice concern about the growing out-migration of new immigrants, especially after the first few years of the settlement process. It appears that for the most part, Canadian strategies have been directed at immigrants, rather than the communities seeking immigrants. These approaches have been based on providing incentives to immigrants, such as speedier processing of applications or reduced entry requirements. The ongoing interest in immigrant dispersal suggests further research in second tier cities such as K-W will be important in order to assess their capacities in ensuring the recruitment and successful integration of new immigrants.

Moreover, incentive-based demand side approaches such as the Provincial Nominee Program clearly have value for many individual recent immigrants. Such programs open up new opportunities, speed up the immigration process, and link immigrants to appropriate services and starter jobs (Walton-Roberts 2005). However, it is evident that demand side policies and interventions - even when laced with incentives - do not produce long-term sustainable outcomes for settlement and regional development. This is because, as the PROMPT report (2005) also emphasizes, most immigrants move as soon as they have served the stipulated term. Hence this does not result in sustainable settlement and long term benefits to the host community.

In brief, recent studies and research on regionalization have indicated that current dispersion policies do not result in sustainable settlement of immigrants or significant

regional development impact because they are narrowly focused on meeting immediate labour shortages in small and medium cities. Current demand side policies consider immigrants as only "labour force inputs" (PROMPT 2005) and do not consider immigrants' potential and desire to be active contributors to and joint architects of their new communities.

## a) Attracting and keeping Immigrants in Second Tier Cities

A very different approach to regionalization/dispersion takes the focus off the immigrants themselves, and places it on the communities wishing to attract them. These approaches recognize that it is not good enough to get someone to a particular city - there has to be a reason to stay. No one is surprised that immigrants overwhelmingly choose large cities, and in particular Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, as their home. These regions have extensive and diverse employment and educational opportunities, farreaching settlement programs, well-established communities that share a similar culture and language, and an acceptance of difference (Broadbent 2003). They have all of the necessary ingredients to facilitate newcomers integrating and becoming full participants in the community. For many policy-thinkers, sustainable regional development requires a focus on building a number of key local attributes. It is local communities (in the case of this research Kitchener and Waterloo) not the federal or provincial governments that need to take the lead in promoting regionalization and long term settlement. As a result, increasing numbers of people are calling for investments in local community social infrastructure. A report by Metropolis (2003), based on feedback from researchers and experts, identified the main determining factors for immigrant settlement choice.

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According to this report, the characteristics of the receiving community include: a critical mass of already established immigrants from a similar background; a welcoming community; services provided by the community especially immigrant services; and, educational, cultural and economic opportunities. Although all of these characteristics are important, a critical mass of 10 to 50 families was emphasized.

There is growing evidence that the best approach to promoting sustainable settlement in second tier cities involves focusing on community-driven interventions rather than top-down measures (Bradford 2005). This recognition has prompted a number of versions of supply side immigrant settlement policies. One good example is the Small Centre Strategy, an initiative of a working group of settlement agencies established at the First National Settlement Conference in 2002.

This strategy advocates for the need to create a local environment that is conducive to attracting and keeping immigrants. It calls for second tier cities to provide services through settlement agencies to enhance 'newcomers' access to employment, housing, income supports, language training and cross cultural training.

The Small Centre Strategy (2002) calls for provincial action to:

- end barriers to accessing professions and trades for immigrants
- offer a range of services that create hospitable communities, such as supports for finding short and medium term housing,
- provide second language capability in schools and special 'triage' services to assess
   the initial medical needs of newcomers.
- facilitate free admission to recreational, cultural and arts services, and local volunteer-based host programs to build relationships with the local population.

The Small Centre Strategy points out that the Canadian settlement sector is skilled in this area, and has experience and knowledge to offer the wider community as challenges are identified and strategies developed (Small Centre 2002: 9). Without a doubt, the services called for by the Small Centre Strategy paper are very important in meeting the needs of newcomers, and in enabling satisfactory settlement in the initial phases. The problem with this service focus, however, is that it is heavily premised on the service 'deficit' of immigrants, and resorts to traditional paternalistic government programs as the backbone of incentives to attract desired cohorts and classes of immigrants (PROMPT 2005). The logical end point of this narrow perspective is that it leads to policies and programs that are largely relevant to providing assistance to vulnerable immigrants and refugees. This service focus is not an effective way of meeting the medium and long term goals and objectives of immigrants of accessing regulated professions and trades and connecting to a vast array of social and economic opportunities (PROMPT 2005). In order for the current settlement service sector to be fully effective as an agent of sustainable settlement, it has to move towards providing services and supports beyond the initial phases of the immigrant settlement cycle (Wayland 2006), and viewing immigrants as active contributors and partners in community building (PROMPT 2005). Hence, the future of settlement services is in providing supports that enable the effective and meaningful participation of immigrants in community building, and in mobilizing multistakeholder partnerships for inclusion at local level (PROMPT 2005).

## 2.4 Diversity and Canada's Visible Minority Population – A challenge

As partly indicated earlier, over the past several decades, Canadian society has become increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse as a growing number of immigrants and refugees arrive from Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. Indeed, as Mitchell (2005) notes, the majority of these individuals (approximately 73%) belong to what is euphemistically known as the visible minority population, and is defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." It is noteworthy that between 1981 and 2001, the visible minority population almost quadrupled from 1.1 million to nearly 4.0 million. This represents a change from 5% to 13% of the population in 20 years (Statistics Canada, 2003a). Yet, not all visible minorities are foreign-born. According to the 2001 Census, two-thirds of visible minorities are foreign-born, and one third is Canadian born.

As findings from this research also confirm, it is widely recognized that visible minority families frequently struggle to maintain their family life in the face of numerous obstacles and challenges. Common problems include discrimination and racism (e.g. Henry et al 2006), language difficulties, constricted employment and housing choices, poverty and social exclusion (e.g. Omidvar and Richmond 2003). These systemic issues can place generational strains on visible minority family members with respect to patterns of family support, exchanges, and the care of children and the elderly (Mitchell 2005). At the same time, visible minority families living in Canada can experience many opportunities, such as the enjoyment of a relatively good standard of living, work and educational opportunities, and the chance to retain and maintain aspects of their cultural heritage. This can have a positive effect on family relationships and bring the generations

closer together. For example, children of foreign-born visible minority parents can benefit from a strong educational and health-care system, and this can have a number of advantages to them and their families over time (Mitchell 2005).

#### 2.5 Multiculturalism – Does it work?

Canada (as well as Australia) is distinguished by a multiculturalism policy. Although a contested term whose meanings have shifted over time, multiculturalism broadly means the state sanctioning of a right to express and maintain cultural identity and diversity, with a superficial emphasis on 'tolerance' or celebration of differences giving way to a more structural model of Multiculturalism based on equity legislation and enforcement (Kobayashi 1993). In Canada, multiculturalism has alternatively been criticised for fragmenting national unity (Bibby, 1990), as a form of containment that ought to focus on anti-racism (Bannerji, 1996) and as a potentially progressive space to redefine a more inclusive national discourse (Abu-Laban and Stasiulis, 1992). There have also been important critiques of multiculturalism from the perspective of gender. Martin et al (2000) argue, for example, that Australian multiculturalism privileges ethnicity to the extent that the concerns of immigrant women as women are either ignored or marginalized. This is so because multiculturalism focuses on the expression of ethnic identities but does not acknowledge that these identities are also gendered. The concept of citizenship that underpins Australian civil society and hence multiculturalism is also based on a number of sexist assumptions. In particular, the domestic or private sphere, more commonly associated with women, is ignored (Vasta 1993).

Despite the apparent success of the Canadian model, there are some worrying signs that it may be threatened. One such threat is challenges to the two-way street approach (Biles, Ibrahim and Tolley, 2005). The two-way street approach sets out responsibilities on the part of newcomers as well as on the part of Canadians and Canadian institutions. Challenges to the approach arise on both sides. In the following, I provide some perspectives on this issue based on the literature review.

### a) Responsibilities of Newcomers

There is a perception among some that newcomers are not living up to their responsibilities. Much of this is borne out in a discourse of shared values, limits of diversity and an eventual and unavoidable "Clash of civilizations." Generally, the thinking goes like this: In a country, such as Canada, where there is no single culture, religion, or language, something is needed to hold it all together. In the absence of homogeneity, values are the only thing that we have. We can see, however, that newcomers' values are radically different than our own. We need to set some ground rules because if we don't put some limits on all of this, it's going to go 'too far.' Our values will conflict. There will be, in Huntington's words, a 'Clash of civilizations' (Biles, Ibrahim and Tolley, 2005).

Forced marriages, female genital mutilation, and even dog-eating are, for example, held up as practices supported by minority cultures, but which conflict with Canadian values and our limits (Stoffman 2002). It can be argued, however, that what is often ignored is that a minority of immigrants subscribes to these so-called "cultural practices," and many immigrants come to Canada because they are escaping from or disagree with

such practices and beliefs. Nevertheless, there is still a popular perception that we are importing illiberal practices and ideas that threaten Canadian society.

This discourse has been the subject of much criticism and three objections are particularly worth mentioning here. First, critics argue that the argument is based on a false premise: that Canada, or any country for that matter, actually has a set of shared values. Many argue that this is simply untrue. Indeed, many of Canada's so-called shared values do not differ from those of other countries, such as equality, democracy or mutual respect. Moreover, this fear that immigrants threaten some perceived set of share values is unfounded; research suggests that within one generation, the children of immigrants and the children of native-born Canadians share the same values and sense of Canadian identity (Mendelsohn 2003). This can be seen by the active involvement of immigrants and minorities in achieving broader social justice goals. Thus, to the extent that some set of shared values does exist, immigrants and native-born Canadians alike share these values.

Moreover, the values and limits discourse implicitly assumes that there are no limits in society, which as Biles et al. (2005) suggest is also simply untrue. "the Canadian approach already outlines the "rules of the game" and these set the framework by which we live (Biles, Ibrahim and Tolley 2005: 8). The *Charter of rights and freedoms*, for example, notes in its preamble that the rights and freedoms set out in it are subject only to "such reasonable limits as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society." Moreover, the Criminal Code protects against many of the practices that critics fear. Similarly, Canada is a signatory of many international conventions like the International Convention on the 'Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination' that

further codify the limits (Biles, Ibrahim and Tolley, 2005). In other words, there are already well-defined limits.

The second criticism is that the values and limits discourse conflicts with the "twoway street approach" that is the basis of Canada's approach to accommodating diversity. The discourse presumes that there is some existing set of Canadian values and some finite limits to which Canadians – newcomer and native-born alike adhere. There is no framework for discussion (Biles, Ibrahim and Tolley, 2005). This flies in the face of the two-way street approach, upon which Canada's approach to accommodating diversity is founded. The multiculturalism policy marked a shift from straightforward assimilation to a negotiated integration. The two-way street approach works, for the most part, because of this and because there is some expectation that Canadian society will adapt to this newfound diversity. Moreover, it allows immigrants to integrate by respecting the basic principles that structure society, not necessarily by abandoning their values or coming to share the values of other Canadians (Heath, 2003, cited in Biles et al 2005). The values and limits discourse views conflict as inherently problematic, rather than as an opportunity for discussion to renegotiate and reconcile our differences. As a result, it undermines the two-way street approach. The third criticism of the values and limits discourse, and perhaps the most disquieting, is that it tends to single out particular groups of immigrants. It frequently points to immigrants from the Middle East or with Muslim backgrounds as being the source of our problems because their values are perceived to be so much different than our own. This leads neatly into a feared "clash of civilizations," alluded to earlier, which is the almost predictable outcome of the values and limits discourse.

While the fears expressed by the proponents of the values and limits discourse may be overstated, Biles et al (2005) argue that newcomers can, nonetheless, be legitimately expected to live up to certain responsibilities. These include making a contribution to Canadian society, speaking one of Canada's official languages, having some sense of attachment to the country, participating in politics and Canadian institutions, and learning about its history.

### b) Responsibilities of Canadians and Canadian Institutions

On the other side of the two-way street are the responsibilities of Canadians and Canadian institutions. These responsibilities include facilitating the integration of newcomers, adapting to this new diversity, and welcoming newcomers as full and equal participants in all aspects of Canadian society. Although public opinion data suggest that Canadians view the inclusion of newcomers as important, belief does not necessarily translate into action. I provide two examples of increasing disparities between native born and majority Canadians and newcomer and minority populations. The first concerns labour market outcomes, while the second concerns educational attainment. These disparities suggest that despite the rhetoric behind the two way street multiculturalism approach, Canadians and Canadian institutions are not living up to their responsibilities.

The disparity that has garnered the most media attention of late, concerns the increasing incidence of low-income among newcomers to Canada. Although the revised points system in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (2002) focuses more on human capital (including education, language, experience and adaptability factors), economic outcomes for recent newcomers to Canada are disturbingly low. A recent study

by Statistics Canada found that 47% of recent newcomers live below the Canadian poverty line, which Statistics Canada calls the "low-income cut-off" (Picot and Hou 2003). The decline in earnings among immigrants may be the result of several factors including the under-valuing of foreign experience, accreditation issues, language barriers and discrimination (Grant and Sweetman 2004; Biles and Burstein 2003). Moreover, research that looks specifically at the labour market outcomes of visible minorities suggests that race is important too. Some studies such as Pendakur and Pendakur (1995) as well as those stated above have found a wage gap between visible minority Canadians (Canadian and foreign-born) and others. Others have looked at unemployment and have found that visible minorities in general, but Black Canadians in particular, experience nearly double the unemployment rate of others (Mensah 2002: 144). Another set of research considers representation of particular groups in positions of power; here researchers found that Black Canadians were three and a half times less likely to be found in senior management positions in the labour force in 1996 than other Canadians (Mensah 2002: 145). This is cause for concern.

Muslim Canadians are also not faring very well in the Canadian labour market.

Indeed, in 2001, less than one half of Muslim women in Canada (49%) participated in the labour market, while the rate for all Canadian women was 61% (Persad and Lukas 2002: 24). The unemployment rate for Muslim women was nearly double the national rate, and Muslim women who are employed full-time earn 10% less than the national average for women with similar employment. Moreover, Muslim women are under-represented in particular fields even when they possess the required education (Hamdani 2004: 16-22). Muslim women, who wear the Hijab, face additional challenges. In a survey of Canadian

Muslim women in the manufacturing, sales and service sectors, 41% of those who wore the Hijab were told they would need to remove it if they wanted a job (Persad and Lukas 2002).

Although some researchers suggest that the influence of discrimination on labour market outcomes has, in the past, been overstated, results from the Ethnic Diversity Survey suggest that discrimination remains a concern for visible minorities. Twenty percent of visible minorities reported they had experienced discrimination often over the previous five years, while 15% said they had experienced discrimination, but only rarely (Statistics Canada 2003: 21). Incidents of discrimination are higher among some visible minority groups, including Blacks and South Asians. Discrimination is most likely to occur in the workplace with 56% of incidents occurring there (Hamdani 2004).

#### Section II

#### IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

In this section, I examine two important concepts 1) immigrant settlement and 2) social networks. Drawing largely on recent literature, part one will focus on; a) various dynamics involved in the settlement process, b) existing settlement support system and service delivery models, and c) settlement challenges and failures and their implications for policy. As part of the potential service delivery flaws in the current settlement model, I will show how the settlement system has transformed in recent years under the influence of certain forces and ideologies such as neoliberalism. In part two, I will review the conceptual framework related to social networks. This will include the types of network ties and the role of each in the settlement of newcomers in Canada.

I will begin with a conceptual analysis of the settlement process. This will include operational definitions of some key relevant terms as well as an analysis of the various phases involved in the settlement of newcomers to Canada.

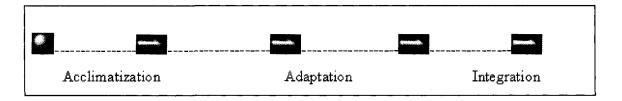
## 2.6 Immigrant Settlement

#### a) A Conceptual Framework

As a country with a long and formative history of immigration, Canada has extensive experience with the process through which newcomers become an integral part of our society. Much has been said and written about this often-complex process. There is not even a single word to describe the process. Many different terms are used, including: resettlement, settlement, adaptation, adjustment and integration. The settlement process

can be viewed as a continuum, as newcomers move from acclimatization, to adaptation, to integration (see the diagram below).

Figure 2.3 The Settlement/Integration Continuum



As such, *settlement* generally refers to acclimatization and the early stages of adaptation, when newcomers make the basic adjustments to life in a new country, including finding somewhere to live, beginning to learn the local language, getting a job, and learning to find their way around an unfamiliar society. In contrast, *integration* is the longer term process through which newcomers become full and equal participants in all the various dimensions of society (McIsaac 2003b). Within these processes, each individual newcomer's experiences are multifaceted and unique. Nevertheless we can explore the general characteristics of these processes - characteristics that can be taken into account in developing "best practices" in settlement services.

As also indicated in the previous chapter, settlement involves a mutual adaptation (two way street) of newcomers and members of the host society. The demands of adjustment tend to be focused on newcomers, who usually must make significant adaptations. Any society that receives new members is also changed in the process, whether willingly or unwillingly (CCR 1998). However, society (people and institutions) has an active and not merely a passive role in the process: it has a positive responsibility to adapt itself to its new members and offer them full opportunity to contribute the resources they bring with

them (CCR 1998). This involves all of the institutions of the host society. Canada, through its official policy of multiculturalism, recognizes the legitimacy and value of the diverse cultures of its inhabitants, new, old and aboriginal (Hiebert 2003).

# b) The Spheres of Settlement/Integration

Settlement and integration are multi-dimensional concepts (CIC 2003). Ervin (1994) explores these processes within four main spheres: the social sphere; the economic sphere; the cultural sphere; the political sphere. Within each sphere, the speed and degree of integration can vary, and what happens in one sphere affects the outcome in the other spheres. For example, Ervin goes on to explain that those who succeed in integrating economically will more easily integrate socially and culturally (Ervin 1994). As is apparent, these complex processes are also very abstract and cannot be measured directly, but through "certain traits which we believe are indicative of, or indicators of" integration (Neuwirth 1997). Indicators - measurable, specific, simple outcomes – are only one way to assess or determine the degree of integration and it can, therefore, still be insufficient to ensure full integration has occurred. As Neuwirth (1997) argues, to measure an individual's integration is to measure it against an ideal, and we also must question who, in fact, attains this ideal. For, as Neuwirth (1997) also indicates that we can talk about everyone - immigrants and non-immigrants alike, being in a process of integration all their lives. Even among Canadian-born individuals, there are those whose skills remain under-utilized, or who refrain from political participation – indicators clearly showing that full integration has not been achieved. There is a far greater likelihood that indicators will hold resonance if immigrants themselves identify them. In a 1993-1994 research

project sponsored by the Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies (SAISIA), immigrants proposed a number of indicators. Five of the top ten indicators, including the top rated one, related to employment. Other important indicators related to good mental health, language skills, the safety and well-being of the children while parents work, and a harmonious family life (cited in CCR 1998).

### c) Immigrant Settlement Support System

Settlement policy consists of a "variety of programs and services designed to help newcomers become participating members of Canadian society as quickly as possible" (CIC 2002). Different levels of government assume primary responsibility for programs in these areas. Traditionally, federal-level programs have been the most visible, but federal funding for settlement and language services has not increased over the past decade and in fact, there have been significant cutbacks (Wayland 2006). Since 1995, the federal government has attempted to devolve responsibility for immigrant settlement to the private sector as well as to provincial governments, calling this "settlement renewal" (Wayland 2006). Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia, and now Ontario have negotiated their own agreements with the federal government. Quebec assumed responsibility for its own settlement services in 1991. A comparative overview of current immigrant settlement programs across Canada documented the wide funding discrepancies between provinces (Friesen and Hyndman 2005). Settlement services differ not only between provinces, but also from city to city. Municipal governments do not have a voice in the major settlement policy decisions, but services may vary due to local priorities and programming funded by agencies such as the United Way and private foundations

(Wayland 2006). Settlement services are predominantly delivered by immigrant serving agencies that rely heavily on government funding to provide these services. Their numbers reduced by funding cutbacks and increased competition for contracts (Wayland 2006) today immigrant-serving agencies tend to be large multi-ethnic agencies that lack the resources to engage in policy advocacy.

