Social Resilience and International Migration in the Canadian City

EDITED BY
Valerie Preston,
John Shields, and
Tara Bedard

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McGill-Queen's University Press in Montreal is on land which long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous Peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. In Kingston it is situated on the territory of the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabek. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous Peoples whose footsteps have marked these territories on which peoples of the world now gather.

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Acknowledgments

This collection is the first of two volumes that originate from the Building Migrant Resilience in Cities / Immigration et résilience en milieu urbain (BMRC-IRMU) partnership. The project explores the concept of social resilience to examine how institutions can facilitate migrant settlement and integration in large and midsized cities across Quebec and Ontario. As editors, we are extremely grateful for the commitment and dedication of the large group of authors who have been part of writing and reviewing the collection. After conducting the research together, academic scholars and community-based researchers and practitioners wrote chapters together and reviewed them as part of a continuing and dynamic collaboration. Details of many of the studies discussed in this collection are available in webinars, reports, research summaries, and policy briefs that can be found on the partnership website at: https://www.yorku.ca/research/bmrc-irmu/.

A rapidly shifting policy environment required researchers to continuously adapt to changing circumstances. This project, like so many others, was also dramatically affected by the COVID-19 pandemic that caused many challenges and hardships for researchers, community-based institutions, and migrant populations. The pandemic greatly slowed the progress of our work, but it also became a major part of the research, highlighting the resilience of migrants and the institutions serving them as they weathered the crisis and created new pathways for progressive movement forward. The pandemic presented an excellent case through which to examine the workings of social resilience.

There is a long list of people and institutions to whom we owe special thanks. These include but are not limited to the Social Sciences

and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), who provided funding (Partnership Grant # 895–2016–1004), York University, which hosted the partnership, Toronto Metropolitan University, including the Faculty of Arts, which assisted with publication costs as well as providing other key resources, partner universities in Quebec and Ontario, and all the partner organizations from civil society and government that contributed their resources (see detailed information on the BMRC website: https://www.yorku.ca/research/bmrc-irmu/).

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With its origins in our continuing collaboration with university faculty and students, immigrant-serving agencies, LIPs, other non-profit organizations, and local, provincial, and federal governments (see BMRC website), we are immensely grateful to all members of the research partnership for their time, energy, and resilience that allowed the rich work of the partnership to thrive over many years and under the strain of a global pandemic. Their contributions ensure that the chapters exemplify the very best aspects of community-based collaboration, research, and knowledge mobilization. And a special note of thanks to the editors' life partners – Joe, Hawley, and Rich – who have been a source of strength, support, and good humour over the many months of work on this collection.

We want to especially acknowledge and express our appreciation to the temporary migrants, immigrants, and other research participants whose participation provided the foundation and inspiration for the studies reported in these chapters. Each one demonstrates exceptional resilience as they build a new life in Canada.

Social Resilience and International Migration in the Canadian City

1

Introducing a Resilience Approach to Migrant Integration

Valerie Preston, John Shields, Tara Bedard, and Nahid Sultana

Often described as a world leader in immigration and settlement policies, Canada has an active immigration policy rooted in settler colonialism (Macklin 2017; Dauvergne 2016). After World War II, successive Canadian governments implemented policies that promoted permanent residence for economic migrants and refugees, family reunification and sponsorship, and high rates of naturalization. The goal was to create an immigrant nation of predominantly British, White origin, and was predicated on the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples across Canada from their lands (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). Today, as Canada struggles to reconcile with the Indigenous Peoples harmed by its policies of dispossession, national and provincial governments position immigration as central to many economic and social policies. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Canada maintained one of the highest rates of immigration on a per capita basis among all the wealthy OECD countries, and the annual numbers of admitted immigrants greatly accelerated (Griffith 2022). The success of these policies hinges on the successful integration of migrants indicated by their full participation in all aspects of Canadian society. Despite the perceived success with which migrants integrate in Canada demonstrated by historically high rates of naturalization (Bloemraad 2006) and strong feelings of belonging (Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry 2016) as well as growing public support for Canadian immigration policies (Neuman 2022), economic and social inequalities persist for many immigrants and naturalization rates have declined in recent years.

Most recent immigrants also believe that Canadians do not understand the many challenges they face (Leger 2022, 6). Understanding the factors that facilitate integration is a crucial issue for migrants and Canadian-born residents alike; Canadian institutions that grapple with shifting axes of inequality, difference, and diversity; and policymakers responding to unpredictable and complex economic, societal, and political forces.

The research reported here is timely as we attempt to "build back better" after a pandemic that highlighted the crucial roles of government and civil society institutions. The research originates in a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Partnership Grant entitled Building Migrant Resilience in Cities / Immigration et résilience en milieu urbain (BMRC-IRMU), which began in 2016. It was affected significantly by the global pandemic that forced researchers to reconsider and revise their research questions and methods to take account of the ways the pandemic threatened international migrants and prompted their extraordinary efforts to keep themselves, their families, and their communities safe. As a result, the chapters in this book report the findings from research that was undertaken in the early 2020s, before and during the pandemic and often reinterpreted in light of this once-in-a-lifetime event. Several researchers used the pandemic to investigate resilience by examining explicitly how different migrants (see chapters 5, 4, and 12) were affected by the crisis and the efficacy of institutional efforts to assist international migrants (see chapters 2, 4, and 12). In the other chapters, pandemic experiences inevitably colour the findings. The chapters underscore the benefits of engaging a large group of migration scholars, community-based researchers, policymakers, and immigrant settlement and integration practitioners in Quebec and Ontario in migration research during an unprecedented time. Taken together, the findings provide insight into the individual and collaborative contributions of diverse civil society, government, and other organizations and institutions to the successful integration of international migrants in Canadian cities.

SOCIAL RESILIENCE

The social resilience approach adopted in this project acknowledges the distinct characteristics of vulnerable groups, the dynamic character of adaptation, and the potential for diverse integration outcomes

ranging from alienation to empowerment and other forms of positive transformations. It brings to light not just the impediments to newcomer integration but also the transformative capacities of migrants to successfully engage in adaptation, advocacy, and resistance. Rather than simply documenting disparities in the economic, political, and social outcomes for migrants, our resilience approach draws attention to their causes and suggests ways to mitigate inequalities. Acknowledging that migration is disruptive for all migrants regardless of their economic and social resources as well as the communities they come to call home, resilience focuses on the factors that enhance migrants' capacities to navigate and leverage the resources required to overcome integration challenges (Ungar 2012). It fosters a relational and dynamic analysis that takes account of the multidimensional, multidirectional, and interconnected nature of integration while recognizing the local context in which each migrant settles and integrates.

The current volume offers numerous examples of integration, highlighting the complex forces that shape each migrant's experiences, specifying the impacts of many different institutional actors, especially nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and identifying public policies and programs that facilitate integration. As each chapter illustrates, success overcoming the inevitable challenges of integration depends on migrants themselves, the people and institutions around them, their access to many different institutions ranging from well-funded and formal institutions such as public schools and hospitals to faith organizations and informal institutions such as a neighbourhood group of mothers, and the adaptive change and growth of the institutions and communities migrants interact and live with (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022).

The chapters also demonstrate that resilience is much more than the survival and self-responsibilization promoted in its neoliberal formulations. Rather, resilience centres on the social supports that empower migrants themselves to take collective action to build their futures (Golubchikov and De Verteuil 2021). In migrants' interactions with a broad range of institutions, those institutions are altered and the resilience of the institutions themselves can be strengthened. Consequently, the interactions between migrants and institutions can enhance the resilience of each, as demonstrated in the discussion of immigrant-serving agencies' responses to the pandemic in chapters 2 and 12. Institutional coordination and collaboration can also enhance integration, especially for the most vulnerable migrants.

The timeliness of a resilience approach to migration and settlement was underlined during the COVID-19 global pandemic, which highlighted and deepened societal inequalities, affecting some groups far more than others (Abu Alrob and Shields 2022). Migrant populations have been among the most negatively affected, as shown in chapters 2 and 5. The pandemic opened opportunities to reconsider and revise policies and called for shifts in practices that are often compatible with a social resilience framework. For example, the pandemic called attention to the legacy of neoliberal austerity measures and New Public Management's (NPM) restrictions on immigrant-serving agencies' operations and funding (Lowe et al. 2017). The pandemic made significant demands on immigrant-serving agencies and others to change and expand services, demonstrating the need to move away from austerity/NPM approaches. In chapter 12, the authors discuss how the willingness of government funders to continue and even expand funding while simultaneously relaxing reporting and accountability rules during COVID-19 were central to ensuring immigrant-serving agencies could operate effectively. Flexible and increased funding allowed agencies to maintain existing services, often by shifting online, introduce new ones to address pandemic needs (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020; also see chapter 12), and ensure pandemic responses at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels supported vulnerable migrant groups. The pandemic pushed government funders to retreat from NPM practices and embrace a more equitable relationship with immigrant-serving agencies, with greatly enhanced communications between funder and service providers.

Importantly, immigration has been identified in Canada as a central element in pandemic recovery, standing in stark contrast to reactionary anti-immigrant positions adopted in some other jurisdictions (Kakissis 2020; Sorge 2020). This progressive and proactive position is reflected in the federal government's 2023–2025 immigration levels plan, with its record target to admit 1.45 million new permanent immigrants over the three-year period (IRCC 2022a, 34). The impacts of these immigration targets and the ability of communities to integrate new immigrants and support their success will depend on federal and provincial governments' continued support for immigrant-serving agencies and the strengthening of cross ministerial policymaking and collaboration for the entire social infrastructure that supports migrants in communities across Canada, most significantly in the areas of housing and health care.

POLICIES

The chapters in this book grapple with immigration policies that govern immigration selection, the services and supports that facilitate integration, and the enforcement of rules and regulations about rights to reside and work in Canada. Several chapters (see chapters 2, 4, 8, and 12) take account of recent shifts in Canadian immigration policy, from its historical emphasis on permanent residency to the much greater allowance of temporary status and two- or multistep migration that allows a growing number of temporary residents to convert to permanent residence. While taking explicit account of the immigration status of people residing in Canada, these chapters also acknowledge and demonstrate the damaging impact of labels used to limit institutional supports and sometimes deployed to stigmatize international migrants. In chapters 4, 6, 9, and 11, researchers acknowledge the intersectional nature of identity, taking account of social characteristics such as race that often impede integration, even for those who are permanent residents.

In light of the proliferation of different legal statuses in Canada and the growing numbers of residents holding different statuses, the partnership has worked to reach some agreement on terminology. We begin with migrants, people born abroad who reside in Canada. People with permanent residence are referred to as immigrants and are distinguished from the rapidly growing numbers of temporary migrants with time-limited residence in Canada and those who lack any legal status to reside in Canada. Currently, the boundaries between these three migrant groups are blurring. The two-step and multistep migration pathways by which migrants enter Canada on a temporary or even irregular basis and eventually gain permanent residence are being promoted by federal and provincial governments through various policy instruments. As a result, international students, temporary foreign workers, refugee claimants who entered on temporary visas, and even migrants who fall out of status by overstaying visas or entering irregularly account for a growing share of immigrants in Canada (Paquet and Larios 2018; Griffith 2022; Statistics Canada 2022b).

The partnership's research offers many opportunities to illuminate the effects of immigration status by comparing the impacts of two different jurisdictional arrangements on integration. Immigration is a shared responsibility between the federal

government and the provinces subject to the requirement that provincial laws cannot be "repugnant" to (contradict) federal law. While formally sharing jurisdiction with the provinces, until recently, the federal government dominated in the policy field of immigration and settlement. Starting in the 1980s, however, there has been an ongoing "federalization of immigration," with an expanding "number of venues in which immigrants interact with governments" and with an "increasing number of actors who can influence immigration and integration policies in Canada" (Paquet 2019, 4), namely, employers, postsecondary institutions, municipalities, economic development agencies, and other institutions.

Immigration is treated increasingly as an economic imperative by federal and provincial governments alike. Since 2014, the federal government has intentionally increased permanent immigration levels year over year. Continued expansion of the economic stream as an avenue for admitting immigrants has underpinned federal priorities in the twenty-first century. Although the current Liberal government is also committed to family reunification and refugee protection, commitments in these areas have not increased at the same rate as the numbers of economic immigrants, and their importance has fluctuated in response to external events. The provinces share the federal government's view of immigration as an important source of economic growth. Recently, Ontario doubled the number of economic immigrants it selects annually, while Quebec wants to limit the numbers of refugees settled in the province and ensure that economic immigrants are predominantly francophone (Artuso 2022; Serebrin 2022).

Compared with federal and provincial governments, municipalities, the third level of government in Canada, play a secondary role in the formulation of immigration policies. Creatures of provincial governments, municipal responsibility for physical infrastructure, planning, and local services for all residents sometimes limits their willingness to provide targeted services and supports for immigrants (Rose and Preston 2017). More often, limited revenue-raising powers constrain municipal involvement in services and supports for migrants. Nevertheless, and despite their subordinate legal status, municipalities are increasingly focused on immigrant attraction and retention and consulted by provincial and federal governments that acknowledge the truism that migrants are welcomed to Canada while settling in specific locales. As chapter 12 demonstrates, the

municipal role in migrant integration gained more recognition during the global pandemic with its varied impacts among municipalities, provinces, territories, and even nations. Successful public health policies were sensitive to local populations living in specific locations (Filion, Doucet, and van Melik 2021).

PLACES

Where migrants live matters. The places migrants locate affect their life chances in the long-term as well as in the short-term (Corak 2020). Researchers, policymakers, service providers, and advocates alike acknowledge that place influences migrant integration, especially in Canada's federation, where migrants' experiences are framed by policies and services largely dictated and funded by federal and provincial governments while being delivered in specific cities, towns, and rural areas with various economic, social, political, and cultural characteristics and distinct approaches to welcoming and including migrants. Yet, the impacts of place on integration are difficult to specify. The lacuna in our understanding is due in part to the slipperiness of the concept itself. There is agreement that place has multiple aspects, referring simultaneously to a spatial location; a locale that provides access to services, work, and leisure and separation from environmental hazards; and a territory with multiple and changing meanings for residents and visitors (Cresswell 2014a). Place is also dynamic, shaped by ever-changing economic, social, cultural, and political relations at multiple geographical scales (Massey 1991). The shifting nature of place draws attention to the multiple ways that international migrants change the places they live. Indeed, current interest in immigration policy at the federal and provincial levels is motivated largely by concerns that specific cities, towns, and rural areas will stagnate without migrants to maintain their economies, services, and infrastructure (IRCC 2022a). The importance and impact of place and place-based approaches to migrant integration and resilience is recognized by the Canadian government's investment in an extensive network of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs), councils charged with strategic planning for the successful integration of migrants in specific municipalities and neighbourhoods (Citizenship and Immigration Canada n.d.).

For migrants who have travelled across the globe, the varied and dynamic aspects of place are especially pertinent. Many international

migrants have transnational lives in which they strive to maintain strong relations to their origins as they build new social ties and networks at their destinations. As the locations where they have settled acquire more and more nuanced meanings, migrants' efforts to establish themselves while maintaining their transnational ties can alter the places themselves. The research reported in this volume demonstrates how the social, economic, cultural, and political characteristics of places are themselves shaped and reshaped by migrants (Massey 1991).

Geographically, the research reported in this volume is centred in cities across Quebec and Ontario. These provinces have distinct immigration histories, institutional infrastructure, and policies that allow us to assess migrant resilience and its determinants in distinct environments. Both provinces are major destinations for international migrants, and together, they exemplify the range of Canadian immigration and integration policy with all other provinces and territories somewhere along the spectrum between the two. Quebec represents the epitome of provincial control over integration supports and services, while Ontario has largely been a passive recipient of federal selection and integration policies. In this project, large and small urban areas, including suburban regions, are examined. Investigating integration in contrasting urban and suburban places in Quebec and Ontario enables an in-depth understanding of migrant integration relevant to all provinces and territories and to the diverse urban and suburban areas migrants settle in.

Canadian provinces and territories have become increasingly interested in immigration, taking more control over immigrant selection and, in some cases, the provision of services for migrants. Quebec has been the most active in this regard, with extensive policy and programs that emphasize francization (Paquet 2019, 46–7). The minority position of French speakers in Canada and Quebec's long-held position as defender of French language and culture underpin Quebec's focus on control of immigration and integration in the province. As Dauphin et al. (chapter 10) identify so poignantly, the imperative to defend the language and culture can create tensions between service providers and volunteers anxious to facilitate integration. In recognition of Quebec's unique status as the prime location of French-language speakers in North America, the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration officially transferred significant responsibilities and funding from Ottawa to Quebec for

immigrant selection and integration programming (Vineberg 2012, 36–37). Quebec is the only province or territory that has control over all integration services.

Ontario, for its part, has been less involved in developing and implementing provincial immigration and settlement policies. Federal funding and programming directed by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) continues to dominate in the province. Since 2005, the province has expanded targeted immigrant-selection programs and contributed limited funding for immigrant supports delivered by nonprofit agencies. Provincial support for immigration and settlement has waxed and waned with the election of each government. The Conservative governments of Mike Harris (1995) and Doug Ford (2018) showed much less interest in the immigration portfolio than their Liberal predecessors. Both governments reduced funding for migrant supports and service providers (Paquet 2019, 77–8). Although one of the first acts of the Ford government was to eliminate the immigration ministry (Lifanov 2018), during the pandemic, the government successfully campaigned for an increase in the number of skilled workers the province would select and eventually reintroduced ministerial recognition under the Ministry for Labour, Immigration, Training and Skills Development. The research presented throughout this volume allows the reader to compare integration between Ontario, where immigration numbers and services are largely federally funded and regulated, and Quebec, which has had its own selection and integration policies since 1991. This research is also useful for providing insight into other provinces' efforts. For example, the findings in this book help us put in perspective the prairie provinces, which have taken more active roles than Ontario in settlement supports and immigrant selection through the provincial nominee program (Dauphinais, Salmon, and Akimowicz 2021; Singer 2023).

International migration is overwhelmingly an urban affair, with most migrants settling in medium-sized and large cities of at least one-hundred thousand residents where the health of the local economy, the availability of services and supports for migrants, the history of immigration, including earlier waves of people from the same origins, and public infrastructure spending and provision affect settlement and integration (Statistics Canada 2022c; Fincher et al. 2014). In this volume, case studies distinguish medium-sized cities including Ottawa, Windsor, Kitchener-Waterloo, and Gatineau from

the large immigration gateway cities of Toronto and Montreal. Some research also takes account of intrametropolitan geographies by distinguishing York Region from the rest of the Toronto metropolitan area (see chapter 12) and comparing the municipalities of Ottawa and Gatineau (see chapter 11). By focusing on specific cities (see chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10), the authors demonstrate how many aspects of the municipal context shape integration and simultaneously draw attention to local initiatives that enhance integration. As discussed in the concluding chapter, the research reported here demonstrates how successful settlement outside the historical gateway cities of Montreal and Toronto, where services and supports are concentrated, depends on collaboration among civil society and the three levels of government. Such research findings are relevant well beyond the borders of Quebec and Ontario, with lessons for researchers, policymakers, and service providers concerned about migrants in cities around the world.

INSTITUTIONS

The social resilience approach identifies institutions as playing a primary role in the provision of social support in society. For migrants, state and nonstate organizations are key to successful integration that fosters migrants' capacities to overcome challenges and learn from these experiences. The earlier discussion of immigration policy begins to acknowledge the roles of state institutions at the national, provincial, and local levels. Key civil society institutions are also engaged in supporting migrant integration, often through funding partnerships with governments.

Recognizing the significance of immigration in Canada's current and future well-being, the Government of Canada moved beyond its initial reliance on purely charitable actors to provide supports for newcomers in the 1970s. By providing public funds for NGOs to offer migrant supports (Vineberg 2012), the federal government created the internationally renowned "Canadian model" of settlement supports for newcomers. Government-funded programming for immigrants is mostly delivered by community-based nonprofit organizations (Richmond and Shields 2005). Quebec had a stronger orientation to state delivery of integration supports but has moved strongly toward service delivery by nonprofit organizations in recent years (Bachellerie, Shields, and Preston 2020), mimicking the Canadian model.

In the so-called Canadian model, nonprofit agencies are funded by the federal and/or provincial government to provide eligible migrants with a multitude of services ranging from language training, job readiness workshops, and orientation sessions designed to teach migrants about their rights, responsibilities, and necessary documents to housing help, youth programs that help the children of immigrants find their footing in a new society, interpretation services, and case management for the most vulnerable. Through these services, staff support migrants in their dealings with schools, landlords, medical facilities, and other institutions (Praznik and Shields 2018c). Federally funded settlement services are intended primarily for permanent residents, and their eligibility ends as soon as they naturalize and become Canadian citizens. Quebec's immigrant-serving agencies are funded to provide services to a broader range of migrants, including international students and temporary foreign workers (Bachellerie, Shields, and Preston 2020). Irene Bloemraad, Shannon Gleeson, and Els Graauw (2020, 303) emphasize the value of government supported settlement services, "Canada's strong investments in settlement and multicultural policies help immigrants build community organizations and participate in the public sphere more than immigrants from the same homeland who must navigate the U.S. *laissez-faire* system of immigrant integration."

Although their contributions are crucial for many migrants, publicly funded settlement organizations are only one of the many institutions that influence migrant integration and resilience in Canada. While government-funded immigrant-serving agencies provide various supports and services, small, informal, and ethno-specific grassroots organizations and faith organizations such as those discussed in chapter 8 are also forceful advocates for migrant rights and community organizing. Their voices have been limited by funders, who have aimed to ensure accountability and transparency by directing their support mainly to large and established organizations (Lowe et al. 2017). Gaps in services have emerged, especially for the most vulnerable migrants who grassroots organizations often aim to support (for more details see the case studies in chapters 8, 10, and 11). Whether large or small, all formal and informal agencies and organizations serving migrants play crucial roles connecting migrants with the full range of community programs and services they need for themselves and their families to achieve desired economic, social, and political participation.

Ultimately, migrants "settle on services." They connect to programs offered by municipalities and those linked to the welfare state built jointly by federal and provincial governments such as health care, social assistance, and employment insurance. Employers have a huge impact on migrant integration and access to supports to meet family needs, as discussed in chapter 6. Community-based nonprofit supports like food banks and health centres provide significant support to migrants. These are all important service providers and sources of connection for immigrant communities. This whole-of-government / whole-of-society approach to service provision and support, with its multiple interconnections to migrant settlement and integration (Shields et al. 2019), is one that rests very comfortably with a social resilience approach. A whole-of-society perspective considers all types of social supports and the many different institutions that help migrants overcome inevitable challenges. The chapters in this volume speak to the way these sectors interact and connect with migrants, offering vital supports.

INTRODUCING THE CHAPTERS

The BMRC-IRMU research is so extensive that it is being shared through two edited volumes. This first volume, *Social Resilience and International Migration in the Canadian City*, focuses on the roles of place, institutions and organizations, and public policies in fostering social resilience that facilitates migrant integration. Detailed information about the scope and contribution of each chapter is outlined later in this introduction. The second volume, *Social Resilience and the Urban Migrant Experience*, examines how a social resilience approach highlights the individual capacities of migrants and the factors that affect them. Profiling vulnerable migrant groups, including international students, families, refugees and asylum seekers, and women, and giving prominence to societal structures and constructs, such as capitalism, class, gender, and race, the second volume shows the impact of structural inequalities on migrant settlement. Together, these two volumes enable the exploration of the many dimensions of migrant integration understood through the revealing perspective of social resilience.