### d) Challenges in the Settlement and Integration Process

There are many factors, which affect an individual's life chances, and ultimately the degree to which they integrate into the different spheres of Canadian society. Some of these factors are personal, individual attributes such as their gender, age, skill level, education, and past experiences. Other factors are external and encountered in the host country, such as the bureaucratic processes associated with immigration or asylum (refugee determination, accreditation, etc.) and racism or discrimination (CCR 1998). While the time taken for integration varies from individual to individual, as this research finds, some groups particularly refugees fleeing civil strife and violence have particular needs and challenges. Rates of integration depend on how quickly the needs specific to their experiences can be met and the challenges to their integration overcome. Regardless of how these persons are labelled under the Canadian Immigration Act or by international humanitarian organizations, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, they share the experiences of forced migration (Mwarigha 2002). They must deal with significant personal losses, often including the violent deaths of family and friends. They frequently bear the scars of traumatic experiences; many are survivors of torture (Mwarigha 2002). As chapter four and five will show, refugees are also more

likely than other immigrants to arrive without their immediate families, having been forced to separate in flight from persecution. Torn from their social support network, uprooted from cultural familiarity, possibly survivors of torture and trauma (CCR 2000), and often fearing for the safety of those left behind, their mental health may be particularly precarious, they may suffer depression, sleeping disorders, nightmares, fatigue, inability to concentrate in addition to health infections such as HIV, Tuberculosis or other chronic diseases.

Moreover, unlike those who freely and deliberately choose to start a new life in Canada, their thoughts on arrival may be focused more on what they have left behind than on their future here. The external challenges, such as the refugee process for those who make a refugee claim on arrival, often leave them in a state of stress, impermanence and uncertainty until they have been able to regularize their immigration status. This insecurity further slows their integration process.

Recent literature on newcomer settlement, suggests that the existing supports for newcomers attempting to settle in Canada are grossly inadequate (Wayland 2006).

Newcomers' requirements include not only housing, employment, and income supports fundamental to social and economic stability, but also an accepting, even welcoming environment, and the opportunity to become active, contributing community members socially and culturally as well as politically and economically. As such, the current settlement support system is not adequately equipped to respond to these requirements in a comprehensive, adaptive, and sustainable manner (Wayland 2006). Moreover, there is a disjuncture between federal immigration policy that recruits and attracts immigrants with the promise of an improved quality of life, and the mobilization of the system resources

to fulfill that promise. The structure and organization of immigrant settlement supports are highly bureaucratized and remain relatively mono-cultural with a Euro-centric bias (PROMPT 2005), despite the fact, as we saw in chapter one, that the flow and composition of immigration in terms of geographic and racial-cultural origins have changed dramatically in the last twenty years. Rose (2004) shows, that although there are many players in the immigrant support field (governmental, institutional, community-based), there are major barriers to effective coordination or integration of effort ranging from varying mandates, to inequitable access to resources, to mistrust especially of the smaller, and community-based groups towards the larger institutional and "mainstream" organizations (Rose 2004).

The overall effect is to create a major disconnect between the supports available and the needs of the immigrant population. In what follows, I will present specific findings and reports highlighting pitfalls in service capacity and delivery.

### e) Policies, Programs and Funding

Under the Immigration Act, immigration policy is implemented through settlement programs. Canada has identified services and the delivery of such services to be its mandate to help newcomers achieve successful settlement (Beyene et al., 1996: 171). These settlement services include general orientation, language training, information and referral services, and employment training. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) provides funding to settlement services through three major programs: Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC); and the HOST Program. Other voluntary organizations such as United Way and

the Ontario Trillium Foundation also fund a great variety of community services that immigrants use and some settlement supports specifically for newcomers. A number of agencies are involved in administering these programs: mainstream service agencies, multi-ethnic agencies, ethno-specific service agencies (especially in larger cities like Toronto), federal, provincial and municipal departments and agencies (United Way of Greater Toronto, 1999:21).

According to a report prepared by Wallis et al (2000), since 1995, there have been major budget cuts at the federal and provincial levels. For example, the Ontario Welcome House, which provided general settlement services, including translation and interpretation services, was eliminated in 1995. Also eliminated in 1995 were the provincial Multilingual Access to Social Assistance Program (MASAP) and the provincial Newcomer Language Orientation Classes (NLOC) (Wallis, M., et al 2000). At the national level, the federal Multiculturalism Program/Canadian Heritage has been restructured into project grants, away from core funding to community settlement agencies. The major funding for language training is the federal Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) program. School boards are now accessing these funds since LINC is the only language training funding available to schools. Eligibility criteria make LINC programs inaccessible to refugee claimants and newcomers who have become Canadian citizens but may not have a strong English or French language facility (Wallis, M., et al 2000).

The report also reveals that employment programs are going through similar upheavals. Most federal funding for employment training targeted to newcomers has been eliminated (OCASI 2005). The Ontario Ministry of Education and Training ended an

apprenticeship program for racial minorities. The federal Labour Market Language Training program (LMLT), which offered specialized or advanced language skills to immigrants, also was terminated (Wallis, M., et al 2000). Richmond (1996:4) estimates that funding to immigrant settlement agencies peaked at about \$70 million in 1994 (about 35% federal and 42% provincial, and the remainder United Ways, municipalities, foundations, etc.). Major provincial funding cuts to the broad community service sector began in 1995. A 1996 survey conducted by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto and The City of Toronto documented the consequences of drastic budget cuts to more than 400 community social support agencies in Toronto. The study concluded that the "people who have lost the most in terms of access to services over the last two years of cuts have been immigrants and refugees" (1997:46 cited in Wallis, M., et al 2000).

In addition to LINC, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) allocates federal funding for the Immigration and Settlement Program (ISAP) and the Host Program.

These programs have been plagued by rigid and restrictive criteria and the practice of providing annually renewed contracts that lack adequate administrative and program costs (Cabral 2000). Often other agencies end up subsidizing these programs. When these programs were first introduced, other funders, such as Canadian Heritage and the Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Program, provided core funding dollars to make up the shortfall. However, previous core funders have shifted to project funding mostly (Cabral 2000). As a result, it has become very difficult, especially for smaller agencies, to continue delivering these services. New funding programs also show a shift from ethno-specific linguistic and culturally sensitive services to large generic

institutions (OCASI 2005), although this is not the case in K-W area. This policy shift was confirmed with the infusion of an additional \$35 million a year of federal funding for 1997-2000 (Cabral 2000). A significant share of this funding went into *The Settlement Education Partnership of Toronto Programs* (SEPT) for school board based service in partnership with community agencies (Wallis, M., et al 2000). This program favours multicultural generic agencies providing services for a diverse base of language and cultural groups. Smaller agencies lack the administrative capacity to engage in or sustain such partnerships and that kind of support is not available to them through this program. Thus, this program neglects and undermines the language and cultural expertise of smaller agencies that have shown their particular strengths and capabilities in this area (PROMPT 2005).

Part of the previously allocated fund by federal government was allocated to one-time projects based on the adjudication of proposals. Again, smaller agencies lack the administrative infrastructure to compete effectively for such projects (Sadiq 2004). If successful, there is no provision in the funding for administrative costs except those related directly to the specific project. This kind of project-to-project operation keeps small agencies from engaging in long-term community development and capacity-building. When they have no project funding, their ability to continue except on the basis of volunteer leadership is jeopardized. Another major concern with regard to both previous and new programs is the lack of pay equity across the mainstream institutional and community sectors for the same positions. For example, there is a difference of almost \$5.00 per hour between school boards and community agencies for language teachers (Lo, et al. 2000). In addition, most of the work in the community sector is

contract work with no benefits. Since a majority of the workers in the community-based sector are women, this kind of funding perpetuates inequities that disadvantage women in the workforce. Provincially, Settlement Services have also been restructured. The restructured Newcomer Settlement Program (NSP) had its funding reduced from \$ 6.1 million in 1995-96 to \$ 3.9 million in 1997-98 (Lo, et al. 2000:39). The Ontario Government has also eliminated the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, the Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Program (CNSSP), and Access to Professions and Trades grants, all of which offered important supports to the newcomer population ((Lo et al. 2000:39).

It is difficult to understand how the principles for the successful integration of newcomers into Canadian society can be affected in the face of the program and funding cuts and restructuring and also without a commitment by all levels of government to a planned, adequately resourced settlement strategy. Perhaps, it is worth looking at some of the underlying factors contributing to certain policy changes such as funding cuts and restructuring. The Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) (2005) is a positive sign of increasing partnership by different levels of government to address the multiple and complex needs of immigrants and help receiving communities provide the necessary services and resources to newcomers. But a much longer term funding commitment and wider partnerships which involve active partnership between service providers and municipalities is needed.

# f) Nonprofit Organizations and Neoliberal Ideology

In the late 1970s, the Keynesian ideology that had blossomed in the 1960s, with its collectivist values and emphasis on community, was being swept aside by neoliberal values that favoured individualism and competitiveness (Norquay 2004). This change was brought on, in part, by globalization. Evans and Wekerle (1997:6) provide a critique of the changing relationship between Canadian citizens and their government:

Globalization, restructuring, and downsizing are redefining the relationship between Canadians and their governments, and these have particular impacts on vulnerable groups such as refugees, seniors, youth and women. The mounting influence of international regulatory bodies, the increased concern of government and the private sector about the 'flight' of capital, and the primacy placed on the need to be more competitive, lead to an identification of social spending as the problem, rather than part of the solution to the inequities of unregulated markets. Gone is the belief in the corrective potential of government intervention that characterized the postwar period.

The nonprofit sector has seen huge changes as governments downloaded or abandoned social programs to bring deficits (caused in part by abnormally high interest rates) in line. Evans and Shields (2002), examined the loss of autonomy and commercialization of the sector, a consequence of government policy driven by neoliberal values. This has resulted in the blurring of responsibility between the government and nonprofit sectors for not only service delivery, but also the creation of social policy. Increased pressure on nonprofits due to downloading and resource constraints precipitated a need for the state and the nonprofit sector to redefine their relationship. The Canadian government has agreed to an ongoing discussion with the nonprofit sector to rework this relationship. These discussions, led by a coalition of nonprofit organizations called the Voluntary Sector Roundtable, have taken place since 1998 (Norquay 2004). To date, the discussion has included accountability of the sector itself, the definition of charity, and the nature of

government support for nonprofit organizations, given the ongoing neoliberal ideological frame (Norquay 2004). These discussions may actually serve the current federal government in its quest to reestablish its image as supportive of pro-active social policy.

Not all of the impacts of neoliberalism are necessarily negative, however. Some organizations have responded to the increased emphasis on accountability, and the move towards contract funding (for specific deliverables), by moving towards more formal governance structures such as creating Neighborhood Associations or board of directors, by-laws, business plans and policies and more clearly defined roles and responsibilities for staff and volunteers. Most community based service organizations in K-W, for example, such as Focus for Ethnic Women, House of Friendship, K-W Immigrant Reception Centre, K-W Multicultural Centre and Kitchener Downtown Community Health Centre (KDCHC), have, in recent years moved from collective-based to Executive Director-led structures although some of them were founded with the new organizational structure from the outset. Nonprofit organizations face the key challenge of finding ways to preserve existing organizational values, arising as they did from collective decisionmaking and bottom-up strategizing, in these new, more-formally structured and accountable organizations. Most of these organizations were not successful in their first bid to become a charitable organization (Day and Devlin, 1997).

One of the difficulties was their advocacy role, which must be limited to 10 per cent of an organization's resources, a requirement of all registered charities. Nonprofit organizations must operate within the strictures of Canada's legislative framework, which determines what settlement objectives are to be met, and by neoliberal political ideology,

the primary force that, for the past twenty-five years, has shaped relations between government bodies at all levels and the nonprofit sector (Day and Devlin1997).

### 2.7 Social Networks and their role in the Settlement Process

Social networks refer to complex sets of relationships between people within a social system, and social network analysis focuses on the various types of ties that exist within a network and the roles they perform (Crowell, 2004). Interest in the role played by social networks began to emerge in the 1960s as social scientists refocused more generally on community formation in cities (Wellman *et al*, 1991). Granovetter (1973) who has written extensively on the role of social networks, suggests that the strength of an interpersonal tie is the combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie (Granovetter, 1973: 1361). He suggests that there are three forms of ties; strong, weak or absent.

Relatively little is known about the relative roles of formal support services compared to kin and friendship networks and acquaintances in immigrant resource systems - although various generalizations and stereotypes abound, e.g. immigrants prefer to resolve all their problems within the family rather than use the social services system - and little is known about the role geographical proximity plays in the deployment of these social networks as resource systems (Rose, Carrasco and Charbonneau 1998). In understanding the social networks and their role in the settlement process it is important to ask such questions as what is the significance of neighbourhood-based vis-à-vis "non-local" resources in immigrant's settlement experience, i.e., in what ways do proximity

and mobility within the city "make a difference"? Similarly, what are the relative roles of family and friends ("strong ties") and community and public services, as well as casual contacts and acquaintances ("weak ties") made in various places - work, school, neighbourhood - in the web of resources immigrants, especially women, draw on in the settlement process and in the steps they take toward integration? This dimension has received only minimal attention in the literature, but is coming to be recognized as crucial to the transition from settlement to integration, in that, as it will be shown later, weak ties allow people to diversify their social network and serve as a gateway to an array of socioeconomic and cultural resources beyond those generally available in the person's ethnic or immigrant community (Aroian, 1992; Hagan, 1998; Walton-Roberts 2008).

### a) The notion of Strong and Weak Ties

Strong ties are associated with the notion of "protected community". This notion - the classic "village in the city" identified by authors such as Young and Willmott (1956) evokes the idea of individuals in an urban community concentrating on their primary social ties to family and friends. Fostered and reinforced by residential proximity and stability over time, these ties are such that network members do many types of activities together in the same neighborhood with which they closely identify. In this sense, people can "protect" themselves from the anonymity of the big city and from the presence of the Other - from those they see as different from themselves (Wellman & Leighton, 1980).

The notion of weak ties, in contrast, is associated with belonging to a modern, "emancipated community" in which social ties are no longer circumscribed by the limits of the neighbourhood as people seek out communities of interest, regardless of spatial propinquity or their own social origins, while coming to appreciate cosmopolitan urbanity (Wellman & Leighton, 1980; Schiefloe, 1990). Weak ties tend to have specialized functions, implying less frequent contacts and often necessitating going beyond the immediate socially homogeneous neighborhood where one lives. Those in one's network with whom one has strong ties are likely to know one another, which tends to mean there is less diversity in the sources of information available to network members (Aroian, 1992; Hagan, 1998). In contrast, those with whom one establishes weak ties are more likely to act as "gateways" facilitating the flow of information or as bridges to other spheres of society or other resource systems removed from the individual's network of strong, dense ties; they may also lead to new networks of strong ties. In this sense, access to weak ties may become a key element in social integration processes because of their potential to open up access to a wider range of resources (e.g., for finding a job, resolving a family problem) thus facilitating an individual's becoming more autonomous (Walton-Roberts 2008, Henning & Lieberg, 1996) and less exclusively dependent on strong ties to a small, locally based and homogeneous community (see Walton-Roberts 2008, Hanson & Pratt, 1995).

As Hagan (1998: 65) points out, research on immigrant settlement has emphasized the short-term advantages of networks anchored in the family and the neighbourhood at the expense of considering how diversification of social networks might influence pathways toward integration over a longer period. This is where the concept of weak ties may become very useful. For instance, as Aroian (1992: 180-181) suggests, heterogeneous networks and weak ties with members of the resettlement society may be poor sources of

aid and emotional support but best for helping immigrants learn new roles. Most likely, the network structure that is optimal for immigrants' adaptation depends on their point in the resettlement process. On the other hand, as Hagan (1998: 65) points out, migrants can become so tightly encapsulated in social networks based on strong ties to coethnics that they can lose some of the advantages associated with developing weak ties with residents outside the community. Exploring the variable roles played by the ethnic and wider local community, as well as senior levels of government, with regard to assisting women facing domestic violence, Walton-Roberts (2008) argues that envisioning mainstream service providers as 'weak ties' that can intervene into the public/private continuum can facilitate women's access to services, and thereby compensate for the closure sometimes permitted by strong ties of ethnic kinship. She argues that service providers outside of the coethnic community can act as effective weak ties to compensate for the social closure encouraged by the strong ties of kin and co-ethnic community.

### b) Immigrant Women and Weak ties

When one tries to imagine how an immigrant woman with young children builds her social network, one is likely to envisage a network based on strong ties, essentially limited to her own ethno-cultural community, likely concentrated in a particular neighbourhood (Lynam, 1985; Ray, 1998). This may be especially evident in the case of those without paid employment outside the home. These strong ties would typically be with other members of her immediate and extended family, themselves immigrants, and perhaps also including close friends from the same ethno-linguistic community. She might also interact with neighbours, establishing certain relationships of exchange and

mutual aid around domestic and child-related activities. This type of network would essentially correspond to the notion of protected community defined above, especially if it only included other members of the same immigrant community. Walton-Roberts (2008) who studied the experiences of Sikh immigrant women in a small town in B.C, writes that the degree to which immigrant women received support through strong ties depends on the institutional completeness of the ethnic community that she belongs to. Moreover, in an ideal settlement situation immigrant women should be able to call upon both strong ties with family and friends, as well as weak ties - especially with formal and informal organizations outside of their own co-ethnic communities - in order to achieve settlement success (Rose et al 1998). Formal settlement services factor into this process because they offer a potential weak tie: access to unique and valuable sources of information not necessarily available through strong co-ethnic or kin networks (Walton-Roberts 2008, Ray 1998). These writers conclude that such services can increase the coping skills immigrants develop to improve their socio-economic standing and general quality of life. Crowell (2004) further suggests that various types of organizations (including officials such as teachers, justice officials and caseworkers) can act as possible resources to help women overcome social isolation, and help build networks comprised of weak ties. In addition these connections can evolve into broader advocacy networks and increase a community's social capital (Sabol et al, 2004). Nevertheless, as findings from this research partly show, opportunities for minority immigrant/refugee women to engage with these officials are constrained by limited funding of the said services, and research has consistently highlighted gender discrepancies in service delivery, particularly in language training (Boyd, 1998; Lee, 2000).

# **Chapter Three**

## K-W AREA AND THE AFGHAN COMMUNITY

This chapter is divided into two main sections. Section one, provides an overview of the current demographic profile in KW area including the ethnic and cultural make-up of recent immigrants to KW. Using recent data from Statistics Canada, it demonstrates the increasing growth of visible minorities in K-W as well as the challenges confronting the two cities in developing what most researchers and practitioners call the "absorptive capacity" to recruit and integrate these newcomers. Section two will offer an overview of the socioeconomic and geopolitical circumstances in the country of origin of the surveyed population. It will include a review of the potential push factors which have led to their emigration. This will be useful in understanding the settlement and integration context informing the experiences of this research population.

## 3.1 Demographic Profile

Waterloo Region is located in Southern Ontario, about 100 km (60 miles) west of Toronto. The Region is made up of four rural townships (North Dumfries, Wellesley, Wilmot and Woolwich) and the cities of Cambridge, Kitchener, and Waterloo. The Region has both multicultural urban centres and smaller rural communities. In 2006, it had a population of 478,121, representing a 9% increase from 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2006). It is home to two top ranked universities, the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University, and home to Conestoga College, the top ranked college in Ontario (Region of Waterloo 2008).

REGION OF WATERLOO WITHIN SOUTHERN ONTARIO

U.S.A.

U.S.A.

U.S.A.

U.S.A.

Figure 3.1 Waterloo Region

(Source: www.newcomerswaterloo.ca)

Kitchener (population 204,668) and Waterloo (population 97, 457) are separate cities within the Region of Waterloo in southern Ontario. The two cities are commonly referred to as Kitchener-Waterloo, or K-W, because they are situated next to each other. Many of the early settlers in the Waterloo Region were Mennonites who came as refugees from Europe, Russia and the United States of America, however over the last few decades K-W has become a desirable destination for both immigrants and refugees from almost all over the world (Region of Waterloo 2008).

Between 2001 and 2006, a total of 17,020 immigrants arrived in Waterloo Region (Stats Canada 2006), an increase of over 20 percent between 1996 and 2001. These immigrants came from many developing countries and like Mennonites in the earlier era; a large number of them were forced to leave their homes as refugees. According to Statistics Canada (2006), the 105,375 immigrants currently living in Waterloo Region have come from all over the world. Most immigrants were born in the United Kingdom, Portugal, Germany, and Poland.