The social resilience approach that underpins the research presented in this book leads to research with three distinctive characteristics. Each of the research projects reported here reflects collaboration

between academic researchers and civil society actors. In many instances, civil society partners are coauthors, intimately involved in reporting as well as conducting the research. Even where they have not participated directly as coauthors, the research has been discussed and enhanced by interactions with civil society partners. The accessible language and short length of the chapters reflects the collaboration at the foundation of the partnership. Although ensuring academic rigour, authors have aimed for chapters that are readily accessible to the public that includes service providers, researchers with nonprofit organizations, and policymakers as well as senior undergraduate and graduate students.

The research itself is comparative and grounded in different urban and suburban contexts, with each chapter examining the integration of migrants in diverse neighbourhoods and settings and different metropolitan areas and between provinces with vastly different jurisdiction over the selection and integration of migrants. Reading the chapters together allows for a comparison of the experiences of migrants, enriching our understanding of the contextual nature of resilience.

Multiple research methods were used in the research. Many chapters report findings from qualitative research that provide detailed narratives about the integration challenges facing migrants, the supports and services that helped them overcome challenges, and the impacts of success and failure on the ways individual migrants dealt with subsequent integration challenges. Qualitative information is also used to learn about institutional views of migrant integration, the services and supports provided to migrants, and the unmet and emerging needs seen by immigrant-serving agencies and policymakers. Qualitative information is supplemented by survey and census data that provide invaluable contextual information about integration and the actions of diverse institutions. While the qualitative information describes integration processes in some detail and the opinions of key informants about the resilience of immigrant-serving agencies themselves, other information sources give invaluable insight into the landscapes of institutions and populations migrants integrate into.

Part 1 of this volume interrogates the links between policies, resilience, and migrant integration, asking how policy influences migrant resilience and illustrating how resilience can be an important criterion in policy evaluation. Chapter 2 explains the notion of social resilience, emphasizing the importance of institutional supports and

services to foster migrant resilience. In addition to describing the distinguishing features of social resilience and its advantages as a conceptual lens for investigating migrant integration, the authors draw on examples that outline the impacts of COVID-19 on international migrants and the NGOs that serve them. Chapters 3 and 4 offer a contrasting view through detailed analyses of municipal and federal policies. The analyses in chapter 3 reveal that municipalities in Ontario and Quebec use resilience mainly to guide responses to natural disasters rather than as a frame for more human-centred service areas such as how to promote migrant integration. The authors ask the reader to speculate on the reasons that migrants and other people are rarely considered in resilience discourses at the local level. In chapter 4, an assessment of how well federal pandemic policies to support incomes and businesses enhanced migrant resilience and the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership's efforts to highlight the diverse situations of migrants leads the authors to advocate for an equitable resilience lens to evaluating policy, especially its impacts on different migrants.

Having established the role of policy in fostering resilience, subsequent parts acknowledge the significance of economic and social institutions for resilience, considering the two types of institutions separately. In part 2, devoted to economic institutions, chapter 5 evaluates the resilience of immigrant entrepreneurs who developed and maintained businesses during the pandemic. The research demonstrates how individual entrepreneurial resilience is embedded within larger institutional and social structures. Immigrant entrepreneurs took advantage of supports from government, their social networks, and their employees to navigate their businesses through COVID-19. A revealing analysis of employer recruitment strategies in chapter 7 identifies the organizational practices and policies that often block immigrants from accessing jobs commensurate with their skills and experience. By discussing the strategies that immigrant professionals use to overcome recruitment challenges, the chapter illuminates the social determinants and character of resilience. The crucial role of place in fostering migrant resilience is taken up in a detailed investigation of the life histories of forty professionally successful immigrants in chapter 7. Underscoring the situated nature of resilience, local interactions with many different institutions and supports from friends and family emerge as key factors in the resilience of successful skilled immigrants.

Part 3 explores the impacts of social institutions on resilience by asking how churches and the legal profession facilitate migrant resilience. In chapter 8, a detailed examination of the resources and supports offered to asylum seekers in Montreal by local churches highlights the important and growing role of Christian churches in fostering resilience among people who are often not eligible for government-funded services. Chapter 9 assesses the links between legal representation and resilience. Largely ignored in the literature, access to legal services is key to the resilience of many migrants since legal services provide critical "navigational capital" for migrant resilience and integration. The authors recommend that increasing the diversity and cultural competency of staff and the affordability of services in private law firms will enhance the firms' and migrants' resilience.

Part 4 investigates the impact of place on resilience and integration. Laying out the challenges facing nonprofit settlement agencies and municipal governments responsible for many aspects of refugee resettlement, chapter 10 examines local issues that undermine the resilience of immigrant-serving agencies and refugees themselves. By outlining the contradictory imperatives of the municipal government and immigrant-serving agencies and volunteers, the analysis illuminates the place-based nature of migrant integration and resilience. The benefits and drawbacks of different neighbourhoods for recent and established immigrants are evaluated in chapter 11. The findings point to the granular nature of the factors promoting migrant resilience. In one housing area, the lack of space for informal community gatherings impeded self-help efforts.

In part 5, the collection concludes with a chapter examining the links between social resilience, collaboration, and advocacy. Chapter 12 discusses the impacts of COVID-19 on the landscape of immigrant-serving agencies in Ontario and Quebec, followed by a detailed discussion of lessons learned during the pandemic to enhance migrant and community resilience and the resilience of agencies serving immigrants. The chapter also highlights policy recommendations designed to take future advantage of these lessons. Part 5 brings us full circle and ends the volume by shifting attention to the institutions surrounding and supporting migrants and the resilience of the institutions themselves to ensure they are ready and able to strengthen the resilience of individual migrants.

The chapters in this volume are especially timely now as Canada expands its targets for permanent residents, increases the number

of people holding temporary visas, and adjusts to growing numbers of refugee claimants. The chapters also hold important lessons for the future because contemporary migration will have long lasting consequences for Canadian society throughout the twenty-first century. To grapple successfully with critical societal challenges such as reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples and economic dislocation due to technological change depends on our success in ensuring migrants achieve desired participation in all aspects of Canadian society. Emphasizing how policies, institutions, and places shape migrant integration and the resilience of migrants and the institutions working with them, the chapters in this volume make a crucial contribution to achieving this societal goal.

In 2024, the federal government introduced important cuts to immigration and temporary migrant numbers. While the restraints on international migrant levels are significant in comparison to previously announced numbers, the new levels remain substantive both in terms of past Canadian migration levels and by OECD comparator countries. This shift represents a restraint on the rate of migration growth, not a reversal of the importance placed on international migration for the benefit of the Canadian economy and society.

PART ONE

Policy

Public policy has been central to Canadian immigration ever since European migrants began to arrive. International migration and integration policies remain important in Canada in part because migrants are a larger percentage of the total population than in many other OECD countries. High volumes of migration have been sustained for decades and public opinion about international migration remains largely positive (OECD 2022). Immigrants contribute to thriving communities in many ways. Broad political and public support for expanding migration and providing government funding for settlement and integration services and supports allows policymakers to employ international migration policy to address critical public issues like Canada's aging workforce and contemporary skills shortages and respond to global war and humanitarian crisis in part through migration. In this part, the chapters examine how public policies at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels influence migrant integration. Framed by a social resilience approach, each study assesses how policies enable as well as constrain migrants' efforts to achieve social, economic, and political participation as they build new lives in Canada and contribute to prosperous communities for everyone.

Public support for international migration and the policies that encourage and support it is driven in part by Canadians' personal migration experiences. In 2021, 23 per cent of Canadian residents were foreign born (Statistics Canada 2022b) and many others had at least one parent born outside Canada. With more than 80 per cent of migrants arriving from countries in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and the Caribbean, the racial and ethnic

makeup of the Canadian population is also changing quickly. About one in four people in Canada in 2021 identified as racialized minorities (Statistics Canada 2022c). With growing ethno-racial diversity, multiculturalism policies have also gained broad public support as a key distinguishing feature of contemporary Canada despite endless discussion of their meaning and efficacy (Wright 2021; May 2022).

The centrality of international migration and integration policies for the Canadian state has been readily apparent during the COVID-19 pandemic. Aggressive expansion of immigration numbers is a key plank of federal and many provincial governments' postpandemic economic recovery strategies (Government of Canada 2021). Immigrant selection in contemporary Canada is centred around three immigration classes – economic class, family class, and humanitarian class. This is the so-called balanced system of immigrant selection, although the economic class, which is designed to recruit people with skills, experience, and education to contribute to economic prosperity, is by far the largest category; some 60 per cent of newcomers fall into this category. In addition to increasing the number of permanent residents admitted annually to five hundred thousand (Robitallie and El-Asall 2023), current policies also promote regionalization of immigrant settlement in small cities and towns, especially in places where demographic aging and population decline have been challenging (Akbari 2011). At the same time as the geographical distribution of immigrants is shifting somewhat, the number of temporary residents admitted to Canada as international students and temporary workers has also increased by fivefold since 2006 to more than 1 million per year (Thanthong-Knight 2023). The contribution of temporary migration to the Canadian economy is enormous, but it is largely obscured in policy dialogue, and many temporary migrants are used as disposable workers (Henaway 2023). The introduction of numerous pathways to permanent residence for those on temporary visas (Alboim and Cohl 2012) raises numerous policy questions concerning eligibility and access to federally funded settlement and integration services historically provided only to permanent residents.

Immigration is a shared area of policy jurisdiction between the federal government and the provinces. As noted, there is a broad consensus around the value of immigration in Canada shared

by the main political parties and most territories and provinces. Quebec is supportive of immigration to the province to fill labour shortages, although long-standing concerns about the integration of newcomers into the francophone majority are used to justify much lower targets for immigration along with sustained state support for recruitment of francophone immigrants (Hornstein 2023). Quebec integration policies focus on French-language acquisition and an intercultural rather than multicultural approach to integration (Hornstein 2023). According to the Quebec government, pluralism and interculturalism requires acceptance of the principles of francization and secularism (Ravary 2019). The distinction between the federal government's policies and Quebec policies is well known, while other provincial differences in selection and integration policies are less well-documented and their impacts on migrant integration have not been studied extensively.

The Canadian government has long been seen internationally as an innovator in immigration and settlement policy, including for taking an active role in funding integration services and supports for immigrant newcomers. The so-called Canadian model of immigrant integration (relatively generous state support for nonprofit, community-based settlement programs) is considered an international best-practice (Richmond and Shields 2005) that contrasts positively with, for example, the American laissez-faire approach to settlement. Active state support for integration and an overarching pro-immigration policy has helped foster a comparative "warmth of the immigrant welcome" in Canada (Reitz 1999) that has been an important message attracting immigrants and, now, growing numbers of temporary residents to Canada.

Since the 1990s, there has been a public policy turn in Canada and elsewhere to a neoliberal paradigm with an emphasis on market friendly reforms, retrenchment of social supports, and neoliberal restructuring of governance mechanisms including greater government funder control of settlement programming. Immigrants have been compelled to "settle on less" (Lowe at al. 2017), but the centrality of immigration and settlement to economic prosperity has encouraged Canadian governments to retain active integration programming. Neoliberal austerity has significantly reduced supports and services in other areas, widening societal polarization, and reinforcing the expectation that migrants, like other individuals and families, will take more

responsibility for managing the social and economic risks they encounter in Canadian society (Hacker 2019).