Figure 3.2 Countries of Origin of Recent Immigrants in Waterloo Region

Country of Origin	# of recent immigrants	% of recent immigrants
Total recent immigrants	14305	19.30 pp.) 18.60 to 1.1.00 to 1.00 to 1
Yugoslavia*	1480	10.3%
China	1355	9.5%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1275	8.9%
India	1005	7.0%
Romania	925	6.5%
Pakistan	550	3.8%
Croatia	520	3.6%
United States	510	3.6%
Iran	425	3.0%
United Kingdom	365	2.6%

Source: Population Profile, Waterloo, 2005

However, more recently, immigrants have come from countries like Yugoslavia, China, Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, and Romania including refugee groups from the Middle East and elsewhere.

The shift to Asian and other non-English speaking countries has resulted in different settlement challenges for recent immigrants and diversity is increasingly a defining aspect of life in Kitchener-Waterloo. This diversity, represented by the more than 50 languages spoken in the community, signifies the need for important resources in order to continue to develop K-W as a strong, supportive, and healthy community (Region of Waterloo 2007). (see figure 3.2 and 3.6)

Named as the "most cost effective" location in Canada for doing business, by FDI (the Foreign direct Investment Magazine of the Financial Times Group of London), Waterloo Region has been ranked as one of the most competitive areas in the KPMG Competitive Alternatives study of international business costs. The Government of Canada's "Invest in Canada" website ranks Waterloo Region one of the top 35 municipalities in Canada to invest in. Kitchener CMA – the Waterloo Region minus Wilmot and Wellesley – is especially favourable for offering a wide range of employment opportunities within its communities (Population Profile, Waterloo Region, 2005). According to Waterloo Region newcomers' website, it is also an area known for being a strategic and competitive location in which to invest (Newcomers in Waterloo 2007). Moreover, the Waterloo Region ranked in the top five in many individual categories including number of innovations patented, quality of housing stock, lowest crime rate based on drug crimes and criminal code violations per 100,000 people, household access to recycling, density

of population per square kilometer, highest productivity, best employment rate, and Gross Domestic Product per capita (Waterloo of Region 2007).

The Waterloo Region also has an excellent track record in attracting new people and talent. Statistics Canada reveals that the Kitchener CMA attracted the sixth strongest flow of net new migrants per capita between 2002 and 2006. Also in terms of population growth between 2002 and 2006, Waterloo Region ranked fifth among the 27 CMAs with the Kitchener CMAs population growth at 8.9% versus a national average of 5.4% (Stats Canada 2006). In addition, immigrants make up one out of every five people in Waterloo Region, the area has the fifth-largest per capita immigrant population of all urban areas in Canada (Population Profile, Waterloo Region, 2005). (see figure 3.3 and 3.8)

Source: Waterloo Region, 2007

Immigrants come to Canada for many reasons. Some are economic immigrants who have immigrated as skilled workers, entrepreneurs, or investors. Some are joining family members currently living in Canada. Other immigrants are refugees who are fleeing persecution in their home country. Waterloo Region has a higher proportion of refugees than the Canadian average. While in 2002, 18.3% of immigrants destined to Waterloo Region were refugees, across Canada, 11% of immigrants were accepted as refugees (Waterloo Region 2007). (see figure 3.7)

Waterloo Region not only receives many individuals who immigrate directly to the area but also several thousand immigrants who move from other areas within Canada. At least 20% of recent immigrants in Kitchener and Cambridge originally immigrated to other areas in Canada and then moved to Waterloo Region. The City of Waterloo attracts an especially high number of immigrants through this "secondary migration", with approximately 40% of recent immigrants who have moved to Waterloo from other areas in Canada (Region of Waterloo 2007).

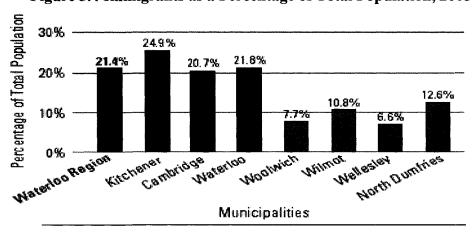


Figure 3.4 Immigrants as a Percentage of Total Population, 2005

Source: Population Profile, Waterloo, 2005

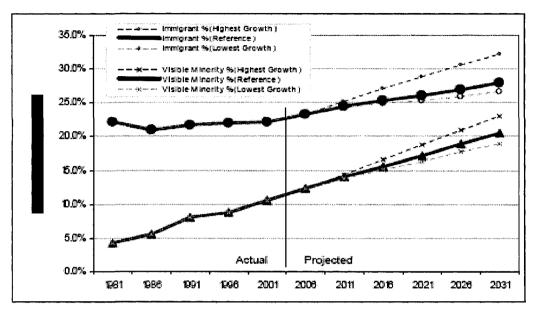
Percentage of Total Population 5% 4.5% 4.4% 4% 3.3% 3% 2% 1.7% 1.1% 0.9% 1% 0.3% 0% Waterloo Region North Dumfries Wellesley Campligge Woohnich Waterloo Kitchener Municipalities

Figure 3.5 Recent Immigrants as a Percentage of Total Population, 2005

Source: Population Profile, Waterloo, 2005

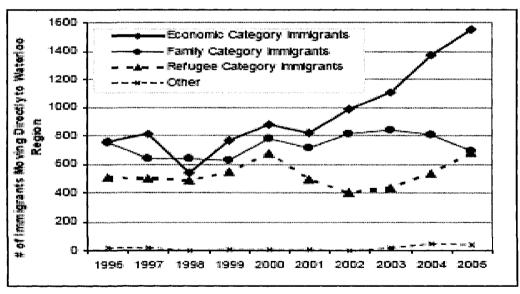
Statistics Canada population projections (2006) suggest that this trend in secondary migration will continue and predict that by the year 2031, the proportion of immigrants in Waterloo Region will be between 26.6 percent and 32.2 percent of the total population. This increase in the number of immigrants is even more pronounced in regional forecasts which are higher than the Statistics Canada total population projections. Not only is the proportion of immigrants estimated to increase, the proportion of individuals in Waterloo Region who are visible minorities (some of whom may have been born in Canada) is estimated to increase as well – from 10.5 percent of the population in 2001 to between 18.9 percent and 23.0 percent in 2031 (Waterloo Region 2007). (see figure 3.6)

Figure 3.6 Immigrants as a proportion of the Population, Waterloo Region (1981-2031)



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006

Figure 3.7 Immigrant Categories (1996 – 2005 Arrivals)



Source: Statistics Canada. 2006

#### 3.2 Kitchener Waterloo Joint Services Initiative

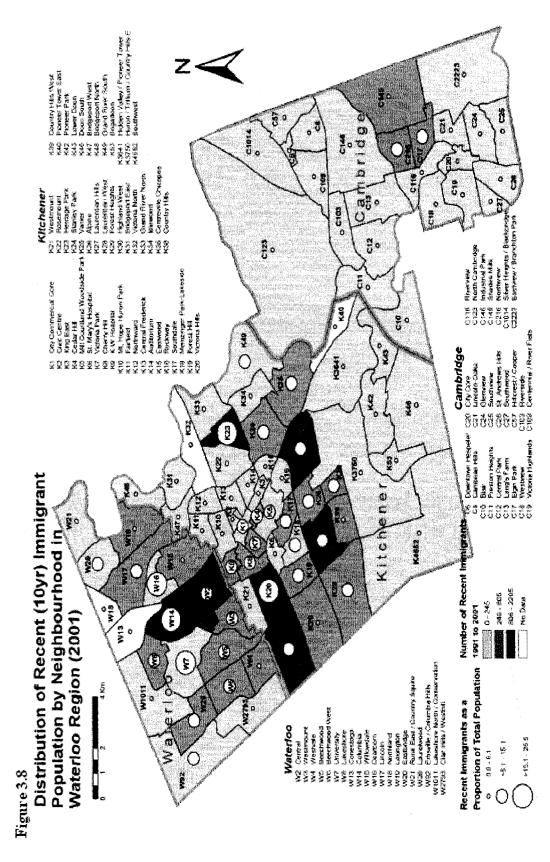
Prior to 2004 the Cities of Kitchener and Waterloo were engaged in an extensive number of cooperative initiatives with reference to service delivery for immigrants. In an attempt to build on those informal cooperative efforts, in January 2004 senior staff from both cities including representatives from the Waterloo region and community based organizations began to explore the possibility of formalizing and enhancing the level of collaboration and cooperation between the two Cities with regard to enhanced and effective service delivery (Kitchener 2007). In light of the rapid growth of the immigrant population, in September 2004 the City Councils of Kitchener and Waterloo approved the creation of a Shared Services Program aimed at identifying, coordinating and managing opportunities where a cooperative approach to service delivery would be beneficial. The program started with five initiatives intended to pilot the benefits of shared services in four specific categories: community integration, service rationalization, service efficiencies and consistencies, and system efficiencies and consistencies.

Building on the success of the first five initiatives, in February 2006 both City

Councils approved new terms of reference for the program, renaming it as the Joint

Services Initiative. The new terms of reference expanded the program's scope to go

beyond basic service delivery to include strategic initiatives and to formally recognize the opportunity for both cities to share information and learn from each other's best practices. Since the Kitchener Waterloo Joint Services Initiative first began, it has more than tripled the number of projects that are part of the program from five back in 2004, to 18 initiatives today (Kitchener 2007). A list of the services available in the KW region is included in appendix 1.



Immigrants and Growth: A Look at Health and Employment in Waterloo Region

Source: Population Profile, Waterloo, 2005

### 3.3 AFGHAN COMMUNITY IN K-W

Afghan refugees began arriving in Canada in significant numbers in the late 1980's. Demographically, most Afghans in Canada are first-generation immigrants, with a small percentage of second-generation Afghan-Canadian youth. (See table 3.1 and 3.3) Exploring the experiences of this group in K-W, where the numbers of immigrants has recently begun to increase, presents us with a unique opportunity to observe immigrant group identity formation in its early stages within an urban environment that is racially and ethnically diverse, but is not as fully serviced as Canada's largest cities. This interrogation requires an appreciation of the social, economic and political setting which has shaped the pre-migration experiences of Afghan refugees, and the policy/service context informing their settlement.

To understand the process and issues of Afghan immigrants' settlement, it is necessary to develop an understanding of the homeland circumstances as well as to survey the conditions in refugee camps in Pakistan, Iran, Russia and India - regions where Afghans reside prior to their permanent resettlement in Canada.

# 3.4 Perspectives on Socio-economic and Political Circumstances

Afghanistan is a conflict-torn country about the size of Manitoba, with a population of about 28 million people. Afghanistan shares borders with six other countries (Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, China and Pakistan). Its strategic location both facilitates and impedes trade and security relations in the region. For example, it is

considered an ideal route for the transportation of gas and oil to China (World Bank 2005).

Turkmenistan

Amu Dar'ya

Amu Dar'ya

Morghab

Mazar-e
Sharif

Kabul Towraghondi

Afghanist

Shindand

Lashkar
Gah

Kandahar

Gah

Kandahar

Jalalabad

Lashkar
Gah

Kandahar

Fass

Indus River

Pakistan

India

AFGHANISTAN

India

I75 mi

Low/ HILLS/MOUNTAINS

I75 km

Figure 3.9 Afghanistan and its neighbors

Source: www.worldatlas.com/afghanistan

Throughout much of its history it has been a pawn in games played by world superpowers, often serving as a strategic buffer zone. In the nineteenth century the British attempted to mitigate Russian influence there, and in the twentieth century the US took on this role (Gregory 2004).

The average life expectancy in Afghanistan is about 46 years, and the literacy rate estimate for 1999 was 47.2 per cent for men and 15 per cent for women (WHO 2000). There are at least 55 distinct ethnic groups living in Afghanistan. Pashto and Dari are the two primary languages spoken, alongside numerous dialects and minority languages. The

relative proportion of the primary ethnic groups is, Pashtun 38 per cent, Tajik 25 per cent, Hazara 19 per cent, Uzebek 6 per cent, with numerous minority groups claiming the remaining 12 per cent (World Bank 2005). Thirty years of war and instability has partly prevented efforts (by government as well as mostly by international organizations) to carry out comprehensive research and collect accurate statistical information, and the previous figures remain widely controversial among the Afghan population. Pashtuns, for example claim to make up around 55 percent of the country's population, but due to their increased dispersal and resettlement in non-Pashtun areas including Kabul (the capital where Dari is largely spoken), they may speak with a different dialect or not speak Pashto at all.

These different ethnic groups share a common religion. Nearly all Afghans are Muslim (84 per cent Sunni and 15 per cent Shi'a, with less than 1 per cent other religions) (Maley 2002). According to Maley (2002, 9), the two schools, Sunni (orthodox) and Shi'a (heterodox), "have at times fierce intergroup antagonisms, with variations in doctrine and ritual seen as heresies." Within each of these two religious sects, practices range from ultra orthodox to more liberal approaches. Maley (2002, 10) notes this dynamic: "This Islam of the intelligentsia was and is different from the Islam of the village prayer-leader or mullah, and this is central to an understanding of the dynamics of the Afghanistan conflict." Typically the more liberal traditions occur in urban areas and the more conservative in rural areas.

The violence that has produced the refugee population derives from both ethnic intolerance and conflicts over land by various groups in the context of the use of force to settle disputes. Other sources for conflict have included devastating economic and

political interference by Russia, the US, Pakistan, and other countries in the region. This interference has taken the form of provision of arms to various *mujahedeen* factions and warlords, and the strategic provision of aid, delivered sometimes without protest, through resource-hungry NGOs. Decades of conflict have resulted in hundreds of thousands of men killed, leaving over hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans who must rely on family members or international aid for sustenance (World Bank 2006). In addition, landmines still cause countless injuries and deaths.

Gender has become highly politicized in Afghanistan. Traditional values in the many ethnic cultures there, bolstered by conservative interpretations of Islam have greatly restricted the role of women in comparison to western cultures. Women have traditionally been responsible for child rearing, meal preparation, and managing the home. In Afghanistan during the 1960s and 1970s, women made gradual inroads in the political sphere. The 1964 constitution enfranchised women when it outlawed discrimination; by 1977 the twenty-member Constitutional Advisory Committee had two women and the 400 member Loya Jirga, a dozen (Dupree 1991). During the 1970s, in the cities at least, women gained access to education and work. Afghan women then made up ten per cent of the student population (Cammack 1999: 95).

The role of women, however, did not expand in most rural areas. Urban/rural differences figure as key tensions in Afghan society, particularly with regard to the role of women. It is widely realized, especially since late 2001 when the new US sponsored democratically elected government emerged, that full participation of women in political, social, cultural and economic spheres is vital in the country's reconstruction and development process. Yet, evidence shows that the Afghan women are among the worst-

off in the world based on measures of health, poverty, deprivation of rights and protection against violence, education and literacy, and public participation (World Bank 2006). Although since 2002 some progress in advancing the situation of women has been made, Afghan women register the lowest indicators in the Gender Development Index, which combines life expectancy, educational achievements, and standard of living (World Bank 2006). Afghanistan's Constitution produced in 2004 reserves a 25 per cent share of seats for women in parliament in the National Assembly, guarantees equality of women and men and pledges to promote educational programs and health care for women. In addition, the constitution provides that "from each province on average at least two female delegates shall have membership to the Wolesi Jirga (Lower House)." (World Bank 2006) That's a total of sixty-eight women, or 27 percent of the lower house, a figure that catapults Afghanistan into the ranks of nations with the highest proportion of female representation. Sweden is number one, with 44 percent, and Afghanistan a respectable number twenty (The United States, at roughly 16 percent and Canada 21 percent – are a conspicuous disgrace).

The migration of refugees across the Afghan border as well as internal displacement is entirely due to violence and not to economic factors such as famine (Rubin 1996, 2-3). In 1989 when the Soviets departed, refugees numbered 6.1 million (Médecins Sans Frontières Canada 2002, 4). Their displacement stemmed from internal violence as *mujahedeen*, warlords, and government forces fought for control. Refugee numbers increased tenfold since Soviet troops first entered Afghanistan in late 1979 (Rubin 1996).

When the Soviets withdrew in 1989, they left and continued supporting a Communist regime in power. The *mujahedeen* and the warlords continued to fight both each other

and government forces. In 1992, a coalition of *mujahedeen* parties took Kabul and replaced the Communist government. With its fall, about half of the 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan returned home. Many internally-displaced people also attempted to move back to their former villages. The hardships facing these returned refugees included a landscape strewn with land mines, a weak economy, and a lack of social services. The motivations for returning included fear of land being stolen by other returnees, aid packages from NGO, and a UN-led reconstruction program (Cammack 1999, 98).

The Taliban became established in late 1994. Pashtuns formed the ethnic majority of the Taliban; its first members were religious students in Kandahar. Their initial motivation was to address corrupt practices of the *mujahedeen*. As they moved through the country, young people from refugee camps and rural areas joined them (Marsden 1998, 43-44). The Taliban were not simply like villagers coming to the cities. Their values were not the values of the village, but the values of the villages as interpreted by refugee camp dwellers or madrassa students who typically had not known normal village life (Marsden 1998).

In short, Afghanistan has faced tremendous obstacles to centralized governmental control and any meaningful capacity for policy implementation due to the complex relationships between ethnic groups, *mujahedeen* parties, and warlords and of course the recent deeply religious rule by Taliban. Negotiations for power have always involved a complex web of deal-making and violence. Even the Taliban only achieved control of about 90 per cent of the country, and according to a 2004 Asia Program Special Report, the current government desperately requires international peacekeeping troops to maintain a measure of tenuous stability. Even today NGOs are facing difficult decisions

around helping the impoverished people and preservation of women's programs, and find themselves playing a high-stakes game of negotiation especially in rural areas.

Such circumstances framed the lives of Afghans prior to their arrival in Canada. Afghan refugees do not come to Canada directly from Afghanistan, but by way of third countries, notably Pakistan, India and to some extent from Russia. This research found that Afghans immigrating to K-W represent this wide range of pre-migration circumstances: urban and rural, liberal and more traditional cultural and religious beliefs, Tajik, Hazara, and Pashtun ethnic groups, Dari and Pashto speaking. After settling in Canada, each immigrant with her/his unique talents, needs, and aspirations, must make numerous adjustments to create a healthy and productive life here. The successful integration of these refugees depends, in part, on the network of support organizations from the public, private and nonprofit sectors delivering services to immigrants. For the most part, these organizations must work within the confines of a legislative framework established essentially for the purpose of providing Canadian employers with a supply of workers for our expansionist capitalist economy (Norquay 2004). In the case of many if not most Afghan refugees, socio-economic disruption has been immense, migratory trajectories have been geographically complex and lengthy, and as a consequence the continually unsettled nature of family life creates specific challenges for everyone, especially women and children.

The above information concerning the economic and political history of Afghanistan can only provide us with a sketch of the conditions affecting their lives. Afghan refugees' individual experiences precipitate individual issues and needs, and government settlement policy will never deal effectively with all of the individual needs of immigrants.

However, since settlement services in Canada are delivered primarily by nonprofit organizations, the expertise gained by such organizations through their interactions with members of particular groups allows more nuanced attention to the specifically contextualized needs of immigrants. The employees working at these non-profit organizations, for example, are either immigrant themselves who have lived in developing countries and are very well familiar with geopolitical, socio-economic circumstances and therefore understand the values and norms that affect refugee's needs. In K-W, organizations such as the YMCA, K-W Multicultural Centre, House of Friendships's Emergency Food Program, K-W Reception Centre, Chandler Mowat Community Centre and Courtland Shelly Community Centre (both are run by House of friendship) have recruited a significant proportion of employees who are immigrants from Iran, Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa.

This practice of involving immigrants in service delivery is, perhaps, an excellent strategy in order to efficiently and effectively address the needs of a growing diverse population. As said earlier, these people have the expertise to respond to the highly contextualized needs of the Afghan immigrants they serve. But as Norquay (2004) argues, even a nonprofit with the necessary expertise must deliver programs that are generalized to some extent because, with the exception of one-on-one counseling services, most programs are designed to be delivered to groups.

Finally, the Afghan community in K-W and in Canada as a whole is, arguably, to an extent, a microcosm of the same differing languages, cultures, and beliefs that exist in Afghanistan. How do these differences impinge on the success of settlement here? By

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is certainly the view held by a number of the service providers and Afghan community members I interviewed.

which mechanisms do Afghan refugees, or other newcomers in similar situations, find support within their own community and from Canadian civil society more broadly? How well are the services offered for newcomers utilized by this population? Similarly, like many other immigrants, when Afghans move to Canada they need multiple forms of assistance. Thus it is important to understand how their activity patterns are shaped by immediate needs such as obtaining legal documents, accessing health centres, schools, education and language centres, job searches, banking, and transportation etc.

# 3.5 Afghan Newcomer Refugees in K-W

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) currently allows refugees to enter Canada under three programs: government sponsored, privately sponsored, and Landed in Canada. The government criteria for acceptance are quite restrictive as the following language from the CIC website shows:

CIC selects refugees who are seeking resettlement in Canada. To be eligible, they must have no alternative, such as voluntary repatriation, resettlement in their country of asylum or resettlement to a third country, or there must be no possibility of such an alternative within a reasonable period of time (CIC 2006).

Over fifty per cent of all refugees settling in Canada come to Ontario, and most of these settle in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (CIC 2006). Refugees come to Canada in one of three ways: 1) sponsored by nonprofit organizations, 2) sponsored by individuals, and 3) as government-selected refugees<sup>2</sup>. Census data for the year 2005 which represents

<sup>2</sup> Some refugees make their way here by sea or from the US (a route that was eliminated by a controversial agreement with the US government that prevented refugees from accessing refugee application process if they come via the US.

data from 1980 to 2005 suggests that there are presently over 40,000<sup>3</sup> Afghans living in Canada, of whom about 30,000 are convention refugees. In 2001, 13,645 people of Afghan ethnic background were reported to be residing in Toronto and of those, 1,000 were born in Canada (Norquay 2004: 7). The gender split is even, with 6,735 Afghan women living in Toronto (Norquay 2004: 7). By contrast, the number of Afghans coming to Canada prior to 1980 is less than 100 according to the CIC data (see table 3.1). An analysis of CIC refugee admission data as of 1999 showed that, by country of origin, refugees from Afghanistan ranked third in 1996, fourth in 1997, and fifth in 1998 in terms of total numbers admitted to Canada (CIC 1999). According to Landed Immigrants Data System (LIDS) for CIC for the year 2005 which provides data for all immigrant categories, Afghan refugees made over ten percent of all refugees admitted to Canada in 2001, more than any other refugee group (LIDS 2005) As table 3.1 illustrates, in the year 2001, a total of 3,931 Afghan immigrants entered Canada of which 2056 are convention refugees, 176 are their dependent families and 1246 are asylum seekers (LIDS 2005). Table 3.1 contains Afghan immigrants to Canada under various categories from 1980 to 2005.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  The table below shows data from 1980 - 2005 which contains data up to the year 2005 suggesting that the number of Afghan refugees may have increased to well over 40,000 now.

Table 3.1<sup>4</sup> Afghan Immigrants in Canada (1980-2005)

Year of	Family	Convention	Designated	Assisted	Entrepreneur	Self-	Other	Investor	PDRCC	Dependants	DROC	Asylum	Total
Landing	Class	Refugee	Class	Relative	Class	Employed	Independant	Class	Class	of a CR8	Class	Country	
		Class		Class		Class	Class			Refugee			
1980	3	7	0	1:	0	2	7	0	0	0	O	0	20
1981	5	32	1	. 5	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	48
1982	4	74	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	87
1983	6	73	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	C	85
1984	21	108	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	136
1985	7	329	0	4	0	0	20	0	0	0	Ö	0	360
1986	14	521	0	9	1	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	580
1987	19	755	0	4	3	3	154	0	0	0	0	0	938
1988	26	910	2	5	0	0	31	0	0	Ó	Ō	0	974
1989	35	948	0	8	3	0	16	0	0	0	Ō	0	1010
1990	48	883	29	14	5	5	9	0	0	0	0	0	993
1991	205	1052	77	17	0	0	39	4	0	0	0	0	1394
1992	250	805	92	32	O	0	44	0	0	0	0	0	1223
1993	381	511	15	42	Ó	Ó	23	Ō	0	0	0	0	972
1994	336	461	2	30	3	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	845
1995	318	1089	0	18	12	0		0	1	24	0	0	1484
1996	274	1603	1	23	5	0	25	0	22	41	7	0	
1997	302	1653	1	23	13	2	248	5	16	27	14	0	2304
1998	266	1603	0	12	7	0	38	0	5	103	4	42	2080
1999	354	1197	. 0	11	4	1	15	0	7	82	5	595	2271
2000	343	1865	0	19	16	2	29	0	12	106	2	767	3161
2001	383	2056	0	2	24	1	34	8	1	176	0	1246	3931
2002	318	2217	0	2	2	1	27	0	6	129	0	801	3503
2003	369	1769	0	4	4	1	40	0	2	82	Ō	898	3169
2004	476	1445	0	2	11	2	18	1	1	100	0	652	2708
2005	373	1944	0	1	O	0	13	1	2	42	0	583	2959
Total	5136	25910	221	292	113	23	919	19	75	912	32	5584	39236

Source: LIDS 2005 (By immigrant category groupings)

Table 3.2 All Refugees to Canada from 1996-2005

Category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Government-assisted refugees	7,869	7,711	7,432	7,444	10,671	8,697	7,505	7,506	7,411	7,416
Privately sponsored refugees	3,189	2,742	2,267	2,348	2,933	3,576	3,052	3,252	3,116	2,976
Refugees landed in Canada	13,462	10,634	10,181	11,797	12,993	11,897	10,546	11,267	15,901	19,935
Refugee dependants	3,958	3,221	2,962	2,809	3,495	3,749	4,021	3,959	6,259	5,441
Total Refugees	28,478	24,308	22,842	24,398	30,092	27,919	25,124	25,984	32,687	35,768

Source: CIC 2006

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> \*DROC - Deferred removal orders -- PDRCC - Post-determination refugee claimants

Table 3.3 Landed Immigrants from Afghanistan to K-W (1981-2005)

Year of	Spouse	Parent/	Skilled	Skilled	Governme	Privately	Asylum	Dependants	DROC &	DROC &	Total
Landing	İ	Grandparent	Workers -		nt Assisted	Sponsored	Refugees	Abroad	PDRCC -	PDRCC -	
				Dependant	Refugees	Refugees			Princ.	Dep.	
			Applicant						Appl.		
								!			
1981	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
1982	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	O	4
1984	0	0	0	O O	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1988	0	0	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	8
1989	0	0	0	0	4	7	0	0	0	0	11
1990	0	Ō	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	O O	3
1991	2	0	0	Ó	0	2	1	0	0	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
1992	4.	5	0	0	6	11	5	0	0	1	31
1993	2	0	0	0	0	6		Ō	0		9
1994	2	0	0	0	4	0		0	0		
1995	2	13	1	3	0		<del></del>	0	0	0	
1996	0	9	0		0		0	0	1	0	
1997	1	0	0		5			0			
1998	1	0	0		9			0	0	0	1
1999	0	0	0		62	10		0	1	1	79
2000	1	. 0	1	2	83			0	0		
2001	1	0	0		32			0	0		
2002	2	0	0		73	10		2			
2003	1	0	0	<del></del>	75			1	0	0	
2004	4	0	0	_	35			0			
2005	3	0	0	0	65	13		0	0	0	
Total	27	27	2	5	463	136	52	3	2	1	718

Source: LIDS 2005 (By immigrant category groupings)

As table 3.1 demonstrates that two third of the Afghan population in Canada is Convention Refugees at 25910 persons, followed by Refugee Claimants 5584 and family class sponsored by relatives at over 5000 persons. This proportion of categories is also reflected in K-W where convention refugees make up the largest category of Afghan immigrants (See table 3.3). Refugee families are often separated with members living in different countries. In Canada, only permanent residents and citizens can sponsor family members to join them (CIC, 2006). Neither Refugee Claimants nor Convention Refugees can do so. Furthermore, Undocumented Convention Refugees must wait a minimum of three years before they can apply to become permanent residents. Once this is completed, sponsorship applications for family members can take up to another two years to be

processed. Thus, by the time the Afghan families are reunited, the children may no longer be dependents. They may be young adults and may no longer qualify to be sponsored as dependents. Currently, dependents are defined as sons and daughters who are less than 19 years of age and are unmarried. This age limit may have now increased to 22 years (CIC, 2006). The most common way refugees are able to sponsor their families and relatives is through Private Sponsorship Programs. Through the Private Sponsorship of Refugees, Canadian Citizens and permanent residents commit to providing financial settlement assistance (except for Joint Assistance Sponsorship cases) to refugees for one year or until they can support themselves financially, whichever comes first (CIC 2008). This assistance includes accommodation, clothing and food. In special cases, the sponsorship period can be extended for up to 36 months. Sponsors also provide emotional and significant settlement assistance to the refugees for the duration of the sponsorship period.

Joint Assistance Sponsorship - A number of organizations across the country have signed sponsorship agreements with the Government of Canada to help support refugees from abroad when they resettle in Canada. These organizations are known as sponsorship agreement holders and constituent groups. They can sponsor refugees themselves or work with others in the community to sponsor refugees. Most sponsorship agreement holders are religious, ethnic, community or service organizations. Sponsorship agreement holders can also enter into joint assistance sponsorships with the Government of Canada to help refugees with special needs.

The socioeconomic profile of the Afghan community presented here indicates that they experience severe hardship in these areas. In the case of Afghans, there is an enormous cultural gap between them and mainstream Canadian culture. They differ in every aspect including race, family size, language and religion. According to a research by Ornstein (2000) on the socio-economic conditions of several ethnic communities in Toronto, Afghans are among the poorest of the poor. About 70 per cent of them live in poverty and the group has one of the highest rates of child poverty in the Canada (Ornstein 2000, in Siemiatycki et al 2001).

In K-W, Afghan families are minorities in a society that differs significantly from theirs in terms of culture, religion, race and family structure. These differences compound the usual settlement and adjustment issues that most immigrants encounter. Furthermore, as indicated earlier, since most of the Afghans are refugees, one cannot underestimate the impact of post-traumatic stress on the lives of the parents and the children. Each may still be reliving memories of the war and the refugee camps.

All immigrants and refugees need official documents to confirm their identity. Most Afghans are Undocumented Convention Refugees. Due to the 30 years of consecutive war and the collapse of the Afghan state, most Afghans entering Canada, did not have birth certificates or passports until the year 2001. To handle these types of refugee cases, the Canadian government amended the Immigration Act to create a new category for refugees without identity documents – the Undocumented Convention Refugees in Canada Class (CCR 2003). This came into effect in 1997. According to the Act, Undocumented Convention Refugees had to maintain their refugee status for five years before they could apply for permanent residency. This waiting period was recently reduced to three years (CIC 2001). Currently, Undocumented Convention Refugee status applies only to citizens of two countries; Afghanistan and Somalia (CIC 2001).

Finally, Refugee status also affects access to post-secondary education as refugees are ineligible for education loans from Ontario Students Assistance Program. This creates an enormous barrier as refugee students may not be able to pay the high cost of post-secondary education. Refugees also face employment barriers, as they are eligible only for temporary work permits (CCR 2003). While these permits can be extended as needed, some jobs are closed to the holders of these permits and many employers will not hire workers with this type of restriction (CCR 2003). Becoming self-employed is another obstacle for refugees, as they are not eligible for bank loans or other forms of credit if they wish to start a business.

### **Chapter Four**

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research assess the experiences of Afghan newcomers who settled in KW, the challenges they faced, the coping strategies they employ and the type of services they rely upon during their initial settlement phase. It involved a review of the service provision landscape in order to assess how it contributes to and intersected with the social networks these recent immigrants and refugees utilized. The research captured the daily activity patterns of newcomers, and then assessed how these were influenced by and in turn influenced the social networks the respondents operated within. More specifically the research tracked newcomers' activity patterns as they sought to fulfill immediate needs such as obtaining legal documents, accessing health centres, schools, education and language centres, job searches, banking, and transportation etc.

Interviews were conducted with newcomer couples in Kitchener-Waterloo. The following were the main research objectives/questions:

- 1) How well are the services offered for newcomers utilized by the target population?
- 2) How are daily patterns of travel and activity shaped by the social networks (weak and strong ties) newcomers are embedded within?
- 3) How are the daily activity patterns linked to social networks and social network formation and how are they differentiated in terms of gender, generation, class and ethnicity within the immigrant sample population?

### 4.1 Design and Methodology

One way to understand the settlement needs and issues of newcomer immigrants and refugees is by identifying their daily needs, how they fulfill these needs and what means they utilize to do so. Numerous research methods have been designed, redesigned and employed by researchers and academics over time in order to explore these issues. One such method is the study of human activities and travel patterns. The method employed in this research involves use of "diary" surveys through which one can assess key aspects of behaviour and most importantly obtain accurate data on location during the day. Diary surveys supplement the tracking technology (discussed below) and facilitate the process of obtaining more self-reported information from respondents, and their family members, over longer periods and in more detail (Doherty 2002).

New technologies such as computers, the internet, and passive tracking devices (Doherty and Papinski 2006)) are being increasingly used to improve data quality with reference to activity and travel behaviour. In particular, Global Positioning Systems (GPS) are receiving considerable attention as a means to supplement and potentially replace standard diary methods. GPS devices (discussed in more details below) also have the capability to accurately and passively trace personal or vehicular movements over long periods of time. GPS has been used largely to detect observed attributes of vehicular trips, including start, end times, routes and trip ends. In the context of emerging travel behaviour and activity-based approaches, these represent only a subset of the types of information commonly sought in diary-based surveys, albeit the most difficult for people to recall in most cases (Doherty and Papinski 2006). Person-based GPS tracking holds the potential for extending activity detection to include trips by other modes (walk, bike, bus,

train, etc.), and more complex activity patterns. Overall, GPS appears to offer unprecedented potential to improve the data quality and extent of travel surveys, and thus inherently reduce respondent burden.

Recent research has shown that it is possible through post-processing of this data to accurately determine the vast majority of activity location, travel routes, and activity start/end times (Doherty 2002). By incorporating GPS technology, this method can prove effective in attaining real time, well recorded and highly accurate data. For instance, this method can inform us about the time spent and distance traveled (either walking, or by bus) by an individual seeking access to a service, and the diary can inform us of the activities taken part in. Analysis of this data provides insights into how the location of the service provider shapes daily routines of newcomers seeking services, the extent to which services are utilized, and how supportive they were found to be by newcomers. These temporal and spatial considerations are vital in understanding the availability, accessibility, use and success of settlement services. And lastly the analysis of data collected can help in identifying the degree of support provided through various networks, be they strong ties - family, friends, religious centers, community clubs, ethnic enclaves, or weak ties – public sector services such as health centres, community and recreation centres, housing and social services as well as non-profit service agencies serving immigrants.

For the purposes of this research an innovatively designed updated computer based diary system developed by Doherty (2006) was employed, which displays data collected by the GPS in an easy and user-friendly platform such as an excel worksheet. For this research tracking was used in conjunction with a pre and post interview, and continuous

contact with respondents for data verification. This proved to be imperative since it was crucial in learning about the particular experiences participants had during the tracking period, but also enabled confirmation and when necessary, modification of the GPS data.

### 4.2 Respondent Recruitment

As noted earlier, the aim of the research was to explore the specific challenges facing newcomers to the K-W area. For this research criterion sampling was used to select refugees primarily from Afghanistan, but also from other countries in the Middle East with fairly similar social, economic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds who had been in Canada for less than 6 months; a particularly unique and distinct period of their resettlement.

Individuals participating in this research were identified through collaboration with community service providers and non-profit organizations in Kitchener-Waterloo area. Some of the community based organizations and service providers that participated in the research and/or assisted in identifying participants included, Chandler Mowat Community Centre, Sunnydale Community Centre, House of Friendship and K-W reception centre. All of these organizations are located in Kitchener and Waterloo Area. A total of 7 recent visible minority immigrant couples (14 individuals) over the age of 18, who were resident in KW for less than 6 months were selected for this research. According to the most recent CIC data in 2005, 78 Afghan refugees settled in the KW area, during that year the total population who met the sampling criteria is approximately 39, so the research captured close to 40% of the possible total. Although finding participants with all these distinct characteristics (most recent newcomer couples, from

Afghanistan and Middle East, interested and willing to participate in the study) wasn't without challenge, these qualities were essential prerequisites in order to achieve the research objectives outlined in the outset. Two factors were thus significant in timely identification of the suitable candidates who met the established criteria. First, my own cultural background is Afghan nationality through which I had established relationships and contacts with the Afghan community both in K-W and in Toronto. Second, the researcher worked in settlement and community development both in Toronto and Kitchener for over four years prior to attending graduate school. In fact, my recent work with a charity organization - House of Friendship in Kitchener as Christmas Bureau Coordinator and later as Community Resource Coordinator, was a great opportunity to build networks and relationships not only with the Afghan community in K-W, but largely with other Middle Eastern communities including Somalis, Pakistanis and Iranians. These two factors were crucial in facilitating the recruitment of research participants.

In addition, three participants from service providing agencies were selected for interviews in order to thoroughly investigate identified settlement issues/barriers, and to provide verification and triangulation with regard to the data refugee respondents provided. These "two sided" points of view were crucial in understanding the problems faced by newcomers as well as the challenges faced in the service delivery sector. Participants were met both through formal or informal settings depending on their availability and convenience. Almost all post GPS tracking interviews were conducted at participants' residences.

The researcher, in collaboration with the staff and representatives of the said agencies invited participants who met the research criteria to participate in the research. It is important to state that the coordinators of these agencies who assisted in recruitment process only knew the participants, but had no access to any information gathered. This ensured participants privacy and confidentiality. Interviews were recorded using a digital recording device as well as computer based voice recording software. Each respondent received a \$50 honorarium for their participation in the study, which required one week of passive tracking and two interviews.

## 4.3 Methodological Framework

There were three stages of data collection for this research project once the respondents were recruited.

- 1. Pre-study information meeting 30-60 Minutes
- 2. GPS Passive Data Collection with Internet-Based Prompted Recall Diary (IBPRD) and triggered interventions one week
- 3. Post-study interview 60-90 Minutes

# a) Stage One - Pre-study information meeting - 30-60 Minutes

The first stage was a pre-study information meeting that took place a day before GPS data collection started. The researcher met with participants and provided an orientation of the entire study process. This included discussion over the stages of the study, necessary instruction on the use of technology and methods involved in the study – GPS devices, Blackberry and the IBPRD and device testing. By the end of this discussion,

participants had a clear understanding of the duration of the study, stages and extent of their involvement.

# b) Stage two - Internet Based Prompted Recall System (IBPRD)

The second stage was the GPS tracking and Internet Based Prompted Recall Diary (IBPRD). After the pre-study process, the subject was asked to wear two devices for the next one week. The equipment the subject was asked to wear was a BlackBerry 7520 smart phone and a GlobalSat Bluetooth GPS device (See figure 4.1). The GPS was connected to the BlackBerry wirelessly using Bluetooth technology. Through the use of remote monitoring software, the BlackBerrys are capable of being monitored beyond other devices via the BES (BlackBerrry Enterprise Server). In addition, various measures of device status can be monitored such as a battery levels, latest GPS readings, etc which allows for further data verification.

Bluetooth
GPS

Telus
i'DEN
Cellular
Network

Server with
Database & GPS
Algorithm

BlackBerry with Java
Application

Figure 4.1 GPS, Blackberry and the BES

(Source: Doherty 2007)

The BlackBerry and GPS devices are user friendly devices since the only major task the subject has to perform is to turn them on the day the study starts, wear them during the day and charge the batteries every night. There are a few minor tasks that must be considered by the users. First, the GPS and BlackBerry devices must stay close together in order for the connection between the two devices to stay active. The commonly accepted distance for a connection to be active is approximately 10 metres. Another requirement of the subject is that the respondent must verify that the GPS device is still on during the day. If the GPS was off or lost connection the BlackBerry vibrated to inform the subject that there had been a problem with the devices. The subject was then asked to phone technical support to help to fix the problems. These requirements do not require much time to complete, just an awareness of the possibility of them occurring. The subjects wore both devices during any out of home activities as per the technical requirements stated above.