This larger context frames the three chapters that investigate the impacts of policies on migrant integration and resilience. In chapter 2, Valerie Preston, John Shields, and Marshia Akbar engage in a detailed exploration of social resilience as a concept and as an approach to understanding international migration. The social resilience approach recognizes the structural forces that shape migrants' position in society, including various programs and policies that support migrant integration, and the agency of each migrant and migrant population to contribute to policy and program decisions. The authors use the COVID-19 pandemic to demonstrate the value of a social resilience approach for examining policy responses to a crisis. With a focus on immigrant-serving agencies (ISAs), the chapter shows the unequal impact of the pandemic on migrant communities, the resilient character of both migrants and ISAs, and the failures of neoliberal austerity policies to address the crisis. The COVID-19 crisis opened a policy window in which more progressive policy directions became possible, promoting social justice and the social resilience that it engenders.

In chapter 3, Luisa Veronis, Diana Palmerin, Margaret Walton-Roberts, and Virginie Mesana explore how governments understand and use resilience through a discourse analysis of policy documents at the municipal (Montreal, Gatineau, Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa, and Toronto) and provincial (Quebec and Ontario) levels. They demonstrate that governments have used resilience in a malleable manner suited to their various agendas. At the provincial level, governments used resilience primarily around economic themes related to economic development, skills enhancement, and enterprise. In Quebec, the government added a cultural dimension to the resilience discourse centred around support of the French language and policies promoting interculturalism. Municipal governments by contrast used resilience discourse in relation to community and individual success and well-being. Climate resilience, inclusion, antiracism, and the value of various municipal services are prominent issues in the municipal policy documents. Missing from provincial and municipal discourses is a clear articulation of social resilience in all its dimensions, although municipal discourses come closer to this mark. According to this

analysis of provincial and municipal documents, government understanding of resilience remains partial and limited, which confirms the importance of undertaking detailed comparisons of provinces and municipalities to inform debates about the impacts of policy on migrant integration.

The federal government's COVID-19 relief policies and their uneven effectiveness in addressing the needs of migrants are examined in chapter 4 by Christina Gabriel and Muna Osman. Using a social resilience framework, the authors demonstrate why a one-size-fits-all approach failed to address the diverse situations of migrant populations. The chapter also explores how local institutions attempted to ameliorate some of the shortcomings of federal and provincial responses to COVID-19 through an analysis of the actions of the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership (OLIP). OLIP was an important local institution helping to organize migrant responses to the crisis, build partnerships in the municipality to provide supports and services that would assist migrants, and bring to the broader policy table more equitable and inclusive solutions to problems. During the crisis, OLIP provided a voice to migrants that exposed the heavy COVID-19 burden many were experiencing. They were especially effective at mobilizing actors at the local municipal level to redress the effects of COVID-19 on migrants.

Together, these chapters provide a rich examination of social resilience in action and show how a social resilience approach to examining migration is so valuable. These chapters demonstrate the importance of public policy in support of migrant settlement, as well as the often highly uneven policy terrain and its uneven impacts on migrants and the places where they live. The social resilience approach points us to the structural power dimensions in play within society that, as these chapters highlight, must be considered in understanding the effects of policies and programs on diverse international migrants.

2

Social Resilience and Settlement Agencies Responding to a Crisis

Valerie Preston, John Shields, and Marshia Akbar

INTRODUCTION

Focusing attention on the social institutions that help migrants find relevant resources and develop successful strategies to overcome the challenges associated with rooting oneself in a new place (Hall and Lamont 2013; Preston et al. 2012), we argue that social resilience is an apt conceptual lens for studies of migrant integration, especially during the current COVID-19 pandemic. By integration, we refer to the "two-way" processes by which social institutions and migrants collaboratively strive to achieve migrants' desired social, civic, and economic participation in society (Moreno et al. 2018).[1] The social resilience approach acknowledges the structural forces, including the various services and other supports that shape integration, while still recognizing the agency of newcomers and the social inequalities that shape their societal participation (DeVerteuil 2016). A social resilience approach also highlights how institutions such as immigrant-serving agencies, schools, and local chambers of commerce are dynamic agents providing services and voice that help support, represent, and empower newcomers, fostering their resilience. By focusing on migrants' strategies and access to resources, a social resilience approach underscores how integration occurs in specific places and is shaped by the programs and policies of various organizations as they strive to respond effectively to the changing needs of migrants (DeVerteuil 2016).

With its emphasis on the capacities of institutions that serve migrants, a social resilience approach has the potential to challenge

views of international migration as a crisis or threat. By highlighting the potential of institutions at all geographical scales from the neighbourhood to the nation-state to facilitate integration, a social resilience approach draws attention to strategies and actions that enhance the societal benefits of migration while mitigating and preventing adverse impacts. The COVID-19 pandemic presents a prime example of disruption and crisis, and the responses to it illustrate social resilience in action. During the COVID-19 pandemic, glaring health and socioeconomic inequalities among migrants and the critical role of social institutions in addressing the needs of diverse migrants were exposed and highlighted (APM Research Lab Staff 2021; Boucher 2020; Johnson 2020; Platt and Warwick 2020; Reich 2020).

We lay out the argument for a resilience approach to the integration of international migrants in three sections. The conceptualization of social resilience that underpins our argument is discussed in the first section, where we address criticisms of the use of resilience for investigating social systems and outline its relevance for examining integration. The second section documents the preliminary unequal impacts of the pandemic on migrants in Canada. In the final section, we demonstrate the merits of a social resilience approach by analyzing the institutional response to COVID-19 with examples from immigrant-serving agencies.

WHAT IS SOCIAL RESILIENCE?

In the social sciences, two major theoretical perspectives on resilience dominate: social-ecological resilience and social resilience. The social-ecological perspective emphasizes the adaptation process of individuals, communities, and regions in response to external threats (Adger 2000; Cretney 2014; Luthar 2006). This approach is often criticized for focusing on the capacity of individuals and overlooking the influence of social structures, institutional inequalities, and power relations (Joseph 2013; Leadbeater, Dodgen, and Solarz 2005; VanderPlaat 2016). Holding individuals and communities responsible for their own well-being without recognizing the inequalities that create vulnerabilities and limit adaptability, the social-ecological approach promotes the neoliberal agenda of "self-help" that "is centred around the individual and focuses on their capacities and responsibilities to engage in hard work and individual enterprise to overcome adversity" (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020).

This notion of responsibilization aims to decrease state involvement and increase self-reliance by creating willing and adaptable neoliberal subjects. According to critics, the social-ecological resilience approach creates more pressure on vulnerable groups such as migrants to adapt to challenges without bringing any change in the existing social conditions.

The concept of social resilience, which emerged from critiques of the social-ecological approach, promotes collective responsibility, underlines the transformative capacities of individuals, groups, and social institutions in dealing with challenges, and recognizes how power relations and institutional structures shape these capacities (Betteridge and Webber 2019; Harris, Chu, and Ziervogel 2018; Hall and Lamont 2013). Emphasizing collective capacities and the roles of institutions, social resilience marks a shift from independence to interdependence, creating a space for agency and voice to be considered (DeVerteuil 2016, 25). The social resilience approach emphasizes transformative capacities that entail resistance and proactive measures. The analytical framework of collective responsibility and transformative capacity allows for changes to be made in existing structures to attain a social system that serves the interests of the vulnerable, the marginalized, and the broader collective (De Verteuil and Golubchikov 2016; Meerow and Newell 2016). By emphasizing how social actors are embedded in social and institutional environments, social resilience recognizes the relational aspects of resilience – the interconnected resilience of both social actors and institutions.

The social resilience approach to settlement and integration embraced in this volume focuses on the capacity of migrants to navigate the resources and institutional support that enable them to overcome the challenges inherent in integration. Taking a collective approach to capacities, our conceptualization considers migrants within their spatial, social, and institutional contexts. This approach implies that capacities are learned through success or failure at overcoming earlier challenges, and they are conditioned by the contexts in which international migrants live their everyday lives. Capacities can also be transformative, often leaving migrants better prepared and empowered to deal with future hurdles and setbacks (Wild, Wiles, and Allen 2013). Social resilience can help clarify the impacts of challenges on integration and the roles of policies, places, and institutions in the resulting societal dynamics. Social resilience also

brings to the fore the positive two-way dynamic that exists between publicly available and invariably place-based support systems and individual empowerment. As a theoretical concept, social resilience allows us to recognize that integration is a critical social and policy issue around the globe and helps us respond to migrants' heightened risks and inequalities during crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

Advantages of Social Resilience

As an approach to investigating international migrants' integration, social resilience is advantageous for four reasons. First, a social resilience approach goes beyond neoliberal ideas that dismiss state, nonprofit, and private institutions' contributions to helping migrants overcome challenges (Hall and Lamon 2013). Constructing integration as an individual affair achieved with some support from friends, family, and a nebulous or narrowly conceived idea of community, neoliberal policymakers want migrants to "settle on less," shifting risk onto the individual and family (Lowe et al. 2017). The neoliberal discourse also creates divisions between the "good immigrant" who is self-sufficient and individually resilient and the "bad immigrant" who is dependent and a drain on public resources (Root, Shields, and Gates-Gasse 2019; Barrass and Shields 2017). Social resilience, while recognizing the role and importance of individual capacities and actions, emphasizes the broader system society operates in, including the many social institutions that support populations and social systems. This analytical framework opens space to examine the roles of immigrant-serving agencies and other nonprofit organizations in assisting integration, particularly in Canada, where settlement services are directly funded by the government and provided to migrants through local organizations.

The Canadian model of settlement services provides federal funding to local nonprofit agencies to deliver settlement supports, mainly to recently arrived immigrants living nearby (Richmond and Shields 2005). The service model is designed from a social resilience approach that recognizes the benefits of public resources for successful integration of immigrant populations. Between 2006 and 2015, a Conservative federal government reduced funding for settlement supports. Since 2015, a Liberal government has reinvested in settlement services in recognition that immigrants "settle on services" (Shields et al. 2019).

Second, emphasizing the embeddedness of social actors within a specific social and spatial context, social resilience possesses potential for addressing the unequal power relations and social inequality facing migrants in specific urban, regional, and national contexts. A social resilience approach often begins by documenting local, place-based resources, investigating the power relations at multiple spatial scales that shape them, and developing strategies to address place-based inequalities (Derickson 2016; Hertzman et al. 2013; Wild, Wiles, and Allen 2013). For example, a social resilience approach sheds light on the activities of settlement organizations in Quebec, where the provincial government is more directive in terms of its goal of francization of newcomers but also gives settlement organizations more financial independence and autonomy in designing and providing services and programs compared with agencies in other parts of Canada (see chapter 10; Bachellerie, Shields, and Preston 2020). A social resilience approach also acknowledges that the social, cultural, and economic characteristics of migrants vary over time and across places. For example, the countries of birth of immigrants currently differ between Ontario and Quebec, with the three largest countries in each province being India, China, and the Philippines and France, China, and Algeria, respectively. Country of birth is associated with other social characteristics, such as fluency in Canada's official languages (Statistics Canada 2022c). With their origins in francophone countries, immigrants in Quebec are more likely to speak French than their counterparts in Ontario. Similar differentiation occurs at the level of individual urban areas and even across neighbourhoods within them. An examination of migrants' social-spatial contexts reveals the connections between policies and the institutions that shape integration.

Third, social resilience also draws our attention beyond everyday survival, to struggle, resistance, and reinvention. By allowing for movement towards a more equitable state, a social resilience approach acknowledges the voice, agency, and proactive roles of migrants that undermine and counteract the neoliberal status quo (DeVerteuil and Golubchikov 2016). It also emphasizes the transformative capacities of institutions, recognizing how settlement organizations strive to transform themselves as migrant needs, funding priorities, and the local social, economic, and political context evolve. Their adjustment and capacity to transform has been especially evident since the COVID-19 pandemic began and organizations moved quickly to

online delivery of services. This transformative capacity also enables institutions to reform, so they reduce rather than reinforce systemic inequality, particularly during a pandemic that revealed and magnified the inequalities facing migrants (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020; Shields and Abu Alrob 2021). A crisis such as a pandemic has the potential to accelerate reforms that move societies towards greater justice and equity, but it can also inadvertently reinforce preexisting inequalities and give rise to new and deeper social divisions. The social resilience approach emphasizes institutions' transformative capacity in designing and implementing resilient social safety nets. These safety nets serve as crucial support systems for vulnerable populations, addressing existing and emerging inequalities. By harnessing their transformative capacity, institutions can protect and boost those in need, promoting a more equitable and inclusive society.