The GPS device as shown in figure 4.1 is relatively accurate and measures the latitude and longitude on a second-by-second basis. Collected data is sent to the server where it is stored under the subjects' username and password. Every six hours, the GPS data are analyzed and run through an activity detection algorithm to estimate the trips and activities of the subject along with their attributes (start/end times, locations, mode, etc). Every other day, the main researcher either met the participants or contacted them by phone to review and verify the activities of the last two days. As alluded to earlier, since GPS tracking was limited to identifying trips and location of activities, in order for the researcher to learn the purpose of these trips and specific activities, it was necessary to communicate with participants. Also on some occasions the GPS tracking would fail to

recognize the means of transportation (personal vehicle or public bus), so this information needed verification. During such conversations with the respondents this information was input by the researcher who was logged on to the IBPRD updating and modifying the necessary data cells (See figure 4.2 and 4.3 below).

A GPS-based prompted recall system is developed and utilized by Doherty and Papinski (2006) that expands on previous techniques with the following unique features:

- Internet-based and computerized
- Designed explicitly for person-based GPS tracking
- Incorporates wireless transmission of the GPS data to a central server
- Utilizes a fully automated activity and trip detection algorithm (activity/trip start times, geocoded locations, location type derived from land-use, travel modes) run on a daily basis (ready for prompting the next day)
- Has a compact temporal interface presented in a "diary" style format, but includes interactive map for viewing detected locations (or for specifying new ones), as shown in Figure 4.3 and 4.4.
- Utilizes an intuitive means for confirming and correcting detected attributes, specifying supplement attributes, and filling gaps, in order to arrive at a complete schedule.
- Is easily extendable in terms of supplemental attributes that can be prompted for (pilot test supplemental prompts included activity types, involved persons by name)

  (See figure 4.3 and 4.4 below which illustrates actual research data)

File Help
Date
Time
Event

Location
People

1:00 PM

2:00 PM

0:00 PM

C2:10 PM

Activity
Trip
Accessed Social and Settlement Services
Essential Neede
Social
Recreation
ViorisSchool
Other Services
Exercise
Shopping
Restaurants

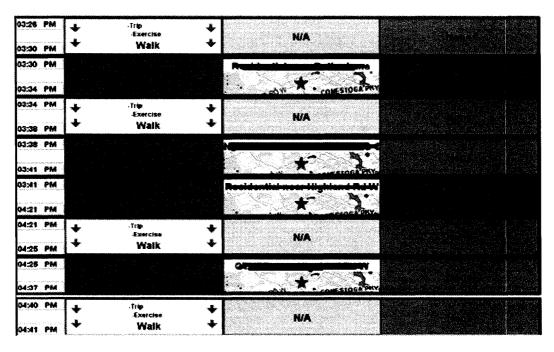
C0:00 PM

Figure 4.2 Internet Based Prompted Recall Diary (IBPRD)

(Before data collection)

11:00 PM

Figure 4.3<sup>5</sup> Internet Based Prompted Recall Diary (IBPRD)



(Actual Data)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Figure 4.3 illustrates the actual data obtained from this GPS activity tracking. As part of privacy protocol, the names of participants are scratched.

The first step in the prompted recall diary is to process the GPS data (see figure 4.3 and 4.4 for an example of GPS data) with an automated server-based algorithm<sup>6</sup> designed to detect the following activity-travel pattern attributes:

- Event type (activity, trip, unknown gap)
- Event start/end times
- Trip modes (auto, walk, bike, bus)
- Activity location geo-code (longitude and latitude)
- Land-use classifications in vicinity of activity location, if available (Residential, Commercial etc.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The algorithm is based on a systematic set of rules that operates with no human intervention. As it is the subject of a patent application by Dr. Doherty, details of the algorithm are not subject to publication at this time.

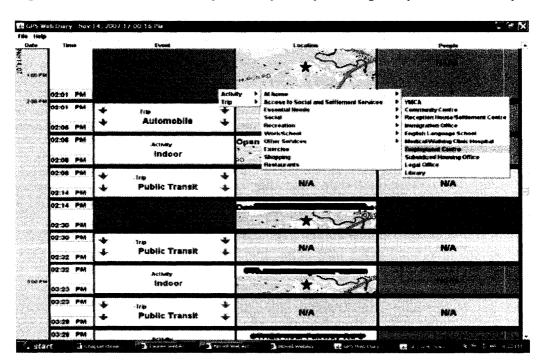


Figure 4.4 GPS-Assisted Daily Activity Diary developed by Dr. S. Doherty<sup>7</sup>

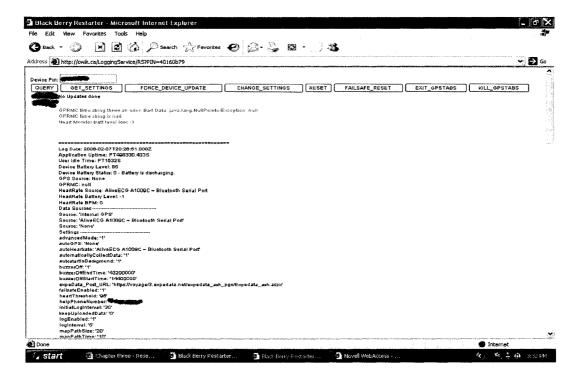
# c) Stage three - Post-study interview - 60-90 Minutes

Finally, the third phase was the post study interview. After the data was collected, the interview allowed critical information to be gathered regarding the activities conducted, experiences at each activity and participants' views and reflections about these experiences. The subjects had an opportunity to express their encounters and experiences in accessing various services. Moreover, they described the purpose of activities undertaken e.g. visits to a service centre such as walk-in clinic, and described these activities and the outcomes. Their responses included discussion about why the service sought was needed, how the subject found out about the service centre, how he/she made contact with the service centre, and what alternative was sought if the service was not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A) The data shown is based on this research; B) The program menu shown was modified to meet the specific requirements of this research.

accessible or not available. Other questions included details on the service received, the waiting period, the cost of service, the cost and method of the journey to access the service, and lastly, but very importantly, what support networks they used in this process. The interviews were scheduled to take place the day after the last day of GPS tracking. There was no interview script *per se*, beyond asking the respondent to describe their activities and experiences. The interview was interactive, since the interviewer asked questions mainly based upon the subject's responses and the information collected in the IBPRD. Moreover, to minimize the time loss and efforts wasted due to loss of connection between the devices or other technical problems, the researcher as well as the technical support person, were constantly observing the status of the devices being used through online device Monitoring software. (see figure 4.5)

Figure 4.5 Device Monitoring Software developed by Dr. S. Doherty



### 4.4 The Approach to Data Analysis

After final interviews were conducted, both the interview responses and the diary results for each couple were reviewed, analyzed and evaluated. This included comparing each individual's interview responses to their travel and activities which were identified by the diary. For better analysis and comparison, the diary data was converted into excel data sheets (see figure 4.6 for an example). Several issues raised (e.g. transportation, accommodation, translation) were examined in details. The process included contacting the couples for clarifications and in some cases for more details including the relevance of the issue raised to the activity/travel conducted. For instance, if a participant raised interpretation as a main reason for failing to access a service, because of the nature of the

activity captured in the diary, he/she was asked whether other factors such as transportation may have actually been the cause.

Responses from service providers and newcomers were assessed and evaluated separately. These responses were then compared to identify similarities and differences in views, perceptions and experiences between the two groups. Issues and problems of newcomers were categorized and a hierarchy of issues was produced based on the urgency of needs, the magnitude of needs and the barriers faced. Responses from female participants were separately reviewed and analyzed to determine gender specific issues and highlight the variations in these responses between male and female participants. Findings were tabulated and assessed using the Nvivo software.

# 4.5 Challenges and Limitations with Data Collection

GPS tracking methods are not without pitfalls and today researchers continue to encounter numerous operational challenges and problems. Despite all the key advantages to this method, it is largely recognized that GPS or any other tracking technologies will never provide for the ability to completely replicate a persons' activity-travel patterns, nor capture all the typical elements included in activity- trip diaries.

Common problems which prevented 100% GPS tracing included GPS signal outages, positional inaccuracies, cold-start issues, and other technical problems. These problems may be specific to person-based GPS tracking as people enter buildings frequently resulting in GPS signal loss and this may not necessarily be the case with other kinds of GPS technology such as those designed for vehicles. Given the complexities involved in human activity/travel behaviors, even if these problems are overcome through improved

technologies such as Assisted-GPS, it is likely that no algorithm will ever be able to 100% detect all the complex attributes and patterns related to activities and trips such as multi-stop activities, short drop-off activities, and other random patterns (Doherty and Papinski 2006). These complexities will likely remain a key challenge for future researchers as well as technology developers and designers.

Participants were carrying the GPS and Blackberry devices in almost all outdoor activities. To ensure that the two devices are held close to each other, they were provided with custom made cases for GPS so that they could attach both the blackberry and the GPS either to their belts or simply carry them in purses. These GPS cases would also help prevent any unintentional pressing of power button, which would result in shutting off the device and loss of connection with blackberry. Still, the most frequent problems with the devices were the signal loss by the GPS, which would result in disconnection between Blackberry and the GPS. It is important to note that the blackberry was setup to alert the participant by frequent vibration of the loss in connection. This feature helped significantly reduce the time lost during tracking, as participants would either restart the devices or inform the researcher, but it was only useful when the blackberry was actually attached to the user's body. Thus participants, especially the female group who often carried them in their purses, remained unaware of this problem almost throughout the entire day of tracking.

Moreover, in order for the devices to recognize each other and allow data processing, the two devices were connected through software that was installed on the Blackberry.

Prior to handing the devices over to the participant, the researcher would test them and ensure connection, but the connection between the two devices was susceptible to

frequent disruption. On average, this incident occurred once in two days with every participant. In order to reconnect and ensure that the devices were working, the devices had to be reconnected. Although this process was simple and anyone familiar with phones and electronics would find the process quite easy, it was not the case for this target population. Almost no research participant who faced this problem was able to correct it without the help of the researcher. This was exacerbated by the fact that participants were not able to detect and diagnose the problem. These shortcomings also diminish one of the key values of this particular method, ie reduced respondent burden.

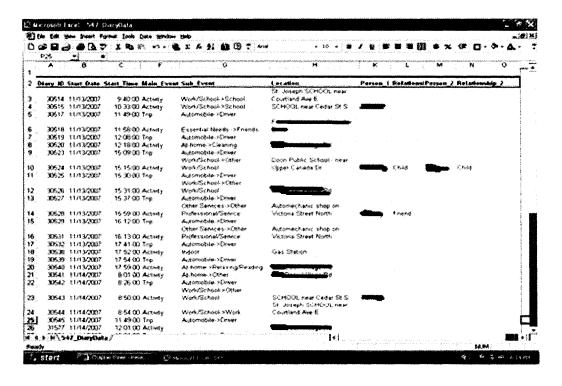
Using the device monitoring software (see figure 4.5), the research team was able to find the problem and act in a timely manner to correct it. The researcher would then call the concerned participant and would arrange to solve the problem. One of the challenges for the researcher to address such problems in a timely manner was the lack of knowledge or unfamiliarity of participants with the technology and the methodology itself. This was why each time a problem was reported, the researcher had to physically go to the location of the participant and help correct the problem(s). This was in addition to the every other day meeting or phone conversation the researcher had with the participant to record and modify the daily activities on the Internet based prompted Recall Diary (IBPRD) (See Figure 4.3 and 4.4). Overall this creates a time-consuming process for the researcher which is reflected in a small research sample, but much greater depth of knowledge regarding activity patterns over a specified period.

Perhaps, the biggest contribution of the GPS technology in this research was that it provided the location of participant's activities. This was very important given that all the

participants of this research were newcomers who were in K-W for six months or less, and were often unable to recount their locations during the day.

Sometimes the GPS data did not often provide the optimum results, since inaccurate or unnecessary data would be captured. This was one main reason why the researcher needed to regularly meet or call the participants every other day in order to make the necessary changes and corrections to the data on the web diary as shown above. Often, due to lack of access to the Internet, or problems with internet connections at their residences, this task was made difficult or sometimes impossible. To overcome this, the researcher converted the web diary data (shown above) into easily readable excel data sheets which were printed out and used for corrections (see figure 4.6 below).

Figure 4.6 Web Diary Data converted into Excel data format



One of the difficult, yet not so frequent problems, encountered during the research was the failure of the software application on the blackberry. More than three blackberry devices failed to function properly during the research. The devices had to be returned to the technical support staff for reconfiguration and re-installation of the necessary software/application. Again, to reduce or prevent the time loss and delay the researcher used back up sets, which were available.

Another common, but not necessarily negative, concern was about the devices themselves including their size and weight. Some participants stated that the devices were big and heavy. Responding to a question as to why they didn't check the devices (while outside) for errors; they stated that the devices were big and they didn't want them exposed while in school or when meeting others. They said they didn't feel comfortable exposing the GPS devices, but the Blackberry was not a concern because it looked like a regular phone.

There are several key avenues for future development and application at this early stage in development of GPS prompted recall surveys. Improvements in the frequency and accuracy of attribute detection would have obvious design benefits, and should be an on-going task. The growing availability of GPS-enabled cellular phones, including those with Internet browser capabilities, could substantially reduce costs and make for wider application potential. Moreover, a larger sample will also allow more definitive statements on accuracy gains and respondent burden savings.

### **Chapter Five**

#### RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter will present specific findings of this research on the sample of newcomer refugees in K-W. In addition to understanding the settlement needs and service barriers newcomer refugees to this area are facing, findings of this research include the role of social networks in newcomer settlement and some of the coping strategies newcomers employ to overcome the settlement barriers and challenges they face.

# 5.1 Characteristics of Research Participants

In total, 14 people participated in the study, providing 35 days of GPS and scheduling data. Of these, 25 days of the GPS days contained enough usable data, from 10 of the participants. Lost days were attributed to unforeseen battery outages and signal outages in the field as stated in chapter four. From the 25 days, over 350 automatically GPS traced activities were recorded.

The 14 surveyed participants who carried the GPS tracking device were married couples, and thus seven were females and another seven were males. 3 representatives from service providing agencies were also interviewed in order to add context and background details on the settlement of Afghan refugees in the KW area. This group included two females directly involved in service delivery and one male working in planning and program development. With the exception of two surveyed participants who were not originally Afghans and were rather spouses of Afghan nationals, all participants were originally from Afghanistan. All 14 of the respondents had resided outside their country of origin prior to their arrival in Canada. Most recent newcomer Afghans

emigrated from India, Russian and Pakistan. In these countries they had to face numerous challenges and difficulties establishing themselves. None of these countries legally accepted them and so they were often deprived of the basic rights including attending formal schools and employment in government. In Russia, for example, their experiences were even worse as they faced overt discrimination.

### Narrative

"Comparing to the way we live here, life is very difficult over there". If we worked it was mostly in the black market, which was good and we could make money, but we had to bribe the local officials. Sometimes we had to pay two or three officers without knowing them properly. But we had to, because we had no choice. We could not complain to anyone. Complaining would even make it worse and could possibly cost our lives. Other major problem was obtaining legal resident status. In Russia, we had to renew our visa or permit every once and a while. This was not without hassles. We had to bribe officials (M2). 18/11/2007

These challenges were all compounded with the problems of discrimination and racism. In fact, M2 and F2 also indicated that often they would be accused of being terrorists or religious people. All of these significantly confined them to survival efforts, rather than making positive progress.

Participants' ethnicities were mixed, however most belonged to Pashton and Tajik ethnic groups. Six persons spoke Pashto and six spoke Dari and the non-Afghan participants spoke Arabic and Russian. The researcher conducted interviews in Pashto,

Dari and Persian Languages and later translated them. All participants were in Canada for six months or less. This was very important given that it is in this very stage in which one could identify the coping strategies or alternative mechanisms used by newcomers while facing settlement barriers.

10 out of 14 participants were receiving government assistance as their main source of income either in the form of immigration financial support or social assistance, depending on their status or refugee category. Moreover, 8 of the 14 participants were at least high school graduates. Two females did not have any formal education while another two had only studied up to grade 6. Almost all were enrolled in ESL school, but due to various responsibilities and priorities school attendance was often irregular and part time. One of the most important concerns specific to the Afghan immigrants is related to illiteracy which was high among the Afghan immigrant women interviewed.

Family size and number of children are important factors that have significant implications for settlement. Five of the seven couples had three or more children. Larger families and more children often meant higher demands for resources and services. This is more so for families with younger children. Parents indicated that they sacrifice their own personal development in order to support their children's needs.

### 5.2 Settlement Issues facing Afghan Newcomers

In terms of both major indicators of successful settlement and critical support factors to newcomers, newcomer participants identified housing accommodation, language skills, health, transportation and employment as their most important concerns. Other related issues included finding less expensive or subsidized housing, obtaining job search

training, getting a driving license, schooling, accessing recreational facilities and child care. Psychological stress (depression, anxiety and social isolation) was also voiced as one of the most common personal problems they faced. Obviously, the higher the number of reported problems, the higher the level of stress reported. Table 5.1 shows key problems of settlement that participants identified and how they ranked the associated stress, with 1 ranked as being the biggest problem and most important to their settlement, and 7 as the least important. In addition, there is a significant amount of congruity between service clients and service providers when ranking the problems<sup>8</sup>.

Table 5.1: Ranking of top seven priority areas of Afghan Newcomers in K-W

Groups	Participants	Finding immediate accommoda tion	Finding family doctor	Finding a job	Joining language school	Buying a vekicle	Getting a driving license	Finding friends in the Afghan Community
Group 1	F1	1	2	7	3	6	5	4
	M1	1	3	7	2	5	4	6
Group 2	F2	1	3	7	4	6	5	2
	M2	1	2	4	3	6	5	7
Group 3	F3	1	3	7	2	6	5	4
·	МЗ	1	3	4	2	6	5	7
Group 4	F4	1	2	7	4	6	5	3
	M4	1	3	7	2	5	4	6
Group 5	F5	1	3	7	2	6	5	4
, , ,	M5	1	5	7	2	4	3	6
Group 6	F6	1	4	7	3	6	5	2
	M6	1	4	3	2	6	5	7
Group 7	F7	1	3	7	2	6	5	4
· _	M7	1	6	5	2	4	3	7
Average		1	3.2	6.1	2.5	5.5	4.5	4.9

(Seven priorities identified: 1=most important, 7=least important)<sup>9</sup>

While numbers in table 5.1 above remain relatively close in each column and there are relatively few differences of viewpoints between genders, significant disparity is noticeable in the last column (on the far right) "finding friends in the Afghan community"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Since this was an open ended interview, responses in the table 5.1 were inferred from the interviews. Also since all participants' responses were similar (although different in terms of gender), they are shown as a group rather than individually.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$  F = Female, M = Male (F1 = Female in the first group)

not only between males and females but among male participants too. 2 women considered this has their second top priority and one woman as her third, after arrival. No male participant picked this as either a second or third priority. The table also shows obtaining a driver's license as the fourth most important priority after finding accommodation, language and family doctor. 9 out 14 participants indicated that while they did use the bus, having access to a personal vehicle was crucial because of their multiple daily needs.

Table 5.2 Service Providers' ranking of top seven priority areas of Afghan Newcomers in K-W

Service Providers	Finding immediate accommoda tion	Finding family doctor	Finding a job	Joining language school	Buying a vehicle	Getting a driving license	Finding friends in the Afghan Community
Agency 1	1	2	7	3	6	5	4
Agency 2	1	3	7	2	5	4	6
Agency 3	1	3	7	4	6	5	2

(Seven priorities identified: 1=most important, 7=least important)

Table 5.2 above illustrates service provider views on the top priority areas of the Afghan newcomers in K-W. Except for the last column "Finding friends in the Afghan community", a significant amount of congruity is noticeable between newcomers and service agencies in identifying priorities of this group (see table 5.1 and 5.2).

In addition to discussing their most important needs, participants noted significant barriers to accessing some of the essential services in order to meet these needs. Table 5.3 below, shows ranking of some of the barriers to settlement that were identified from interviews, and which were also confirmed by the participants from the service providing agencies. These barriers are; (a) lack of knowledge of services available; (b) lack of

knowledge of language (including lack of interpretation services in the service organizations); (c) the location of services remote from consumers; (d) lack of culturally appropriate services; and (e) administrative barriers such as waiting lists and Englishonly forms.