Finally, using a collective approach, social resilience also contests discourses and representations of contemporary international migrants as threats and disruptions, an especially important discursive shift currently. The neoliberal sentiment often views migrants as an external threat; a view that is inconsistent with Canadian public policies that promote the admission of newcomers and public opinion that continues to support the settlement of newcomers even in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic (Association for Canadian Studies et al. 2020). Using a social resilience approach can enhance positive views regarding migrants by drawing attention to their contributions. During the pandemic, asylum seekers and other migrants did essential work in long-term care homes, medical facilities, retail outlets, and other workplaces, risking their lives and the lives of their families (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020; Abu Alrob and Shields 2022). By emphasizing the contingent nature of migrants' experiences and their impacts on urban societies (Macklin 2020), a social resilience approach also highlights migrants' efforts to engage in the politics of COVID-19 and shape postpandemic societies.

Our analysis is motivated by the recognition that integration is a critical social and policy issue. Public policy and programming are vitally important in addressing obstacles and crises and facilitating resilient responses by immigrants and others. Institutions like health and social welfare structures and the nonprofit settlement sector, among others, are collective bases of support that are the foundation of socially resilient systems (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020). We use the example of the COVID-19 pandemic to demonstrate how

migrants in Canada were disproportionately affected by this crisis and how a social resilience approach is valuable to challenge the neoliberal idea of individualism and offer a theoretical lens that recognizes the importance of collective accomplishment and institutional support for migrant integration.

THE COVID-19 CRISIS AND MIGRANTS IN CANADA

High COVID-19 case rates and high mortality rates among migrants are a stark reminder of the systematic inequalities that confront many migrants as they build new lives in Canada. Consistent with international evidence (Debopadhaya, Erickson, and Bennett 2021; Kirby 2020; OECD 2020), in the first wave of the pandemic in Canada (February 2020–August 2020),[2] migrants contracted COVID-19 at higher rates than the Canadian-born (Guttmann et al. 2020).[3] Detailed analysis in Ontario showed that refugees were especially susceptible to the virus, with positivity rates of 11.3 per cent and 10.1 per cent for resettled refugees and successful refugee claimants, rates that were higher than those reported for immigrants admitted under other admission categories and even other temporary migrants.

The persistent marginalization of migrants was evident in geographical patterns of infection across Canada (Public Health Agency of Canada 2021). Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia, which are home to large immigrant populations, reported high COVID-19 case rates in each wave[4]. Case rates were also high in Ontario neighbourhoods where there were high proportions of racialized minorities, international migrants, and people who do not speak French or English upon immigrating to Canada (Guttmann et al. 2020). Living in a low-income neighbourhood was also associated with high positivity rates for immigrants, but not for the Canadian-born. On the other hand, living in crowded housing with large numbers of people per dwelling increased the probability of contracting the virus for Canadian-born and immigrants, but its impact was larger for immigrants. To be clear, high COVID-19 rates are not caused by migrants, rather many migrant populations face social disadvantage that exposed them to greater risk of infection.

Immigrants' higher risk of contracting COVID-19 was reflected in their disproportionately high mortality rates (Ng 2021; Subedi, Greenberg, and Turcotte 2020). While immigrants accounted for 25

per cent of all deaths in the first wave of the pandemic, they were only 22 per cent of the national population. Immigrant men have higher mortality rates than immigrant women and their Canadian-born counterparts. In Canada, immigrant men accounted for 28 per cent of all deaths from COVID-19 between March and July 2020 but were only 21 per cent of the population (Ng 2021). In neighbourhoods where minorities, immigrants, and people with limited fluency in official languages lived, mortality rates were also high.

Initially, immigrants were also less protected by vaccinations than the Canadian-born. Guttmann et al. (2021) reported that on April 26, 2021, in Ontario, 22 per cent of people admitted as refugees had been vaccinated compared with 28 per cent of all other immigrants and 38 per cent of the Canadian-born. Even though immigrants, including refugees, tend to be younger than the Canadian-born, at every age, refugees and other immigrants were less likely to be vaccinated than their Canadian-born counterparts. Even after taking account of the higher likelihood that refugees and all other immigrants live in neighbourhoods with high rates of COVID-19 infections, the gap in vaccination rates persisted.

In Canada, as in the United States and much of Europe, there is incomplete information about migrants' exposure to COVID-19, although several Canadian trends are consistent with international trends. The pandemic upended the working and living conditions of many migrants, threatening their livelihoods as well as their health. Immigrants suffered high unemployment during the pandemic, were less able to work from home, and found it more difficult to qualify for COVID-19 assistance (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020; chapter 4). Specifically, immigrants are overrepresented in industries that expose them to COVID-19 and less likely to be able to work from home when ill. In addition to their outsized presence as health care workers, immigrants are overrepresented in "essential industries," the industries where people cannot work from home and either interact with the public or do critical production and distribution work (Statistics Canada 2020).[5] Working in essential industries such as food production, warehousing, and retail exposed immigrants to the risk of contracting COVID-19 and added to transmission in their households and communities. Many essential workers, especially health care workers, continued to travel by transit at the height of the pandemic, possibly heightening their risk of infection (Preston and McLafferty 2023).

Disparities in COVID positivity and mortality rates between migrant men and women, across immigration admission classes, and among urban neighbourhoods underscore the unequal integration trajectories and life chances of many migrants living in Canada. The chances of transmission for migrants were often compounded by crowded housing. In metropolitan areas where most migrants live, housing costs are high and there are few affordable housing units large enough for families (Preston and Ray 2021). With low incomes, immigrants, especially refugees, were more likely than the Canadian-born to live in crowded housing where self-isolation was difficult at best.

During the pandemic, public policies exacerbated inequities in migrants' experiences of COVID-19 in Canada, as outlined in chapter 4. In response to concerted pressure from community organizations, public health officials eventually adopted an equity lens. Nevertheless, testing and vaccination programs continued to favour the affluent and Canadian-born, who had the skills and resources to track down facilities and appointments (Guttmann et al. 2021). Equitable programs would have concentrated on the neighbourhoods where migrants and other essential workers live from the outset. Indeed, such a strategy was recommended in Ontario during the third wave, February 2021 to June 2021 (Mishra et al. 2021). The delays in implementing equitable public health policies exacerbated migrants' disadvantage during the pandemic and increased their need for settlement and integration support. Among nonprofit organizations in Ontario, two-thirds saw demand for their services increase during the pandemic even as many organizations' financial and operational capacity deteriorated. Despite these challenges, the nonprofit sector innovated rapidly, moving services online to address client needs (Ontario Nonprofit Network and l'Assemblée de la Francophonie de l'Ontario 2021a), an extraordinary example of resilience that is explored in the following section.

SOCIAL RESILIENCE AND INSTITUTIONS: IMMIGRANT-SERVING AGENCIES AND COVID-19

Our analysis of immigrant-serving agencies' responses during the COVID-19 pandemic highlights the benefits of a social resilience approach by drawing attention to the critical roles of institutions in promoting migrant and institutional resilience. Like many nonprofit

organizations, immigrant-serving agencies act as shock absorbers, responding to unmet needs and as collective resources during times of crisis (Speer and Dijkima 2020). Immigrant-serving agencies in Canada play a distinct role in strengthening social resilience by supporting the successful integration of newcomers, including immigrants and refugees. While immigrant-serving agencies share some similarities with other institutions in promoting social resilience, they also have unique characteristics that set them apart. Historically, they have helped to foster resilience among newcomers by providing skills training, language instruction, mentoring, leadership, orientation, connections to communities and employers, and strategies to assist in achieving settlement goals. In these ways, agencies help to smooth and accelerate integration (Shields and Lujan 2019). They often have a diverse and multicultural staff who possess language skills and cultural competence to address the specific needs of newcomers. Sensitive to the dynamics of migration, many agencies recruit staff from the new streams of migrants seeking assistance. Immigrant-serving agencies work hard to understand the challenges faced by individuals from different cultural backgrounds with the goal of providing culturally sensitive support and guidance (Morgan 2002; Praznik and Shields 2018c). Collaborating with multiple stakeholders, including government agencies, community organizations, employers, educational institutions, and health care providers, agencies foster partnerships and networks to create comprehensive support systems for newcomers (Pero 2017). This collaborative approach is crucial in addressing the multidimensional needs of newcomers and enhancing their resilience through coordinated efforts. While other institutions may engage in collaborations, immigrant-serving agencies often have a specific mandate and infrastructure for such partnerships.

The geographies of collaboration are also uneven, favouring migrants who live in cities that have been historic gateways for migrants. Large cities like Montreal and Toronto are "service hubs," offering dense networks of supports built over decades at the behest and with the support of migrants themselves (Fincher et al. 2014). In suburban and smaller centres, supports are often sparse. A small number of immigrant-serving agencies serve the diverse needs of migrants without easy access to other stakeholders and the specialized services and programs they provide (DeVerteuil 2016; Lo et al. 2015).

Immigrant-serving agencies provide critical opportunities and strategies for migrants to build connections in their new country, breaking down their isolation. As a key informant in another study noted, "It is hard to be resilient when you are isolated," while another observed, "The key to building immigrant resilience is the same as building resilience in all of us: providing a deep sense of connection – connection to other people and to the community" (Shields and Lujan 2019, 3).[6] Resilience is not merely an individual affair but a larger social process that is facilitated by the strong social infrastructure provided by immigrant-serving agencies. Newcomer settlement is, in the end, about their becoming "attached to the wider community and actively participating in its institutions" (Shields and Lujan 2019).

Nonprofit immigrant-serving agencies are more than service providers, they are also the eyes, ears (Schmidtke 2021), and a voice for the people they serve. Their service is infused by their social justice mission (Moreno et al. 2018). Immigrant-serving agencies help to "amplify diverse, marginalized voices" and encourage collective action. By doing so, they build social resilience in the form of social supports and as a conduit of representation and agency.

By contrast, neoliberal approaches to resilience promote individualized and market-centred responses in which migrant voices are largely confined to a marketplace ruled by the power of money and employer privilege and where collective voices and action are suppressed. In this setting, the visibility and voices of the vulnerable, as is often the case with migrant populations, shrink. Individuals and families are expected to adapt to market realities utilizing their own initiative and capacities in a Darwinian effort to adjust and succeed. Neoliberal resilience is primarily an individual affair and reliance on publicly provided support is viewed as a sign of weakness and discouraged. Neoliberal resilience is about just "getting over the adversity" and "toughing it out" (Ziniuk 2021).

Immigrant-serving agencies and their umbrella organizations, for example, Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) and Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes (TCRI) in Quebec, have been important voices demanding that the structural inequities and inequalities vividly revealed by the COVID-19 pandemic be addressed. Despite limits on their ability to act, the agencies have worked to amplify the voices of clients and the agencies that serve them. For the sector's recommendations to be heard and for recommendations to be

implemented requires power shifts within society. As workers from immigrant-serving agencies observed in an earlier study (Shields and Lujan 2019, 8), "We don't have power to tackle the roots of the problem. And that's one of the big weaknesses of settlement services. [The sector acts as] a band aid for the government or for the system... You don't have a voice, you don't have a lot of power … Like, yes, we support, we do our best to fix issues when they appear, but then these issues, we are not preventing these issues from necessary repeating themselves. Because in order to do that, we need to have a voice. We need to have some power" (Shields and Lujan 2019, 8).