Table 5.3 Ratings of Major Barriers to Successful Settlement

Groups	Participants	Lack of knowledge of services available	Lack of knowledge of language	The location of services (e.g. distance, access)	Lack of culturally appropriate services	Administrativ e barriers e.g. waiting lists
Group 1	F1	2	1	3	4	5
	M1	3	1	5	2	4
Group 2	F2	3	1	3	4	5
	M2	2	1	3	4	5
Group 3	<b>F</b> 3	4	.1	2	3	5
	M3	1	2	4	3	5
Group 4	F4	3	1	2	3	5
	M4	2	3	5	1	4
Group 5	F5	3	1	4	2	5
	M5	2	1	3	4	5
Group 6	F6	1	3	2	5	4
	M6	3	2	4	1	. 5
Group 7	F7	4	2	3	1	5
	M7	2	1	4	3	5
Average		2.5	1.5	3.3	2.8	4.7

(1=Most Important, 5=Least Important)

Almost all of the above categories were of significant importance for the newcomers; however some were highlighted as having a greater impact on settlement. Five female and four male participants indicated language difficulty as the main barrier to their settlement followed by knowledge of available services which was considered itself as being related to language difficulty.

One of the most important concerns was the service location which included distance of services from their residential areas as well as access to these services. It is important

to highlight the significant difference of views and opinions between males and females. Because women and men's perceptions of the importance of each category were different they are purposefully shown separately in the table above. Location of service, for example, was a critical issue for women given that for a variety of reasons, including, language difficulty, they don't travel by public transit by themselves and often it takes years before they can obtain driving licenses and start driving. During this period, they remain dependent either on their spouses or children. This is probably why settlement and community services offered within the neighborhoods by community centres are crucial in terms of access.

Table 5.4 lists the specific areas of settlement where Afghan newcomers faced difficulties over the week long survey. Participants were asked to rate the level of their difficulty in each area. When discussing their settlement issues, participants listed the above issues and considered some as less difficult while others as more difficult, therefore a chart was drawn illustrating three levels of difficulty and each participant was asked to first highlight an issue and then express a level of difficulty. These responses demonstrate the collective results of all participants. For example, 11 participants highlighted "finding an affordable house to rent" as *very difficult* while 3 others indicated it as *difficult*.

Table 5.4 Level of Difficulties in Specific areas of Settlement

Settlement Service	# of participants indicating as very difficult	# of participants indicating as <u>Difficult</u>	# of participants indicating as Less Difficult
Finding immediate accommodation	8	3	3
Finding an affordable house to rent	12	2	
Using Public transportation	11		3
Opening a bank account	4	8	2
Shopping	7	4	3
Finding a family doctor	7	5	2
Getting a telephone service	4	7	3
Translation/interpretation services	6	8	
Communicating in English	10	2	2
Joining School - themselves and enrolling their children	2	5	7
Getting a drivers license	9	5	
Contacting service agencies	6	7	1
Using Public Libraries,	5	9	
Finding a religious place e.g. mosque		4	10
Finding Childcare	8	6	
Contacting the Afghan community		4	10

# a) Housing and accommodation

As table 5.1 and 5.4 illustrate, housing accommodation as an immediate need on arrival was a major concern for Afghan newcomers. 8 participants considered housing

accommodation very difficult (3 indicated it as difficult and another 3 as less difficult), by contrast, finding affordable house to rent, was considered very difficult by 12 participants. Of the 7 couples 3 stayed at the K-W reception centre when they first arrived. Another 3 indicated that they stayed with a friend or relative before they found apartments to rent. Only one couple said they had to stay in a hotel in Waterloo for less than a week before finding and moving to an apartment. Also as indicated earlier, the majority of Afghan newcomers have low or modest incomes and affordable housing is a very real problem for them. In K-W, it is compounded by the reality of high rents, and a generally healthy rental market with few affordable housing options (Bezanson 2003). At the time of the research, with the exception of one couple who had just moved into a single family home provided through social housing, all 6 couples lived in rented apartments, and 5 of these were on the waiting list for subsidized housing. The chronological system of allocation of social housing in K-W means that families and individuals need to find alternate accommodation while they wait for social housing. Most often, this translates into housing that is unaffordable or unsuitable, with overcrowding and poor conditions being the norm (Ley and Tutchener 2001, Bezanson 2003). This was the case with two participants. A common issue among the research participants was their family size and the demand for large units with more rooms. One reason for the delay in finding suitable and reasonable accommodation is due to the limited stock of larger apartments in both the private and non-profit stock in K-W. Larger families thus, have great difficulty finding appropriate housing. In many cases, this has resulted in large families ending up in the shelter system and thus having somewhat of an advantage over chronological applicants when appropriate units are available in social housing. However, given the lack of large

family units, their wait is much longer than for smaller families. One family who moved into a larger social housing unit the week before they were interviewed reflected on this problem, "living in the shelters is a less than optimum situation for children" (F2). The female member of the couple explained how beneficial access to a larger single family unit was for them; "Having a home where you can invite friends, take juice from the fridge when you want to, walk to school and do your homework in a quiet environment are all things we take for granted" (F2).

### b) Health

Health problems and access to health services such as a family doctor and interpretation services was another major issue of concern (see table 5.3 and 5.4). Barriers to health services were reported to occur at the system level (i.e., current shortage of family physicians accepting new patients), provider level (i.e., lack of knowledge of cultural issues), and patient level (i.e., language barriers and lack of appreciation of the benefit of prevention).

At least 7 participants indicated that while finding a family doctor is a problem, when it comes to health, the problem is not so much about the lack of services; it is rather about access to services. One participant for example, described how difficult it was for him and his family to walk to an urgent clinic in winter when the temperature was around minus 20, but once they arrived the nurse did not speak their language and they were asked to bring an interpreter.

### Narrative

The problem that day was that no one was able to help us. I didn't have directions for that place. I didn't even have an interpreter. Only getting there is not a question for me, but when we got there the nurse who saw us at first she needed an interpreter to help us communicate, but there was no one. I didn't know what to do. The nurse wanted to explain the prescription that she was writing, but we had no one to interpret for us, so we decided to call you and ask for your help. It took us two hours to get there, over an hour to be seen and another two hours to get home (M1) 10/11/2007

Table 5.5 illustrates barriers to health-related services highlighted by the participants.

7 participants (4 women and 3 men), who had accessed/used health services, shared their experiences and how they felt about them.

Table 5.5 Barriers to delivery of health-related services 10

System-level barriers	Provider- and practitioner- level barriers	Patient-level barriers
Delay in medical insurance coverage for new arrivals     Lack of language and cultural translators/interpreters     Timing of delivery of public health services     Lack of coordination among agencies in addressing the social determinants of immigrant health	Difficulty in perceiving risk disparities     Lack cultural competency training     Language challenges     Competing demands for time	Waiting lists or long line ups     Limited finances     Language and cultural barriers     Fear of stigmatization     Lack of perceived benefit of medical assessment     Lack of understanding of system     Lack of access to physician or continuous care     No health care or insurance     Lack of experience or understanding for scheduling and appointments     Competing life demands (work, family communication, school, housing)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> These barriers were identified based on the participants' experiences over the one week-long survey

# c) Transportation and Mobility

Transportation (using public transit) was indicated as a difficult issue of settlement by 11 of the 14 respondents. Not having a vehicle or the inability to use bus properly was seen as one major reason for not being able to manage daily activities, such as arriving at an appointment or service location on time.

Referring to Kitchener, participants stated that while they were happy that they moved to a smaller city where access to services, schools and shopping centres was relatively easier than larger cities like Toronto, they still face greater difficulty using public transit. The most obvious and frequently noted reason was related to language barriers. One participant stated that in the first couple of months, he was lost so many times because he didn't know which bus he needed. "It gets worse when I have my wife and children with me because they can't walk long distance" (M2). This is very important given that even though Kitchener and Waterloo have relatively convenient transit system, this subpopulation still do not seem to make use of it.

Another participant said he used a bicycle for traveling shorter distances even in the winter months. But when asked about his experiences, he described them as "terrible situations" and referred to a few accidents.

# **Narrative**

I didn't know the regulation very well. I knew that there must be rules and regulations for driving, but I didn't know if there was any bike law. So once I hit a pedestrian while crossing the road and another time I bumped into the back of a car. Both incidents weren't very serious, but on both occasions, the police came and warned me that I should not use bike anymore if I can't use it properly. They said, the next time I could go to Jail. (M1). 10/11/2007

Clearly, familiarity with traffic regulations and bike routes is an issue for some newcomers, and second tier cities may pose particular challenges in this regard as compared to larger cities, since their bike path infrastructure may be limited.

Another participant said, he decided to buy a vehicle partly because he had three children and had a lot of difficulty with using public transit. He was an experienced driver and had driven for almost 20 years, but he didn't have proof of his driving record. So he had to wait for a year before he could go for a road test on a G1 license. One couple said that they bought a car from a friend after about five months of their arrival because they felt it was extremely important to own a personal vehicle. But the problem was that only their older son who had obtained a driving license was the only one able to drive. When asked about their past week's experiences, they said twice they had to go to the hospital for a check up, but their son was at school and even though the vehicle was at home they weren't able to use it. This showed that even if they had access to a personal vehicle, they couldn't use it without their son's help.

These various issues related to mobility and transportation have significantly limited the mobility of the participants. As indicated earlier, participants stated that on several occasions they missed important appointments simply because either they didn't arrive on time using public transit or they couldn't find someone to give them a ride. Regarding the latter, one participant even stated that once he was charged \$75 for missing an appointment. When asked about the reason for missing the appointment, he said, he and his wife had a neurologist appointment for 10:00 am, but they arrived at 11:45 am, and by the time they arrived they were told it was too late and so they had to wait for the next three weeks for another appointment. He said, later that week, he received a letter from the same doctor asking him to pay a penalty. When asked what his reaction to the letter was, he said, he took the letter to a friend for translation and for help. He said after translating the friend advised him to go to the YMCA Cross Cultural Services and find a social worker who could help communicate with the doctor and resolve the issue which he eventually did. Viewing each barrier in isolation (i.e. travel, health) does not reveal the true complexity faced by newcomers, where challenges are multiple and interlocking. In effect each problem can be compounded and result in greater problems. For example, problems with transit access can lead to missed health appointments thus resulting in continued poor health and deterioration.

# d) An Analysis of Language as a Barrier

In this research, lack of knowledge of language was considered the most important barrier by 9 participants (see table 5.3). Similarly, 10 participants indicated communication in English as *very difficult* (see table 5.4). Two of the three service

provider participants felt that Afghan newcomers especially women not only lack proficiency in English, but for a number reasons also have higher illiteracy levels and are often unable to communicate with service providers. Some settlement agencies in K-W such as the K-W reception centre send interpreters to accompany clients on their visits to physicians and other service providers; however as one research participant indicated this service is not adequate.

#### **Narrative**

"I think getting to a place is not a big issue. It is an issue, when I am accompanied by my wife and kids. So it is really difficult without transportation. The main problem in terms of getting the right kind of service is language and communication. For example, even if I reach these places on time, the doctor or the reception doesn't understand me properly, because of language problem. Also, last Tuesday, we had an appointment at the medical centre, but I had to first go to the K-W reception centre to see if I could get an interpreter. I was told that the interpreter was serving another client, so I had to wait. So then I went to the library which is close the reception house, but when I came back, I didn't find an interpreter, so we walked to the medical centre without an interpreter" (M1). 10/11/2007

Communication and interpretation should not be shouldered by the settlement sector alone. At present, in K-W two organizations that provide interpretation and translations services are the YMCA Cross Cultural and Immigrant Services and K-W Multicultural Centre. K-W reception centre is the primary destination of government assisted refugees in K-W and receives and serves between 250 and 300 refugees annually through a

government contract. They have hired staff members who speak several languages - a strategy, which, according to its manager Mira Malidzanovic, has significantly increased service efficiency and effectiveness. These two agencies have part time interpreters that provide services to the entire K-W immigrant population. Many service providers rely on clients to bring their own family members or friends to serve as interpreters, which raises concerns about confidentiality as well as the reliability of communication. An obvious example of this deficiency is a participant's experience with the local Kitchener Citizenship and Immigration Office. He said when he and his family first arrived in Kitchener; they went to the Immigration office to make a refugee claim. After a brief interview with the immigration officer, they were told to come the following week for a detailed interview. They were asked to bring an interpreter with them which they did. So when refugees, especially in-land claimants, visit the immigration office and meet with an immigration officer, they are often asked to appear at a future date and are advised to bring their own interpreters. There are several other similar areas in service delivery where interpretation services do not exist and clients are required to find their own interpreters regardless of the sensitivities and other legal implications, such as breach of privacy. It is likely that most health care, legal, social and educational service providers have little or no budget for professionally-trained interpreters. This was the views of all service provider participants. They stated that some courts do fund interpreters and some school boards hire interpreters through the immigrant service agencies as needed, however it is only on ad hoc basis without any permanent framework.

### Narrative

"There are services for immigrants and refugees, yet there is not a lot of money in the pot and many of us are afraid that even English as a Second language program may be closed down or changed significantly in March of the new year and I think there will be a lot of protest because they may close down some of the programs and ESL has been just very very important for both adults and preschoolers. And also we don't have as much English as a second language currently, than we formerly had, so that's negative so we need more services. I think almost in all of the areas where we have services, we need more money". (Service Provider 2) 10/12/2007

#### **Narrative**

They can't understand our problems and often think that once we find our house and settle we can solve all our problems by ourselves. And the major problem is that because of our language problem we can't complain to anyone." (M3) 10/11/2007

Finally, it was noticeable in the service provider groups that most women required translation while most men spoke some English. They noted that Afghan women feel a disadvantage in learning English not only due to lack of literacy issues, but also largely because they are frequently house-bound, with prime parenting responsibility. Afghan

women are more likely to utilize English training if it has the advantage of being conducted in local schools, community centres and churches with access to child care.

# e) Concerns about Employment

As table 5.1 shows, employment was ranked as the least important priority by the newcomer Afghans. 3 couples who were not government assisted refugees and were receiving social assistance said they were encouraged and expected to find work. Two couples said that "financial problems" were the main reasons they wanted to find work. In this case the money was needed because they had immediate family members left behind who relied on their financial support, and so social assistance was insufficient for the needs of this extended family. Thus, barriers such as lacking familiarity with the job market; lacking Canadian job experience; facing problems in getting accreditation for non-Canadian qualifications; lacking familiarity with employment standards; and discrimination in the labour market, were all mentioned as potent barriers that prevented this group from finding suitable employment. At least 5 participants including two from service provider group complained that job search services were inadequate or lacking. Moreover, difficulties securing stable, decent employment that utilizes the skills immigrants possess were seen by service provider participants as a major root problem faced by newcomer Afghan refugees. This fact was particularly acute for 5 male participants who had at least secondary level education. As stated earlier, the group of newcomer refugees interviewed included those coming from a second country either Russia, India or Pakistan. While refugees to Canada come from many countries with highly varied qualifications and professional capacity, refugees with many years of

professional experience, often feel they are "painted with the same brush" as people who lived in poverty and political turmoil with little or no education.

Three participants expressed that their or their spouse's status, and identity is tied to their ability to secure a permanent job that is commensurate with their pre-migration employment. It was indicated that their feeling of settlement in Canada was dependent upon appropriate employment because it offers both income and status. Resettlement and relocation was a concern for those wanting to establish their own business, but felt they needed to comprehend the business context in their new home;

#### **Narrative**

"Yeah, finding job here is as difficult as learning the culture... unlike other countries like Russia, it is difficult and very risky to start a personal business here. And for someone like me who is a business person, we can't start our own business easily, because the system is different and very formal. We used to sell clothing, fabric, shoes and other stuff and make business, but I visited some malls and places and didn't find any possibility for opening a shop like that" (M2) 18/11/2007

Liu et al (2007) characterizes this situation facing newcomers and the resulting consequences in an understandably systematic way that begins with normal position moving downward and finally reaching a "crisis point". He maintains that when the process of settlement for an immigrant is made difficult through a denial to him or her of access to employment and training opportunities or services, the frustration and the resentment that follow affect all members of that individual's family (Liu et al 2007).

This frustration and resentment often lead to depression and other mental health problems and to family violence and breakdown. Established family roles become threatened.

There is an accompanying clash of values and cultural devaluation. Low self-esteem is internalized, producing frequent crises in the family (Liu et al 2007). Thus, the need to bridge strategies between job search/training and job creation was cited as a major requirement to meet the employment need of newcomers according to the Service provider participants.

### 5.3 Coping Strategies

As indicated in the outset, one of the most important objectives in this research was exploring some of the coping strategies these newcomers employ in their settlement and adaptation. During post tracking interviews, in addition to explaining the service barriers, participants were provided an opportunity to describe how they were able to overcome those barriers such as what mechanisms they utilized to deal with specific problems.

Table 5.5, illustrates key situations experienced by the participants, the use of social networks and the strategies and mechanisms used to solve them during the research collection period.

As the data and discussion in the earlier sections of this chapter revealed, in addition to issues of housing, language, education and employment, participants highlighted lack of information about formally available services in K-W as a key barrier. As far as solutions to these issues were concerned, there were relatively mixed and varied responses which will be discussed in some details here (see table 5.6). On the one hand, of those who reported problems in accessing services, 4 out of 7 couples sought solutions through

personal and informal networks, but 2 couples did not use referral services for their problems. Analysis of data on social networks (table 5.6) showed that between 42-45% of all self-recognized stressful events or episodes (outside settlement needs) were managed outside the parameters of the formal social and health care system.

Table 5.6 illustrates the experiences of 12 participants who had used at least five services over the tracking week. They were first asked whether they utilized social networks and what type. Next, all those who used one or both types of networks were asked to specify the type of help or coping strategy they utilized.

Table 5.6 Activities/Situations and Coping Strategies

Problem	Situations/Scenarios/Activities	Informal	Formal	Coping Strategies
		Networks <sup>11</sup>	Networks <sup>12</sup>	
Transportation	Trips to school, shopping centres, health centres,	>		Helped by friends, relatives, children
	community centres, food banks, libraries			
	Information about buying bus tickets	,	<b>&gt;</b>	Helped by friends, relatives, agencies
	understanding bus schedules		>	Helped by Community centre
. 16.	understanding bus routes	>	<b>,</b>	Helped by both friends and agencies
Communication	Answering phone calls	>		Helped by friends and relatives
	Enrolling in school	<b>&gt;</b>	<b>&gt;</b>	Helped by friends and agency
	speaking with service provider	>	>	Helped by both friends and agencies
	Shopping	>		Helped by friends, relatives and children
Housing	Finding an apartment to rent	>	>	Helped by friends and agencies
	contacting landlords,	>	>	Helped by friends and agencies
	understanding rental rules, method of payments		>	Helped by agency
	Choosing a location and neighborhood	>	<b>&gt;</b>	Helped by friends and agencies

Also known as strong-ties/protected and include relatives, friends, family members, neighbors
Description of the protection of t

Financial	Money management, budgeting and saving	>	>	Helped by friends and agencies
	Banking		>	Helped by agency
	Paying bills	>	>	Helped by friends and agencies
	Finding cheaper groceries and stores	>		Helped by friends
Attachment to	Finding friends, finding neighborhoods/ circles of relatives,	>	>	Helped by friends and agencies
Community	friends			
	Finding Halal meat shops, Afghan, Middle Eastern or	>		Helped by friends
	South Asian groceries stores			
	Finding a place of worship, multicultural centre,	>		Helped by friends
	community events			
	Participating in community events, solving community	>		Helped by friends
	issues			

### Narrative

"Oh, yes, we really want to get to know more people that are from our country and speak our language and know our culture. We have lots of problems at different times.

Language is a problem, having no car is a big problem. It is probably because we are very new here. Maybe after spending sometime here our life will get better" (F5) 11/12/2007.

As noted in the discussion on language difficulty above, almost all participants indicated lack of interpretation services as a major issue. To overcome this barrier, they described a number of mechanisms used. Two couples reported they usually first asked friends in the Afghan community who spoke English for help. One couple stated that their older son and daughter spoke English better than them and they used their help especially at important occasions such as medical specialist appointment and shopping. Another two couples reported that during the week of tracking, on at least three occasions, during a doctor visit, a trip to a service agency and while shopping, they did not find any translation service at all.