The pandemic has "laid bare the gaps in the social safety nets," the "increased demand for community supports for newcomers," and "multiple barriers to integration" (IRCC 2021a). Debbie Douglas (2020a, 2020b), the executive director of OCASI, has emphasized the critical nature of advocacy in the settlement sector's response to the pandemic, noting that as agencies shapeshift to the "new normal" in a post-COVID-19 world, there will be a struggle to determine what that world will be. A progressive policy agenda, so important for social resilience, will only be realized through strong advocacy by the sector itself. As a nonprofit-based funder commented, "The pandemic has shone a spotlight on severe, systemic inequalities that create the conditions that charities and non-profits are in an uphill battle to address. Governments building back from COVID need to put in place policies that will protect and support the wellbeing of the population … I hope the non-profit sector can emerge with a louder, unified voice in solidarity with our communities, and in support of policies that can more positively impact all of our lives" (as cited in Ontario Nonprofit Network and l'Assemblée de la Francophonie de l'Ontario 2021a, 7). A strong and independent settlement sector is a vital social institution going into the future.[7]

The Resilience of Immigrant-Serving Agencies

A social resilience approach underscores the need for resilient institutions that can adapt and transform in response to the changing conditions they operate within and the needs of the people they serve, such as the nonprofit immigrant-serving agencies. Highly adaptive, immigrant-serving agencies have demonstrated a persistent ability to maximize efficiency and optimize resources and to be innovative

in addressing the needs of clients (Lowe et al. 2017; Joy and Shields 2020). Key informants, in fact, identified resilience as "a sector competency"; noting that resilience "comes from the people you serve," helping to "energize" staff who "feed off their success," thus serving to keep organizations focused on their missions. The two-way nature of individual and system resilience is apparent in the workforces of immigrant-serving agencies, which are largely drawn from the immigrant populations they serve (Baines et al. 2014). Workers' social connections enhance the community responsiveness of many settlement service organizations.

Sector resilience, however, has been under continual stress due to factors such as inadequate, competitive, and short-term contract funding. An undercompensated precarious labour force and limited overall organizational capacity have resulted in a sector that has had to stretch repeatedly to carry out its roles (Shields, Cunningham, and Baines 2017). A Canadian Senate committee described the situation of nonprofit service providers as a "slowly intensifying crisis" of the sector (Omidvar and Pearson 2020). As a result, the sector is highly vulnerable to sudden shocks, such as a pandemic, when demand for services spikes and already stretched capacities are placed under even greater stress. A survey by the Ontario Nonprofit Network (ONN) during the pandemic revealed that more than half of the surveyed organizations did not have three months of financial buffer to maintain their operations (Harper 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic posed an immediate "triple threat" of "revenue loss, office closures and service cancellations, and human resource challenges" (Long 2020). Some 63 per cent of nonprofit social service agencies reported declining revenues in 2020 (Lasby 2020, 9, table 4), 37 per cent of organizations had laid off staff, and 52 per cent said they were faced with the threat of more layoffs (Lasby 2020, 14, table 8). In addition, 28 per cent of social service nonprofit agencies reduced hours of work for staff, and 60 per cent of these said they might need to reduce staff hours further (Lasby 2020, 14, table 8). For the nonprofit sector, Imagine Canada estimated that 37,000 full-time and 46,400 part-time workers had lost their jobs (Lasby 2020, 2). The threat of permanent closure of nonprofit agencies because of pandemic related stress and disruption is very high (Nanos 2021; Buckner 2020; Waldie 2020), with the sector expected to shrink by more than the 5 per cent loss that occurred during the Great Recession of 2008 (McCambridge and Dietz 2020).

During the pandemic, immigrant-serving agencies demonstrated resilience under stress. The pandemic pushed the agencies to shift rapidly into distance/virtual modes as offices closed. OCASI (2020) reported tremendous success in this regard: 100 per cent of its surveyed members were able to move programming online to serve migrant clients. However, some 57 per cent of these agencies saw revenues decline, over 40 per cent lost volunteers, job losses were a reality and threat for many, and employees worked under significant stress.

For many clients, especially those with digital skills, good access to technology, and strong English and French-language skills, the shift to online services went smoothly. Many appreciated the dedication of staff, the adaptability of service delivery, and, in some cases, even preferred online services. However, others have fallen through pandemic cracks. Some immigrant clients felt "confused and vulnerable" and reported difficulty in accessing information about COVID-19 in their native languages (North York Community House, Department of Imaginary Affairs, and Campana 2020, 8). As discussed in chapters 4 and 8, many migrant populations, including temporary foreign workers, international students, and migrants with precarious status, have been ineligible for services funded by the federal government. In Quebec, government funding has been more flexible in this regard (Bachellerie, Shields, and Preston 2020). In practice, most immigrant-serving agencies use their own or other resources to offer services to ineligible migrants, an extraordinary example of social resilience in the face of woefully inadequate government investment in this area (see volume 2, *Social Resilience and the Urban Migrant Experience*).

Government support was key to agencies' success in adjusting operations and continuing to serve migrants during the pandemic (Speer and Dijkema 2020). Some agencies qualified for government wage subsidy programs, enabling them to retain staff, and many were able to tap into the rent support program (Canada Emergency Commercial Rent Assistance), which helped agencies operate during the pandemic. Additionally, the sector, with others, had access to a $350 million Emergency Community Support Fund. Acknowledging the importance of this fund, OCASI has labelled it a "down-payment" (Douglas 2020b) on the financial resources needed to address social deficits and inadequate sector capacity exacerbated by the crisis.

The pandemic has highlighted the substantial investments in infrastructure required for the immigrant-serving agencies and the entire

settlement sector to continue its lead role in migrant integration. Funding from all levels of government and nongovernmental sources is needed to replace and upgrade technology such as computers, software, and video platforms and to train staff in the use of technology (Campana 2020), since digital will only expand in the future. Agencies also want to share their experiences of operating under COVID-19 and learn about each other's challenges and best practices. The culture of the sector requires a shift to an ethic of "sharing without fear or competition" (Campana 2020). Moving away from past practices that foster competition, short-term contracts, and lean government funding (Lowe et al. 2017) will strengthen the sector's recovery postpandemic.

INTO THE FUTURE: THE NEED FOR A SOCIAL RESILIENCE POLICY APPROACH TO INTEGRATION

With the COVID-19 crisis, it was quickly apparent that individual migrants and nonmigrants, their families, and the private sector could not provide the supports and societal leadership necessary to navigate the pandemic successfully. It is also clear that neoliberal austerity was not only incapable of addressing the crisis but in fact perpetuated societal inequalities that were magnified by the pandemic. A policy window opened that has allowed an activist and more progressive state to assume centre stage. With bold spending measures, governments of all political stripes used the power of the state to steer society during the pandemic. They implemented a plethora of policies and programs, often styled along Keynesian lines, that provided social services and income supports and stimulated the economy.

Importantly, government funders of immigrant-serving agencies in Ontario and Quebec reassured organizations that their funding would be maintained during the pandemic and that they would not be held to performance outcomes that were no longer achievable because of COVID-19. Flexible government funding enhanced agencies' responses to the pandemic, demonstrating the social resilient approach adopted by Canadian governments during the first eighteen months of the crisis.

While Canadian governments have aggressively responded to COVID-19, there are important gaps in the assistance programs that affect migrants and the nonprofit agencies that provide services. Many nonprofit organizations, especially small agencies, could

not access government supports. In Ontario, pandemic-specific, supplementary provincial funding proved especially inaccessible for nonprofit organizations. Provincial programs were designed primarily for private businesses, and many small, nonprofit organizations lacked the administrative capacity to apply, especially during the pandemic (Ontario Nonprofit Network and l'Assemblée de la Francophonie de l'Ontario 2021a, 2021b). Furthermore, many migrants did not qualify for COVID-19 income assistance programs (Jingco 2020; chapter 4). Shamira Madhany of World Educational Services estimated that half a million migrants did not meet the criteria for COVID-19 related protective measures (Association for Canadian Studies et al. 2020). Without universal coverage, many of the most vulnerable remain uncovered or under-covered by government programs. Temporary foreign workers, international students, and irregular migrants are excluded from supports or find it difficult to qualify for them. Eligibility for government supports needs to expand to include people holding temporary visas.

Policy approaches based in social resilience not only respect human rights, but they are also the foundation for effective health policy. Writing about combating the global pandemic, Lorenzo Guadagno (2020, 3) of the International Migration Organization noted, "Societies that cannot mitigate the economic, social and psychological impacts of the outbreak and related response measures on all communities will be less able to recover effectively and will likely face heavier direct and indirect long-term consequences." The burden of risk must be shifted from the individual and, through public policy and institutions, placed more squarely within the collective. Such policies follow from a social resilience approach to integration that is firmly grounded in solidarity and centred within a social justice and equity lens.

NOTES

1 While *settlement* often refers to the period immediately following migrants' arrival, integration has a more diffuse time horizon, referring to the long-term and to achievement of desired economic, social, and identificational participation (Collyer, Hinger, and Schweitzer 2020).

2 There were three main waves of COVID-19 in Ontario (and in general in Canada): Wave 1 (February 2020–August 2020), Wave 2 (September 2020–Mid–February 2021), and Wave 3 (Mid-February 2021–June 2021) (Wu et al. 2021).

3 Our understanding of COVID-19 case rates and mortality rates is incomplete largely because we cannot yet take full account of uneven geographical and social patterns of testing. For example, caregivers have an elevated case rate that may be due in part to high testing rates (Guttmann et al. 2020).
4 The references to immigrants reflect the limitations of much research that only considers permanent residents and naturalized Canadians born abroad.
5 For more information regarding immigrants as essential workers, see the companion volume, *Social Resilience and the Urban Migrant Experience*.
6 The interviews with key informants from the settlement sector cited here were conducted in 2018 and 2019 as part of a study of immigrant youth and settlement services (see Shields and Lujan 2019).
7 In addition to immigrant-serving agencies that are often incorporated and mainly government funded, grassroots civil society organizations that are neither charities nor corporations, such as CareMongering-TO, Vaccine Hunters Canada, and Black Lives Matter, are playing a key role in the response to the pandemic by filling service gaps by offering mutual aid, often through online organizing, and engaging in social justice activism. Extremely flexible and independent, these initiatives foster transformative change by enhancing the agency of the less powerful in society (Edwards 2021).

3

Municipal Policy Discourses: Uncovering Resilience(s) in Context

Luisa Veronis, Diana Palmerin, Margaret Walton-Roberts, and Virginie Mesana

INTRODUCTION

Resilience generally refers to the capacity of individuals, communities, and systems to cope and survive, to adapt and grow in the presence of stress and shocks, and even to transform themselves when conditions require so (Hall and Lamont 2013). As adversity, complexity, and uncertainty become defining characteristics of our times, it is not surprising that the concept of resilience has been widely adopted in a variety of societal sectors and academic disciplines – including engineering, ecology and ecosystems, psychology, and community development (Xue, Wang, and Yang 2018). In this chapter, we offer a comparative discourse analysis of the use of resilience in provincial and municipal government policy documents relating to immigration, settlement, and integration. The focus is on five census metropolitan areas (CMAs) in two provinces where a large share of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, international students, and temporary workers reside but which feature different models of integration: Montreal and Gatineau in Quebec and Ottawa, Toronto, and Kitchener-Waterloo in Ontario. Providing this comparative analysis of the use of resilience – as narrative, discourse, and policy approach – we contribute to the need to "demonstrate the diversity of 'resilience(s)' in different contexts without totalising all resilience as 'good' or 'bad'" (Rogers, Bohland, and Lawrence 2020, 8).

SOCIAL RESILIENCE AND IMMIGRATION

We adopt the social resilience approach described in Valerie Preston, John Shields, and Marshia Akbar (2022) and chapter 2 to underline that resilience is a dynamic process rather than a specific state or attribute of a social entity. Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont (2013, 2) define social resilience as "the capacity of groups of people bound together in an organization, class, racial group, community or nation to sustain and advance their well-being in the face of challenges to it." The social resilience approach incorporates consideration of human agency, social justice, power relations, discourses, and social institutions.

Most studies adopt either an applied perspective aimed at developing policies and practices that sustain and foster resilience from a government or institutional perspective (Lowndes and McCaughie 2013) or a grassroots approach of community resilience based on acts and movements of local mobilization, solidarity, and transformational resistance intended to alter structures of power (Kirmayer et al. 2009). A third perspective prevalent in the literature takes a critical stance towards the notion of resilience and questions its progressive potential (Fougère and Meriläinen 2021). According to critics (Coaffee 2013), the adoption of resilience aligns with neoliberal policies and forms of governance, including the decentralization of state responsibility and the implementation of austerity measures (Walker and Cooper 2011). According to this argument, a resilience framework is implemented to maintain political and economic status quo, impose community self-sufficiency, increase individual responsibility, and promote local resilience for preparedness and recovery planning through downloading. Yet, for others (Preston et al. 2021; chapter 2), resilience is embedded in wider social-structural contexts and is therefore socially produced, constructed, and conditioned.

Considering these debates, it becomes imperative to scrutinize the meaning and uses of resilience in government policy discourses and their role in shaping resilience. In the context of the Building Migrant Resilience in Cities / Immigration et résilience en milieu urbain (BMRC-IRMU) partnership, we are interested in understanding how policy discourses at different levels of government frame resilience in relation to immigrant settlement and integration and thus contribute to enhancing and/or hindering immigrant and wider community resilience.

METHODOLOGY

We conducted a discourse analysis of government documents in two stages. First, we undertook a broader institutional scanning to record the occurrence of the term "resilience" across provincial (Ontario and Quebec) and municipal (Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Gatineau, Kitchener-Waterloo) levels of government and to document the uses of resilience in sample documents from each level. The second stage involved a more detailed discourse analysis of immigration-related policy documents dealing directly or indirectly with immigration, settlement, integration, and diversity management.

The focus was on the period from 2005 to 2018 to identify trends and changes in the use of the notion of resilience. Due to a low incidence in the use of the term resilience (or resilient and resiliency) in the selected documents, we developed a list of proxies (e.g., challenges, barriers, needs, discrimination, exclusion, and to cope, change, adapt, transform, assist, support) that served to identify and thematically code text that aligned with notions of resilience. Overall, for the selected time frame, we found few municipal documents relating to immigration for second-tier cities in Ontario.

After a preliminary analysis of the policy documents, we developed a codebook to analyze more closely the uses of resilience. The three main coding categories are resilience in practice, structural agents of resilience, and scales and spaces of resilience (see table 3.1).

We use the first category – resilience in practice – to examine the discursive mechanisms governments employ to mobilize and apply resilience, including how resilience is defined, framed, produced, and applied. The second category – structural agents of resilience – serves to identify the structures and entities responsible for initiating, guiding, enacting, fostering, and/or imposing resilience policies and practices. The two main approaches include a top-down or bottom-up model. A social resilience or "systems" approach may involve multiple stakeholders as well as partnerships between them, thus potentially spanning across these two approaches. This is the case for immigrant settlement and integration in Canada, since it is a shared federal-provincial responsibility, and most settlement service providers are based in municipalities; partnerships between these entities (three levels of government and service providers) are essential from a practice perspective. The third category – scales and spaces of resilience – refers to the entities at different scales (macro,

Table 3.1 | Three main coding categories of resilience in policy documents

Resilience in practice	(1) Dynamics of Resilience, (2) Politics of Resilience, and (3) Resilience as Program.
Structural agents of resilience	(1) Top-down strategies (i.e., government and institutional initiatives, including partnerships between agents of resilience); (2) Bottom-up activities (grassroots activism, solidarity networks, and resistance from communities, local organizations, service providers and the groups they serve).
Spaces and scales of resilience	(1) Scales of Resilience refers to both macrolevel institutional systems (e.g., international, national, provincial/state, municipal governments, organizations, partners), and meso- and microlevel social/personal systems at (e.g., individuals, households/families, communities); (2) Spaces of Resilience comprise the geographical contexts (real/imaginary) within which entities are located and identified as "resilient," such as the nation-state, cities and metropolitan regions, urban areas, neighborhoods, and communities.

meso, micro) identified as being or needing to become resilient and specific communities and/or social groups. Below, we present our findings for each of the three categories starting with each province and its respective gateway metropolis, followed by the second-tier cities. We highlight differences between these urban contexts in the degree to which notions of resilience are activated, branded internally, and/or followed through the embedding of broader provincial discourses.

PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRATION AND RESILIENCE

The results of the first stage of analysis show that the term resilience appears much less frequently in immigration-related documents than in other policy sectors (e.g., environment, energy, infrastructure). In

most selected documents, the term is rarely mentioned, except for the municipal documents relating to Montreal's resilience strategy and Toronto's resilience office, given that both gateway metropolises are members of the 100 Resilient Cities program.[1] In second-tier cities, there is less of a unique place-based discourse. Rather, Gatineau's, Ottawa's and Kitchener-Waterloo's discourses tend to reflect provincial norms and trends. Moreover, a large majority of policy documents for these cities do not use the term resilience, thus our analysis is mostly based on the use of proxy terms.

Quebec

RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

In Quebec's provincial documents, the concept of resilience is implicitly mobilized to state broad orientation goals and policy objectives on immigrant integration – without providing definitions or explanations – through branding expressions such as the "full participation of Québécois of all origins … is crucial for Quebec society" (Government of Quebec 2008a; our translation) and the "fight against racism and discrimination is a collective responsibility and society as a whole must participate in it" (Government of Quebec 2008b, 3). This is in contrast to Montreal's municipal documents, which explicitly define resilience and express concrete and detailed policy goals and implementation activities.

In provincial documents, resilience is presented primarily as an institutional and societal issue – that is, to address the challenges the state and provincial institutions face in Quebec, including managing diversity. The most recent provincial policy document available stresses the importance of interculturalism as a normative policy model of immigrant integration and diversity management: "The need … to affirm Quebec's interculturalism as the pluralist model of *vivre-ensemble*" (Government of Quebec 2015, x; our translation). Central to the document is the notion of equality for Québécois of all origins, with a strong narrative of inclusion and pluralism.

In terms of the dynamics of resilience, the primary concern is with developing a model of *vivre-ensemble* based on Quebec's interculturalism policy, albeit with a marked neoliberal flavour that emphasizes economic migration and attracting (highly) skilled workers. Immigrant resilience at the individual level is mentioned when commenting on immigrants' contributions to Quebec's economic

and cultural sustainability (especially the French language), with a focus on full participation and the benefits of diversity in a cosmopolitan context. "Immigrants can contribute to Quebec's prosperity through their skills, their financial contribution or their contribution to business and entrepreneurship, as well as through their participation in public life. … several studies have shown that *diversity is a source of economic and social innovation*" (Government of Quebec 2015, 5; our translation, emphasis added).

The provincial discourses also mobilize dynamics of resilience when referring to citizens' role in managing changes and adversity, putting emphasis on the desired policy *outcomes* (e.g., diversity management, full participation, integration).

AGENTS OF RESILIENCE

Provincial documents suggest a degree of decentralization for resilience initiatives in Quebec, along with collaborations with community and economic actors to achieve resilience policy goals and outputs. The discourse remains relatively constant regarding the importance of collaborations, partnerships, and multidirectional relations within civil society to successfully implement the province's strategic plans on immigration. (On the importance of collaborations during the pandemic, see chapter 12). "Immigration can make a strong contribution to Quebec's economic, demographic, linguistic and socio-cultural development. Integration is the key to success. Integration, however, is a collective undertaking that requires the concerted action of several ministries and agencies as well as civil society" (Government of Quebec 2001, 18; our translation).

All spheres of society are called upon to help manage these challenges and are presented as playing an important role in immigrants' successful integration, representing the whole-of-society approach to migrant settlement and integration identified in chapter 1.

SCALES AND PACES OF RESILIENCE

In the strategic plan concerning immigration, participation, and integration in Quebec, *Politique québécoise en matière d'immigration, de participation et d'intégration* (Government of Quebec 2015), the core narrative refers to the resilience of the provincial immigration system in the face of competition between industrialized countries to attract economic migrants. "In the past few years, many countries have been competing to attract crucial talent … To continue being

attractive, Quebec will have to maintain a dynamic economy, an efficient immigration system and an inclusive society. It will have to establish itself as a destination of choice by promoting notably its quality of life, its openness and its security" (Government of Quebec 2015, 18; our translation). Emphasis is put on selecting the immigrants most likely to successfully integrate.

Relatedly, the strategic plan underlines the importance of speaking French as a key capacity for integration, which also benefits the vitality of Quebec's culture and Francophonie: "An increase in immigration of people with higher levels of French proficiency and the francization of immigrants who do not have sufficient knowledge of French at the time of admission are among the strategies put forward to ensure the vitality of French, facilitate integration, and promote the full participation of immigrants in public life" (Government of Quebec 2015, 7; our translation).

Learning French is more than a prerequisite towards socio-professional integration; it stands as an essential condition for full inclusion and participation in all spheres of society, thus enhancing the resilience of newcomers, the communities where they settle, and Quebec as a distinct "nation" within Canada. While multiple scales of interest are cited (immigrants, communities, Quebec), the main goal is to benefit Quebec society, and in particular its labour market: "Quebec's economic needs and the profile of immigrants must be optimally aligned in order for these people to access jobs that match their skills and thus be able to contribute to Quebec's prosperity. Current selection tools are based on characteristics known to predict successful participation, including education, age, and language skills. The selection of skilled workers must be aligned with the needs of the labour market and reflect the diversity of these needs at the professional, technical, and skilled trades levels" (Government of Quebec 2015, 8; our translation).

Montreal

RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

In 2016, the City of Montreal joined the Resilient Cities Network and created a resilience office, providing strong evidence of its willingness to adopt and apply notions of resilience as part of its policy approach. Specifically, it mobilizes the concept of "urban resilience" which is defined as "the capacity of a city's people, communities,

institutions, businesses and systems to survive, adapt and grow, regardless of the types of chronic stresses and acute shocks they experience" (City of Montreal 2018, 4).

AGENTS OF RESILIENCE

Resilience is used in a concrete, material sense whereby the municipal government is responsible for preventing and reducing the risks and stresses that may affect vulnerable individuals and at-risk groups by investing in the urban community and infrastructure. In Montreal's model of urban resilience, the goal is to benefit a range of local stakeholders (e.g., residents, businesses, people, systems). With regard to immigration, municipal discourses also use precise definitions by referring to ideas of adversity and actions/activities, while citing diverse applications.

SCALES AND SPACES OF RESILIENCE

The notion of resilience is applied to various actors and scales in addition to various "systems" in the city. Two scales stand out: macroscale phenomena such as climate change, infrastructure and vegetation in urban areas, and specific events involving risks of economic downturn and the challenges accompanying the adoption of new technologies. In these cases, the beneficiaries of resilience initiatives are explicitly identified as individual residents and the city as a whole: "The resilience of Montréal and Montrealers has long been put to the test by various challenges and disturbances. Often provoked by the climate context and the island's geographical location, but also by economic and sociopolitical factors, these issues are destined to become more complex with accelerated technological, climate and demographic change" (City of Montreal 2018, 16).