The most common means of overcoming communication barriers to accessing services, however, was seeking assistance from kin and close friends in the Afghan community, despite some concerns about their privacy. Some participants reported that although they desperately needed help of a close friend or kin, at times they felt that their privacy was being violated. One couple specifically stated that while they were happy they had a family friend translating for them at an immigration office, by the end of the interview they felt that their personal background and information was unnecessarily disclosed. One woman even went on to say that despite her need for interpretation, at one

point she even refused to have an interpreter from her acquaintance or the Afghan community due to cultural sensitivity related to a health matter. In replying to a question about what alternative she would use, she suggested finding a professional who speaks her language. This was particularly important in service areas such as health and legal matters where confidentiality is important. Six participants stated that their family physicians were either of Indian or Iranian origins.

With regards to dealing with barriers to traveling and transportation, 2 participants reported that since they had bad experiences with using public transit such as arriving late at points of service, not knowing routes and schedules, on several occasions they sought help from people in the community. "We usually call our friend (anonymous) who lives on Chandler Drive ahead of time when we have an appointment in a place that we can't find" (M3). Sometimes if the appointment is in the middle of the day or morning, it is hard to find someone to give us a ride, so we ask them for directions and go by ourselves" (F3).

Another couple who owned a vehicle shared a slightly different experience. They indicated that almost all the time they turned to a family friend or neighbor or classmates/teacher at ESL school for directions, however, since they didn't understand English well even with directions sometimes they experienced difficulties finding places. Moreover, discussing other issues related to daily travels, this couple who had five children, four of whom were in school, reported that the husband (who was the only one driving in the family) was responsible for all activities such as attending schools which involved traveling. While this situation may not be hugely different from most other immigrants and even Canadians, these newcomers had particular challenges to deal with.

The husband, for example stated that although he was very interested in attending full time ESL school in order to improve his English quickly, due to several daily activities including random pick up and drop off of all family members, he could only attend school from 9:00 am to 12:00 pm. Moreover, since the family depended on him for most of the outdoor activities which involved traveling such as doctors' appointments, if a member of the family had an appointment and needed a ride, the whole family had to reschedule their activities for that particular week. This included canceling schools for all other family members especially in the winter because alternative means of transportation was not an option. For example, F2 stated that since she had recently given birth to a child, she had to visit the doctors several times in the following weeks which caused repeated interruptions in the activities of not only the husband, who had to be with her, but all her children.

Arguably, one of the best coping strategies that almost all participants learned and employed was managing their time or perhaps seeking an effective mechanism for performing an activity. The experience of two couples who did not have access to personal vehicle explains this better. They stated that some of their past experiences with traveling (e.g. missing buses, canceling appointments) actually provided a good lesson for them to schedule their time and activities ahead of time. They added that in addition to their regular activities such as attending schools or shopping, as soon as they were aware of an event such as a doctor or immigration appointment, they tried to make arrangements ahead of time. These arrangements included contacting friends, neighbors as well as agencies like the K-W Reception Centre. They even sought help from their school teachers and classmates for information such as bus routes and directions.

However, even these plans might fail since this help was largely voluntary and availability was not guaranteed. The experience of one participant who missed a doctor appointment at the last minute is a perfect example of the unreliability of informal network support.

#### 5.4 The Role of Social Networks

# a) Strong ties vs. Weak ties

The Afghan community, like many other ethnic communities in K-W, relies significantly on informal networks and community links to ease the sense of alienation and provide support, information and resources to each other. Because of "delayed" family reunification, kinship among non-related individuals and families becomes a basis for mutual support.

Findings from this research showed that while co ethnic and kin support does exist widely in the community, and it is very crucial especially in the first months, it can nevertheless be potentially negative just as the privacy issue mentioned earlier reveals. On the other hand, while newcomers in this study rely heavily on essential social support programs in the community such as health, daycare and personal development workshops, it was inferred from interviews that very few used neighbourhood services available in health and nutrition, recreation, day care, employment and career counselling, fitness and so on. Table 5.7 illustrates the views of each group about the role of each social network/tie. The stars show the range of impact each tie had on their needs over the one week tracking period. One star means strong ties had greater impact

and were more utilized. In contrast, two stars indicate weak ties had higher impact and were used more often. A check mark with no star indicates both ties had equal impact.

Table 5.7 The role, utilization and impact of social networks

Groups	erica de la composición dela composición de la composición de la composición de la composición dela composición dela composición dela composición de la composición dela composición de la composición dela composición de	Strong Ties	Weak Ties	Both
		*	**	
Group 1	Male			<b>√</b> **
	Female			<b>√</b> **
Group 2	Male			<b>√</b> *
	Female	<b>✓</b>		
Group 3	Male		<b>✓</b>	
	Female	✓		
Group 4	Male			<b>Y</b>
	Female			*
Group 5	Male			<b>✓</b>
	Female			<b>*</b>
Group 6	Male		<b>*</b>	
	Female			<b>√</b> *
Group 7	Male			<b>√</b> *
	Female			<b>✓</b> *
Total	Male		V VV	7 11 11
Total	Female	11		1 11 11 1

<sup>(\*=</sup>Strong ties had higher impact, \*\*=Weak ties had higher impact)

The above finding suggests that although newcomers enjoyed greater help from friends, kinships and neighbors, almost all of them viewed both ties had equal impact in their integration. Here is how one female participant described her experiences.

# Narrative

I think both are important, Friends and families are more important in the first few months, but government programs and services are always important. Friends and families can help you how to find things. They show you English school, they show you community centre, they show you food bank, they show you library, churches for help and they show you mosque etc.... but they can't help you with childcare, they can't help you with housing, financial... etc (F5) 11/12/2007

Participants, who indicated both ties as important were asked which one played a greater role on their activities over the one week tracking. Three women and two men indicated strong ties and one couple indicated weak ties. The other two men and one woman indicated both as having equal impacts. In general, comparative analysis on men's and women's networks from this research showed that while women utilized both networks, they were more oriented toward family and friends who provided more emotional proximity than did men's social networks.

# b) Social and Community Organizations

Community organizations serving Afghan groups are hybrid cases in relation to the notion of weak ties. Except Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) who are directly admitted at the K-W reception Centre, newcomers in other categories are usually introduced to various organizations through strong ties. In turn, these groups serve as gateways toward the receiving society as well as helping people feel less isolated and more self-confident. All research participants used front-line services for immigrants and

refugees provided by community organizations. The newcomers' (those not in GARs category) first contacts with these organizations were often established very soon after arrival upon the recommendation of someone already in their close social network. Those without such a strong network remained unaware of the range of front-line voluntary-sector services they could draw on and the result was highly visible from the experiences of some groups.

In the first instance, the newcomers contacted front-line services organizations for material aid (baby clothes, furniture and food) or practical advice. But in certain cases their first contact with a service organization helped them subsequently to diversify their resource system and to open some new doors. Through participating in ESL classes and social activities including volunteering, they developed new friendships and broadened their circles of both formal and informal networks. This suggests why most participants, including women stressed the importance of weak ties. One woman described how her volunteer work with a community service agency in Waterloo led to paid job for her. She said, after volunteering with this agency for about three months, she was offered a job as a piano teacher. Despite the fact that her job was a short-term contract, she had established a good friendship with the staff and volunteers at her place of work. "My volunteer involvement not only helped me get a paid job, but most importantly kept me engaged and fended off feelings of loneliness and isolation" (F6). These examples serve to illustrate the different characteristics of ties that an immigrant can benefit from within the same organization depending on what point he/she has reached in his/her settlement trajectory. Such positive experiences of social network diversification by some participants contrasts strongly with those of another couple (M4,

F4) with a large family-based social network with only a few social contacts beyond their family and the mosque, and who had not yet overcome the language barrier. Here is what one female participant had to say:

#### Narrative

I have two or three best friends in the Afghan community that at least I can chat with sometimes. Although I am busy with my children, I do get bored at times, so I have to call and chat with them. Television is also good and I am very happy to have satellite dish with Afghan channels, so I can see and hear what is happening in our country. These are very good things and prevent us from being bored and feeling lonely, but at the same time I haven't learned even a single English word. I feel very embarrassed when I can't answer a question that my teacher asks me. The other women in my class are better than me (F4). 27/11/2007

The woman in this group said very discreetly that she would prefer to have access to networks beyond links to their family to understand the Canadian culture and way of life better in order to facilitate her adaptation, but for a number of reasons, including domestic responsibilities, she could not access them. This woman would have liked to complement her family-based support network with support from formal networks and an independent network of young immigrant women like herself, who could pool their resources and share settlement experiences and lessons.

The changing family structure after immigration presents new areas of vulnerability for many Afghan newcomers. Women find that they are more independent and "brave" here since they manage affairs both at home and outside. Often they are solely responsible for tending to the children, visits to doctors, attending meetings at school and so on. Since often they have to perform these roles without extended family support, they have to deal with people in a different language and in a totally different system. For example F2 and M2 reported that a school where one of their children went had invited them as part of a 'parent day' meeting. They said they were told that they were expected to help their child with her homework and regularly respond to letters/notices from school. The couple said they not only had a hard time helping their child with her homework, but couldn't often understand the letters they received from school.

# c) The Mosque as a Network Hub

Either strong or weak ties can lead someone to get involved with religious and cultural activities. Once the newcomers were involved, the mosque seemed to be conducive to the formation of new strong ties. The mosque was in fact an important resource for a number of participants much less for its religious and social activities than engaging people and expanding their circles. So opting for a mosque was linked not only to prayers, but to having an opportunity to meet and make new friends and finding out about social events and issues in the community. In answering a question about the importance of Masjid, at least one participant said that although support did exist in the community, it was not to the extent that was available back home. So while the Masjid did help pull people together at least once a week for Friday Prayer, there was still lack of a sense of cohesion and togetherness. "People are so busy and have to get back to work or school after prayer" (M2). He admitted though that on few occasions, after meeting people in the

mosque, he made several friends who volunteered to give him a car ride back home and helped him with buying groceries.

Some researchers in the social network field argue that the multiplication and diversification of social ties are generally associated with greater control over various aspects of one's life (see, e.g. Hagan 1998). Findings from this research underline the pertinence of this point for newcomers. They lead to the provisional conclusion that when newcomers can build a diversified social support network out of both "strong" and "weak ties" (so that they are simultaneously linked both to the "protected" and "emancipated" communities, to use the classic network theory concepts presented in chapter one), this may not only smooth their settlement and adaptation process and help set them on the difficult road to social integration but also may eventually open up new gateways and new horizons.

The remaining section of this chapter will present combined perspectives on the use of technology in research from the research participants as well as from the literature review. It is generally hoped that this discussion will contribute to critical thinking about the future development and application of this technology.

# 5.5 The use of technology in research work - How has it worked?

The use of this method in exploring activity and travel patterns of a vulnerable population such as the Afghan refugees in K-W is, arguably new. The development of spatial technologies such as GPS and most importantly their increasing use in research on human activity has always entailed curiosity among users and observers and has raised critical questions. While some remain optimistic and consider the evolution of technology

as part of normal transformation of society, others are highly critical of it and see it as a potential threat to society.

Given that the population studied in this research was fairly less familiar and understandably seemed less comfortable with using the technology, the most challenging task was ensuring that participants were comfortable using the technology. In the process, several questions were raised both during and after the research which were interesting and important to current and future debates. Participants' responses on how they felt not only about their ability to use the technology, but also how they felt about carrying the devices are discussed below.

#### Positive views

- It is always interesting to experience new things
- It leads one to appreciate the advancement of technology and the development of multiple features that can be used for different purposes
- It's able to capture a lot of pertinent information such as the time, location and patterns of activities/travels that otherwise we (the participants) had to remember and explain. As such, it was also a great tool for saving time.
- Carrying the technology with us on all trips helped us become self-conscious, thoughtful and careful

### **Negative views**

• Given our limited knowledge of and lack of familiarity with the technology, it is often difficult handling it even though our responsibility is minimal.

- Being new in this country means new to everything people, culture, environment
   etc...in fact, we wouldn't carry this technology if we didn't trust the researcher and if
   we were not sufficiently oriented
- Sometimes we felt that we were being watched everywhere. Our trips, our activities and our locations in short we felt quite unsafe. We are living at a time that everywhere we go we hear about fears and insecurity

This latter view is perhaps worth analyzing. In fact, three couples who did not choose to participate in this research held similar reservations. Participants who had lived in countries like Russia where conditions for refugees especially those with no legal status were unfavourable, remained highly skeptical. As partly stated earlier, these individuals had experienced harsh treatment including arbitrary arrests and beatings from government authorities, and as a result had become highly self-conscious and suspicious of surveillance. This is not to suggest that others had completely positive feelings.

The following subsection, will offer some perspectives based on the literature review on the ethical dimensions of increasing use of (geospatial) technology in contemporary research on vulnerable populations.

### 5.6 Perspectives on the incorporation of Geospatial Technology in modern Research

I do not fear computers; I fear the lack of them. – Isaac Asimov

Scholars and researchers and especially geographers have often explored societal issues that have generated fear. According to Klinkenberg (2007), some of these issues include: exploring the effects of war and conflict, famine and food supplies, social alienation and its links to crime, the politics of water, globalization and most importantly

graphical information system/geospatial technologies such as GIS and GPS as part of a military and espionage based world. The latter - research in geospatial technologies has, particularly engendered fear as they appear entrenched in surveillance, warfare and invasion of privacy. Some critics and observers, including human geographers, have been critical in response to these explorations showing worrying signs about the way such technology shapes the changing world. They, for example, point to a future that appears to be running amok, where smart cards invade our privacy and satellite surveillance becomes public fare (Klinkenberg 2007). There are others, on the other hand, who believe that GSTs represent a tidal wave of change in our societal structure and appear to be leading us toward the brink of a 'brave new world'.

After the tragic events of 9/11, no one doubts that the age of surveillance, a geospatial-technology-driven Panopticon (Gray 2003; Koskela 2003), has arrived. "The very idea of surveillance evokes curiosity, desire, aggression, guilt, and, above all, fear" (Tabor 2001, 135 cited in Klinkenberg 2007), producing a digital objectification that results in a "more vicious use of space" (Wyly 2004, 93, cited in Klinkenberg 2007).

By contrast, Waters (2004) as well as Dobson and Fisher (2003) write that most technologies and information are not themselves good or evil. It is, rather, in the use of technology that either good can result or fear. Even some human geographers are said to be fearful of GSTs, many do not fully understand them, and, of greater consequence, too many treat them as "just a technique" (Openshaw 1998; Sui 2004b). This ignorance could, perhaps, be dangerous and a form of social irresponsibility. GSTs are not simply (nor simple) techniques. With the appropriate knowledge-base and expertise, they are entirely new ways of seeing (Goodchild 2000) and so without the proper expertise and

knowledge base, methods can be improperly chosen, will not draw out critical information, and could ultimately improperly influence such key areas as social justice and environmental health policy.

In his examination of the dichotomy of hope and fear in relation to GSTs, Klinkenberg (2007), concludes that geographical inquiry into the realm of GSTs such as GIS and GPS is necessary and beneficial and represents hope – a way of diluting the fear that surrounds technology. "By becoming integral to the technology, geographical inquiry and social awareness are the hope of the future through which we may truly enter a brave new world, one that is democratic, governed by ethics and represents the world we would like to see – a world based on equalization of the power base. Technology breeds power, but technology can also control power" (Klinkenberg 2007: 357).

One of the many lessons learned during this research was that the use of technology in research studies entails fears, concerns and criticisms at two levels. First, when an existing technology is introduced into new fields of inquiries such as this research work. Second, when this very technology is replaced with new designs and enhanced features. Overall, despite all these often negative views of technology, at least from the perspective of this research, it would be fair to suggest that technology can play a great role and thus can immensely contribute to research work and policy development.

#### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

#### 6.1 Discussion

This study confirmed previous findings showing that recent newcomers encounter many barriers in accessing necessary services and programs. The barriers faced by the visible minority refugee group identified in this study include access to suitable language education, housing, transportation options, and culturally appropriate translation services. As this study revealed, newcomers and particularly refugees very often experience low utilization rates of important social and health services, despite evidence of significant need because of the lack of appropriate translation services that could provide an interface into these mainstream services. In the case of the Afghan newcomers, the settlement and integration difficulties they face are also greatly compounded by low literacy in their first language. Only 8 of the 14 participants of this research were high school graduates. Two females did not have formal education while another two had only completed grade six. This suggests that while lack of knowledge of English language is a common issue among all Afghan newcomers, for women, it is more than simply that. For a number of reasons including those described in chapter 2, women's educational level is relatively low. Thus issues such as lack of employment services, lack of affordable housing, limited access to health care services, all work in tandem with the literacy issues to prevent effective integration and quality of life for these newcomers.

Newcomer refugee populations need access to services in the formal network (e.g. social services, settlement services, legal services offered by government and non-government organizations) research suggests that often they can only be accessed via

informal networks e.g. family members, friends and neighbors who translate. Moreover, while informal networks are crucial, findings from this research reinforces other studies that suggest extended reliance on strong ties might amplify negative impacts based on gender and age differences (Walton-Roberts, 2008). Complete reliance on family friends and acquaintances sometimes results in long delays or failure to receive/access appropriate services because, for example, the family friend who had promised to help (i.e. providing a car ride or interpretation service), informed them with last minute notice of their unavailability. Some participants, who did not contact settlement services, reported that they had to wait for weeks to have a family friend assist them with often mundane tasks such as filling out housing applications, medical forms, paying bills etc. Moreover, female participants indicated that while they had to maintain the circle of friends and families to fend off isolation and resulting depression, they felt that this situation continuously prevented them from attending community programs such as ESL and other social events. Thus it can be suggested that pathways to greater independence and assistance beyond the specific ethnic community need to be developed in order to enhance settlement and integration outcomes, especially for women. At present, however, the system lumps the service needs of newcomers under generic and universal categories, leaving it to the immigrant communities themselves to either assist each other or to forge specific pathways into the formal service system. These gaps must be recognized and addressed by offering more culturally inclusive, flexible and adaptive support systems. While some community based programs in K-W do offer some community engagement and newcomer integration programs such as female leadership programs, diversity training, volunteer opportunities, and recreational programs, they still seem to be largely ad hoc and narrow in scope. There is not only a need for a different and more proactive approach, but also the emergence of new interfaces between weak ties (the mainstream services providers) and strong ties (co ethnic community ties).

Service delivery (housing, health, education etc) and program designs (community gardening, pot luck, parenting and workshops) for example must involve participation of diverse communities made up largely of newcomers themselves. Other programs such as knowledge sharing workshops and community resource information sessions (preferably offered in different languages) that directly or indirectly increase the engagement and participation of newcomers and immigrants in various areas, including capacity building and leadership roles, must be further encouraged and supported.

The findings on the role of social networks presented here underline the pertinence of studying the formation of weak ties among newcomers. This seems a promising direction for enhancing knowledge about the dynamics of settlement and integration, in that it complements and adds nuance to the portraits of social networks obtained through the analysis of strong ties and helps us better understand the respective roles of different kinds of ties. Such research may also help us get away from excessively normative and over-generalized models of how immigrants proceed (or ought to proceed) from settlement to adaptation and integration. It sheds light on the mechanisms and gateways that allow newcomers to seek out a more diversified range of resources so as to cope better with settlement in a new country, a new city and a new culture and even to begin thinking about their own personal self-development. Examining newcomers experiences in milieus more or less conducive to the formation of weak ties can also shed light on the barriers, both overt and subtle, to the process of social integration. In this latter respect

the study of neighbourhood relations is very revealing and merits more detailed examination in future research.

Settlement is defined by many in terms of a process with an immediate stage, intermediate stage, and long-term stage (Mwarigha, 1998; Wayland 2006), this research reinforced other studies that maintain how crucial the initial stage of arrival is for long term successful integration of newcomers. According to this view, the sooner newcomers initial needs such as immediate housing, language training, adequate financial assistance are fulfilled, the faster and more effective their integration. Arguably then, one reason why newcomers' integration maybe slow is because these services are either insufficient or inaccessible. As an example of the slow integration into second and third stages, one participant from the service providers group stated that there are many refugees who have lived in Canada for years, but still don't seem to have been established. Some even have not obtained citizenship status because of their low level of English and/or insufficient knowledge of Canada to pass the citizenship test.

Concerns related to transportation were reported to be a major hindrance to service accessibility. Participants generally indicated contentment with the existing transit system in K-W, stating that buses were a convenient and cost-efficient means of transportation. However, as indicated in Chapter five, they reported several problems about their traveling experiences. They stated, for example, that often they had difficulty understanding the transit system and bus routes. One participant who lived in Kitchener stated that because of his wife's health problems, they had to visit a hospital over three times during the week of the research. While the hospital (St. Mary's) was located about 2 km from their residence, so traveling by car normally took less than 15 minutes, it took

them about 2 hours to go by bus because there was no direct bus route and they had to take two buses to finally get there. When asked why they did not walk, M5 replied it was partly because of his wife's health problem and partly because of cold temperature which was as low as minus 20. Another problem related to the use of public transit was actually related to language issues. Participants noted that because often they didn't understand the bus schedules and bus routes, they would miss buses and experience long delays and significant changes in their travel plans.

The issues and challenges facing newcomers in K-W suggest that even if certain services, programs and facilities such as shopping centres were adequate, newcomers' access to these services may be limited by such factors as language difficulty, access to suitable transportation and the availability of social networks to guide them to these services in the first place.

It can be argued that in K-W there is presently no seamless service delivery system that responds to the needs of an incredibly diverse newcomer population in an integrated way. Instead, service is compartmentalized and fragmented across different delivery outlets, and participants feel they are unnecessarily shuttled back and forth across the city and the system with so many confusing and artificial program boundaries. Health care providers, for example, as indicated in chapter five, face knowledge and delivery obstacles: the immigrant patient trying to communicate his or her health needs, and trying to find a supportive physician, the health practitioner trying to communicate and deliver care across cultures in a system with limited access to cultural interpreters, the community pharmacist trying to both identify foreign drugs and negotiate the Interim Federal Health Program drug benefit plan. The result, for the Afghan refugees is often a

number of obstacles and inconsistent answers that can leave them disengaged and wary of our "foreign" primary and preventive care services.

One participant from the service provider group reported, while there are agencies providing various services complementing each other, there is still a lack of coordination and collaboration which is vital for effective and efficient service delivery. More specifically, it was suggested that when a settlement worker of an agency is faced with a service request which the agency does not provide, he/she often fails to refer the client to the appropriate service agency. Most often if a client is referred to the appropriate channels, then the problem becomes a lack of interpretation services. The significance of this was most forcefully demonstrated by the participants who were referred to specialists by family doctors, but missed the appointments because they did not have someone to interpret for them. This adds inefficiency to an already stretched system. Thus, for the immigrant settlement agencies the issue is to what extent can it provide for the many differentiated needs of individuals, families, and communities? It is both a question of availability of resources and efficient use of resources, as well as a question of equity and adequacy.

Participants from the service providing agencies recommended that making newcomers aware of the services available should be a major focus of service providers. One way to do this, they suggested, is to disseminate information through schools and community centres including Masjid which can be potential key information hubs for both the promotion and administration of such services. While ESL classes offered through community centres in K-W have played important role in distributing information about various services, participants indicated that this has happened only on

an ad hoc basis and not in a more systematic way. Furthermore, one surveyed participant indicated that while she did receive flyers about programs at the community centre or her ESL class, these flyers ended up in garbage because they were in English and she couldn't read them.

Extrapolating from this scenario, it would appear crucial for newcomer groups to become more involved in the provision of social services, as they are not only the most important source for understanding their own needs, but will help create a more welcoming environments for newcomer clients. Two findings are relevant here. First, as indicated in Chapter five, in K-W, organizations such as House of Friendship, K-W reception house, Chandler Mowat Community Centre, with culturally diverse staff and volunteers have often been very successful in effective and efficient service delivery. Second, one female participant who volunteered with a service agency described how her work benefited her and the clients of the organization. She said in about three months of her volunteering she was able to fill a part time job vacancy as piano teacher at the same organization. Discussing the importance of volunteering she said she never thought she would be able to find job in this field in such a short time. Moreover, she said the most important part of her volunteering role was the fact that she was able to help other newcomers who needed services and had language issues.

Another relatively important finding of this research has been service providers' lack of understanding about the specific needs and cultural backgrounds of Afghan newcomers. In addition to facing linguistic and cultural barriers when accessing services, these individuals often have been found to be struggling to reconcile two separate cultural existences as they attempt to adjust to the social norms of the host society, while

maintaining their own heritage with family members left in other places. This was raised by a service provider participant working at a community centre who was frustrated with the low interest and participation Afghan clients showed in programs despite the fact that the centre has undertaken a number of initiatives to offer programs specifically designed to help newcomer integration and participation, especially among women and youth. Responding to this question, a female newcomer said that while she was really interested in what was happening at the community centre, she couldn't always manage to attend for several reasons. She continued that, first of all she could hardly manage to meet her weekly appointments such as medical, dental etc partly due to transportation problems and partly due to lack of interpretation services. Secondly, she was responsible for most of the household activities such as preparing food, washing dishes, laundry, cleaning, etc and thirdly, culturally she is expected (although not forced) by her family members e.g. husband, older children and other relatives to spend majority of her time at home.

### 6.2 Conclusion

This research studied the settlement experiences as well as activity patterns of a group of newcomer refugees from Afghanistan and the Middle East who had arrived in the K-W area within the last six months. The study explored how newcomer refugees negotiate the settlement service landscape of Kitchener and Waterloo both physically and emotionally, the coping strategies they developed in order to manage the uncertainties and challenges resettlement demands of them. The findings contribute to understanding both the formation and use of social networks for recent immigrants and refugees, and how effective these networks are in assisting refugee newcomers with their immediate and

long term needs. The research was conducted using a novel data collection method based on the use of GPS tracking technology, interfaced internet based diaries and in-depth pre and follow-up interviews.

The fact that Afghan newcomer refugees to KW (especially recent newcomers), come largely from a second country – Russia, India and Pakistan, where they remained for years (in some cases for decades) made the experiences of this group different from some other visible minority groups. Certain characteristics such as double migration and low educational attainment (due to no legal status in these countries) even distinguished them from those Afghan refugees who entered Canada directly from Afghanistan through family reunion and other sponsorship processes.

The findings suggest that the settlement services sector in K-W should have a well-defined policy and strategy on how to integrate newcomer refugees, and not assume that all clients' needs are the same. This is very important given the particular conditions and experiences of the group studied in this research. An example of such circumstances is the health conditions of newcomer refugees. It was generally found that because most refugees spend months and sometimes years at refugee camps, where health conditions are terribly poor, they may have various health needs upon their arrival. Addressing these health issues require a systematic and case by case process to ensure their good health, however, as one service provider participant indicated, due to shortages of funds and inadequate resources this may not be possible.

Finally, newcomer refugees surveyed in this study generally held a positive view about the two cities - Kitchener and Waterloo. Although these explanations differed widely given that some of them lived in larger densely populated Asian cities with highly

varied climates such as Peshawar, New Delhi and Moscow, they praised the two cities in terms of the clean air quality, safer and quieter environments and accessibility to services and shopping centres. When asked if they were interested in moving to larger cities such as Toronto and/or its surrounding cities like Brampton, Mississauga, North York where a larger group of immigrants including those from their country could be found, almost everyone responded negatively. It was generally believed that while they did experience challenges here, as newcomers, living in those cities where services and businesses are geographically less compact, could even be more challenging.

These findings suggest that geographic issues are particularly important in ensuring accessibility to settlement services. Recent trends concerning the spatial concentration of vulnerable populations such as the Afghan community resurrect the question of whether a spatially sensitive policy approach targeting disadvantaged neighbourhoods would be effective as a means of serving those most in need and of mitigating the negative neighbourhood effects of poverty (Bradford 2005). The underlying challenge of matching the location of services and infrastructure with communities of need is shared by many immigrant settlement service providers.

Participants from the service provider group suggested that as the largest recipients of immigrants, (after the three largest cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), Kitchener and Waterloo must be able to provide a range of social services and help immigrants settle, integrate and participate in their community. They specifically highlighted some issues as requiring particular attention by local communities:

- addressing racism and discrimination in the workplace and the society at large;
- public education of the benefits of immigration and the needs of immigrants; and,

- enhancing policies that promote and support the multicultural communities by accommodating cultural diversity, promoting equity and difference,
- funding for settlement and integration support which should accurately reflect the number of immigrants in a community

It was also inferred from interviews with service providers that municipalities, who are on the front lines, are best able to 'convene the community' – engaging citizens and stakeholders in dialogue and action for local priorities. They can also ensure that land use planning and community service delivery build more inclusive and compact cities. To this end, they may partner with other local organizations – school boards, band councils, social service agencies, settlement agencies, and other non-profit networks – on joint projects. Given that immigrant dispersal is largely a federal government initiative, provincial and federal governments must also collaborate with municipalities. They are both far better equipped than municipalities to flow the necessary resources to the local partners who know best how and where to invest.

#### 6.3 Summary of Recommendations

- Pathways to greater independence and assistance beyond the specific ethnic community need to be developed in order to enhance settlement and integration outcomes, especially for women
- Increased involvement and participation of diverse newcomer population in both program planning and implementation. Service delivery (housing, health, education etc) and program designs (community gardening, sports, sewing, parenting) for

- example must involve participation of diverse communities made up largely of newcomers themselves
- Making newcomers aware of the services available should be a major focus of service providers. This could be done by increased knowledge sharing and community resource information preferably offered in different languages. Community social events, for example, can be one such opportunity
- The settlement services sector should have a well-defined policy and strategy on how to integrate newcomer refugees, and not assume that all clients' needs are the same
- In addition to settlement services (housing, employment and income supports),
   newcomers need an accepting, even welcoming environment, and the opportunity to
   become active, contributing community members socially and culturally as well as
   politically and economically.

#### APPENDIX I

#### SERVICES AND PROGRAMS FOR IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN K-W

Several different organizations and offices are listed here. To help provide distinction between various service providers, they are listed under their respective titles. The first few organizations listed outside the tables, however, have general responsibilities to help refugees settle in K-W.

### YMCA Cross-Cultural and Community Services

519-579-9622

3rd Floor of 800 King St. West

(beside Central Fresh Market and across from KCI high school)

#### K-W Multicultural Centre

519-745-2531

102 King St. West, downtown Kitchener

www.kwmc.on.ca

### Mennonite Coalition for Refugee Support

519-571-1912

58 Queen St. South, Kitchener (in The Working Centre, Very near the bus terminal) www.mcrs.ca

#### **Lutheran Refugee Committee**

519-807-1827 call for an appointment

Office at St. Mark's Lutheran Church

825 King Street W., Kitchener

### Waterloo-Wellington Canada Immigration Centre

29 Duke St. East, Kitchener (corner of Frederick St. and Duke in downtown Kitchener) www.cic.gc.ca/english/index.html

Immigration Call Centre in Ontario is 1-888-242-2100

#### **Education**

Organization	Address
Community Information Centre of Waterloo Region 519-579-3800	151 Frederick St. 3rd floor www.waterlooregion.org/cic
Conestoga College of Applied Arts and Technology 519-623-4890	299 Doon Valley Dr., Kitchener www.conestogac.on.ca
K-W English School	800 King Street West,

519-886-3300	Kitchener http://ace.wrdsb.on.ca/esl.html
K-W Multicultural Centre 519-745-2531	102 King St. West, downtown Kitchener www.kwmc.on.ca
Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities, Workplace Support Services 519-571-6009 / 1-800-265-6180	285 Weber Street North, Waterloo
St Louis Adult Learning Centre 519-745-1201 (downtown)	80 Young Street, Kitchener http://stlouis.wcdsb.edu.on.ca/ programs/esl.html
Settlement and Education Partnership in Waterloo Region (SEPWR) 519-742-8220	154 Gatewood Rd., Kitchener
University of Waterloo 519-885-1211	200 University Ave. West, Waterloo www.uwaterloo.ca
Waterloo District Catholic School Board 519-578-3660	35 Weber St. West, Unit A www.wcdsb.edu.on.ca
Waterloo Region District School Board 519-570-0300	51 Ardelt Ave., Kitchener www.wrdsb.on.ca
Wilfrid Laurier University 519-884-1970	75 University Ave. West, Waterloo www.wlu.ca
YMCA Cross-Cultural And Community Services 519-579-9622	800 King St. West, 3rd floor Kitchener, http://www.kwymca.org

## **Employment Services**

Organization	Address
Employment Resource Area,	235 King St. East
Region of Waterloo	Kitchener
519-883-2101	99 Regina St. South, Waterloo
Focus for Ethnic Women (for	33 Bridgeport Rd., East (at King)
women only)	Waterloo
519-746-3411	www.few.on.ca
International Credential	35 Harvard Road
Assessment Service Canada	P.O. Box 21001
519-763-7282 or 1-800-321-6021	Guelph, ON N1G 4T3
	www.icascanada.ca
Kitchener Service Canada Centre 579-1550	409 Weber St. West Kitchener

(Employment Centre) 18002067218	www.servicecanada.gc.ca/en/home.html
Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural	102 King St. West
Centre	Kitchener
519-745-2531	www.kwmc.on.ca
Lutherwood CODA	165 King St. East
519-743-2460	Kitchener
	www.lutherwood.ca
New Canadian Program (for	12 Dupont St. West
professionals and tradespeople)	Kitchener
519-883-0216	www.newcanadians.org
Ontario Ministry of Labour,	285 Weber St. North
Employment Standards Branch	Waterloo
519-885-5191 or 1-800-531-5551	www.labour.gov.on.ca/english/es
Volunteer Action Centre	151 Frederick St. West
519-742-8610	Kitchener
	www.volunteerkw.ca
Waterloo Region Community	170 Victoria St. South
Legal Services	Kitchener
519-743-0254	www.wrcls.ca
Waterloo Region Immigrant	80 Queen Street N.
Employment Network (WRIEN)	Kitchener
519-749-6033	www.wrien.com
Waterloo Region Small Business	200 King St. West, Ground Floor
Centre (Kitchener City Hall)	Kitchener City Hall
519-741-2604	www.bizenterprisecentre.com
Waterloo-Wellington	29 Duke St. East (at Frederick)
Immigration Centre	Kitchener
1-888-242-2100	www.cic.gc.ca
The Working Centre	58 Queen St. South
519-743-1151	Kitchener, www.theworkingcentre.org
YMCA Cross-Cultural and	800 King St. West
Community Services	Kitchener, 3rd floor
Newcomer Employment Centre	www.kwymca.org/Contribute/im
519-579-9622	migrant/immigrant.asp

# **Social and Community Services**

Organization	Address
Catholic Family Counselling Centre	400 Queen Street South
519-743-6333	Kitchener, www.cfcchelps.ca
Children's Needs Distribution	135 Highland Rd. W.
Centre	Kitchener (in Highland Baptist Church)
519-745-9461	
House of Friendship Food Hamper Program	807 Guelph St., Kitchener
519-742-0662	www.houseoffriendship.org
K-W Crisis Pregnancy Care Centre	22 King St. South, #303
519-886-4001	Waterloo (www.pregnancycentre.ca)
K-W Multicultural Centre	102 King St. West

519-745-2531	downtown Kitchener (www.kwmc.on.ca)
Mennonite Coalition for Refugee Support	58 Queen St. S., Kitchener
519-571-1912	(in TheWorking Centre)
	www.mcrs.ca
Mennonite Thrift Shop	335 Lancaster St. West
519-743-5021	Kitchener
Rockway Thrift Shop	137 King St. East
519-578-8640	Kitchener
St. John's Kitchen	97 Victoria St. N. 2nd floor
519-745-8928	Kitchener
	www.theworkingcentre.org
Salvation Army Community	300 Gage Ave., (near Belmont)
and Family Services	Kitchener
519-745-4215	
Salvation Army Thrift Shops	563 Highland Rd. W. (at Westmount)
519-584-1818	Kitchener
519-578-4800	1436 Victoria St. N.,
	Kitchener
Society of St. Vincent de Paul	328 King Street, W. Kitchener
519-742-8622	
Waterloo Generations	50 Bridgeport Rd.
519-886-6226	Waterloo
YMCA, Cross-Cultural and Community	800 King St. West, 3rd floor Kitchener
Services	www.kwymca.org
519-579-9622	

## **Health Services**

Organization	Address
Canadian Mental Health Assoc.	67 King St. East
Waterloo Regional Branch	Kitchener (at Benton St.)
519-744-7645	www.cmhawrb.on.ca
Catholic Family Counselling Centre	400 Queen St. South
519-743-6333	Kitchener, www.cfcchelps.ca
Community Health Helpers	59 Frederick St.,
519-745-4404	Kitchener (Kitchener Downtown
	Community Health Centre)
Grand River Hospital 519-742-3611	835 King St. West
Emergency 519-749-4242	Kitchener
	www.grandriverhospital.on.ca
Interfaith Institute for Couples	480 Charles St. E., Kitchener
and Families	www.interfaithmft.on.ca
519-884-0000	
Kitchener Downtown Community Health	59 Frederick St., Kitchener
Centre	
519-745-4404	
K-W Counselling Services	480 Charles St. E., Kitchener

519-884-0000	www.kwcounselling.com
Kitchener-Waterloo Sexual	201-151 Frederick St. Kitchener
Assault Support Centre	www.kwsasc.org
519-571-0121	
24 hour hotline: 519-741-8633	
Mennonite Coalition for	58 Queen St. S, Kitchener
Refugee Support	(in the Working Centre)
519-571-1912	www.mcrs.ca
Ontario Ministry of Health (OHIP)	1400 Weber St. East, Unit 2B,
1-800- 268-1154	Kitchener
St. Mary's General Hospital	911 Queen's Blvd., Kitchener
519-744-3311	www.smgh.ca
Emergency 519-749-6410	
Urgent Care Clinic	385 Fairway Rd. South
519-748-2327	751 Victoria St. S.
519-745-2273	
YMCA Cross-Cultural and	800 King St. West, 3rd floor
Community Services	Kitchener
519-579-9622	www.kwymca.org

# **Housing and Shelter Services**

Organization	Address
Anselma House	Address Not Available
24 hour crisis line: 519-742-5894	www.wcswr.org
Toll Free 1-877-419-1517	
Central Ontario Co-operative	29 King Street East, Suite 2
Housing Federation	Kitchener
519-579-2424	www.cochf.coop
Haven House	Address Not Available
24 hour crisis line: 519-653-2422	www.wcswr.org
Toll Free 1-800-410-4482	
House of Friendship – Men's Hostel	63 Charles St. East (near Benton St.)
519-742-8327	Kitchener
	www.houseoffriendship.org
Independent Living Centre of Waterloo Region	127 Victoria Street South, Suite 201
519-571-6788	Kitchener
	www.ilcwr.org
Kitchener Housing	11 Weber St. West
519-744-6655	Kitchener
	www.kitchener.ca/khi/home.html
K-W Multicultural Centre	102 King St. West
519-741-2351	Kitchener
	www.kwmc.on.ca
Kitchener-Wilmot Hydro	301 Victoria St. South
519-743-3600	Kitchener

	www.kwhydro.ca
Lutherwood-CODA	165 King St. East
519-743-2460	Kitchener
Safe Haven 519-749-1450	www.lutherwood.ca
Mary's Place, YWCA	84 Frederick St.
519-744-0120	Kitchener
	www.ywcakw.on.ca
Salvation Army	1436 Victoria St. North
519-578-4800	563 Highland Rd. W.
519-584-1818	Kitchener
Waterloo Region Community Housing	385 Fairway Rd. S., Suite 201
519-575-4833	Kitchener
	www.region.waterloo.on.ca
Waterloo Regional Homes for	618 King St. West
Mental Health	Kitchener
519-742-3191	www.waterlooregionalhomes.com
The Working Centre, Housing Desk	58 Queen St. South, Kitchener
519-743-1151	www.theworkingcentre.org
YMCA, Cross-Cultural and	800 King St. West, 3rd floor
Community Services	Kitchener
519-579-9622	www.kwymca.org

## **Interpretation and Translation Services**

Organization	Address
K-W Multicultural Centre	102 King St. West
519-745-2531	Kitchener
	www.kwmc.on.ca
YMCA Cross-Cultural and Community	800 King St. West, 3rd floor, Kitchener,
Services	www.kwymca.org
519-579-9622	

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