Second, at a micro- and mesoscale, the goal is to prevent increases in vulnerability, stresses, and traumas through resilience initiatives that target individuals and communities. "In addition to real and potential shocks, a number of added stresses also affect Montreal, exerting a significant impact on the well-being of the city's population, both on a daily basis and in emergency situations. Poverty and social inequality, the aging of the population, the impacts of climate change and road congestion, among others, have an impact on Montrealers and their resilience potential. Certain vulnerabilities are insidious and can serve to compound the impacts of a shock" (City of Montreal 2018, 17).

Gatineau

RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

Gatineau's branding reflects key issues of concern to the province of Quebec, namely the role of interculturalism as diversity management policy and the significance of the French language for its prosperity: "French as a common language is the essential tool for rapprochement and intercultural dialogue" (Government of Quebec 2015b, 10; our translation).

Emphasis is also put on cultural diversity, to which immigration is explicitly linked. While some documents refer to challenges relating to immigrants' labour market integration, the focus is primarily on managing cultural differences and values. Some Gatineau documents, especially those where immigrants are the intended audience, stress gender equality as a value that immigrants are expected to respect: "Respect for gender equality as a recognized value of Quebec society" (Ville de Gatineau 2015, 10; our translation).

AGENTS OF RESILIENCE

The City of Gatineau prides itself for being a pioneer in immigration and diversity policy and a model for immigrant integration. Although most initiatives appear to follow a top-down approach, policy documents suggest that the municipal government gives immigrants opportunities to voice their concerns through consultations. It also appears that Gatineau's engagement with resilience necessitates a dialogue between the local population and immigrants.

SPACES AND SCALES OF RESILIENCE

In Gatineau, the importance of interculturality is linked to a preoccupation with immigrants' proficiency in French. The issue of francization, however, is portrayed as a concern not so much for immigrants but in terms of the potential loss of the French language for the Gatineau region.

Ontario and Toronto

RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

For both Ontario and Toronto, the term resilience appears in a few immigration-related documents and is predominantly used in relation to individuals. In the case of Ontario, resilience is often defined

as an attribute that newcomers possess, and in some instances, newcomers were characterized as individuals who were *already* resilient: "Among the thousands of English language learners who attend Ontario schools, there is one group of students who bring both very specific challenges and very special gifts. These are students who, with their families, have fled war, conflict and environmental catastrophe and arrive in Ontario as refugees. *They model perseverance and resilience*, gratitude and desire for education" (Ontario Ministry of Education 2016, 1; emphasis added). These narratives reflect a strength-based ideology, where newcomers' resilience and adaptability are valued.

In the case of Toronto, resilience is detailed by providing explanations and definitions, especially in documents relating to its "civic resiliency" brand, where resilience is commonly associated with values of equity and inclusivity. In particular, the Toronto For All initiative aims to increase residents' civic resiliency through multiple public education campaigns with activities that target specific issues: Islamophobia, anti-Black racism, prejudice against homelessness, and transphobia. These campaigns are generally run jointly by the municipal government and community organizations (e.g., Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants [OCASI], Black Coalition for AIDS Prevention): "The Toronto For All public education initiative supports civic resiliency in Torontonians by inviting public dialogue and engagement. It drives awareness of a social equity issue presently faced by Torontonians and *equips Torontonians and City staff with the knowledge and skills to identify, question, and challenge systemic barriers of discrimination and racism*" (City of Toronto 2017, 1; emphasis added).

The use of the term in civic resiliency documents differs from other immigration documents in several ways. First, the "targets of change" / "targets of resilience" are all residents (immigrant newcomers, nonimmigrants, and especially city staff). Next, civic resiliency is used in a normative sense to encourage individual and community capacity to respond to broader social changes (i.e., Toronto's growing diversity and complexity). And third, resilience is strongly associated with values such as diversity and inclusion, ideologies of justice, equity, and the removal of structural barriers:

> Toronto is the most diverse city in the world, a fact celebrated in the City's motto: Diversity Our Strength. Yet, implicit biases,

> negative attitudes, stereotypes, and prejudices contribute to systemic barriers of discrimination and racism. These barriers continue to negatively impact the safety, wellbeing and life chances of Toronto residents who belong to one or more equity-seeking groups. *When Torontonians fail to recognize diversity as a resource and a source of strength, residents demonstrate low civic resiliency.*
>
> Civic resiliency can be measured in residents' awareness of – and engagement with – the systemic barriers that exist for people in their environment due to group membership. (City of Toronto 2017, 4–5; emphasis added)

AGENTS OF RESILIENCE

Policy documents for both Ontario and Toronto position community-based organizations as the most important entities for resilience policy implementation. Provincial and municipal governments and community organizations' partnerships are prevalent in nearly all documents. Nevertheless, differences appear in the role of each government. In Ontario's policy documents, the federal and provincial governments are positioned as funders of settlement services to foster individual resilience, while municipal governments and community organizations are portrayed as responsible for service provision: "Ontario is allocating more than $22 million over the next two years to support 98 community-based organizations in delivering 117 settlement projects throughout the province. The funding includes support for services for vulnerable populations, including almost $3 million in new funding to support 14 agencies across the province delivering settlement and integration services for at-risk newcomer youth" (Government of Ontario 2016).

The City of Toronto appears more proactive in policy implementation and partnership coordination with community organizations. As the destination for most immigrants in Canada, Toronto describes its important role in actively providing key services to newcomers: "Municipalities play an important role in supporting newcomers as providers of transit, childcare, affordable housing and many other essential services. The City of Toronto provides services to all residents regardless of immigration status, except where mandated by other orders of government. The funders (federal and provincial governments) and providers of services (municipal government and community-based organizations) share leadership for settlement and service integration planning" (City of Toronto 2013, 13).

Even when partnering with community organizations, the City of Toronto is characterized as facilitating communication and collaboration. Documents also suggest that Toronto took the lead in identifying critical issues, finding community partners and experts, marketing, communication, and evaluation, as well as educating city staff regarding equity and diversity. The explicit mention of practitioners in the municipal documents suggests a degree of recognition for their work as social service professionals, their involvement in the policymaking process, and their key role in delivering the programs that support immigrants. This framing reflects the city's emphasis on direct frontline practices to foster immigrant resilience.

SCALES AND SPACES OF RESILIENCE

In most documents for both Ontario and Toronto, resilience is used to describe individuals' or families' capacity under circumstances such as war and trauma (particularly in the refugee context), the migration process, family separation and reunification, discrimination, and structural barriers in Canada. Epistemologically, our analysis suggests that the predominant use of resilience on an individual level is associated with the disciplines of public health and psychology. As such, the ensuing immigration policy activities entail psychological and/or health-based approaches. The role of community-based organizations and practitioners (i.e., settlement workers) is highlighted for housing, schooling, employment supports, trauma counselling, improving access to services, peer support, life skill programs, and so on.

The only exception is one document where the concept of resilience was applied to the entire Ontario workforce to stress the importance of skilled workers to achieve prosperity: "In times of rapid technological change and fierce global competition, we need a skilled and resilient workforce to give us a competitive advantage over other jurisdictions. With this in mind, we continue to attract the best and brightest international students and workers who have the skills we need to strengthen our workforce and ensure continued economic prosperity of all Ontarians" (Government of Ontario 2017, 3). As this quote suggests, activities related to promoting a "resilient workforce" include immigrant-selection policies that focus on highly skilled workers and international students. Similar to Quebec, this framing reflects an explicit neoliberal agenda by associating immigration and global competition with economic prosperity.

Ottawa

RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

Ottawa's municipal documents – as in Kitchener-Waterloo – offer little relevant material on resilience and immigration, which may reflect the fact that settlement and integration are driven primarily by the local settlement sector under the umbrella of the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership (OLIP) (Veronis 2019). The main priority regarding immigration appears to be skilled workers' ability to participate in the labour market and contribute to the economy. Emphasis is put on fostering entrepreneurship as a form of immigrant economic resilience, reflecting Ontario's broad provincial priorities: "One of the four pillars in the City of Ottawa's Economic Development Strategy is entrepreneurialism. This represents an opportunity to support the economic integration of immigrants while aligning with provincial priorities and plans" (City of Ottawa 2016, 15; see also chapter 5 on immigrant entrepreneurs).

Immigrants' proficiency in Canada's official languages also informs labour market inclusion as a priority; here, linguistic skills are interpreted as an economic competence rather than a component of cultural identity (in contrast to Quebec and Gatineau).

AGENTS OF RESILIENCE

The City of Ottawa (2016, 14) positions itself as an actor in supporting immigrants' economic resilience in its role as employer: "The City of Ottawa will contribute to successful immigrant integration by improving access to City jobs and supporting economic integration through entrepreneurship." The operationalization of immigrant labour market integration stands out as the main issue animating Ottawa's resilience discourse and, in particular, the promotion of entrepreneurship as a model of economic success for immigrants.

SPACES AND SCALES OF RESILIENCE

In Ottawa, the main priority is immigrants' labour market participation, with little discussion of other needs. Although documents published by community organizations discuss a variety of challenges and barriers immigrants face, municipal documents focus mostly on services provided to assist immigrants.

Kitchener-Waterloo

Most of the documents selected for analysis were produced by the Waterloo Region Immigration Partnership (WRIP), which, similarly to OLIP, exists under the federal-provincial government program and represents the local immigrant-serving sector (Cullen and Walton-Roberts 2019). Kitchener-Waterloo has a two-tier government, and both the upper-tier regional government and lower-tier municipal governments participate as partners in the Local Immigration Partnership (LIP).

RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

In Kitchener-Waterloo, policy documents express a strong narrative of community, whereby it is important for newcomers to achieve individual resilience to then contribute to the receiving community's overall resilience. The notion of "welcoming communities" (Esses et al. 2010) is cited in several documents and used as a brand with a desirable connotation: "To develop a comprehensive and collaborative settlement and integration strategy. This strategy is part of planning for future growth in Waterloo Region, but it is also about creating a welcoming and sustainable community" (WRLIPC 2010, 4).

Individuals and families are seen as the primary beneficiaries of increased resilience, but documents also emphasize that resilience at this scale ultimately contributes to enhancing community resilience. For instance, the 2006 Region of Waterloo immigrant health report discusses immigrants' resilience in terms of their physical and mental health: "The health of immigrants is a critical concern *on the level of individual health and the health of the broader community* … For the health of our community and our economy it is imperative that we ensure the accessibility of supports and services, maintain the 'health advantage' for immigrants, and address the gap between immigrant skills and employment" (Miedena and Vandebelt 2006, iii; emphasis added).

Kitchener-Waterloo's regional economic resilience is also presented as benefiting from immigrants' skills: "Immigrants bring a range of diverse skills, education, qualifications and creative insight to companies and organizations. These skills and experiences offer employers global expertise, access to global markets, foreign investment opportunities and an increased understanding of new business

practices. It also makes economic sense to provide immigrants with opportunities to use their full potential" (WRIP 2014, 4).

Lastly, there are implicit references to resilience in terms of how newcomers can enhance the community's ability to succeed. As such, immigration is discursively positioned as compatible with and part of a broader agenda of community development.

AGENTS OF RESILIENCE

In contrast to the other cities, policy documents in Kitchener-Waterloo present a strong tendency towards a bottom-up approach to resilience, led primarily by local entities through the WRIP. This reflects the fact that the LIP was founded following a Community Forum that served to get local input on its direction and structure and stakeholder inclusion in the partnership to plan and execute actions (WRLIPC 2010).

SCALES AND SPACES OF RESILIENCE

Resilience is invoked at two geographical scales: the microlevel of the individual and household and the local scale of community, urban area, and region. The institutional levels of resilience include local organizations, individuals, and the municipal (regional) government (although federal and provincial governments also play a role in the WRIP's existence).

In this "community-centric" narrative, community resilience is understood as incorporating newcomer diversity into local life. To support newcomer resilience (and hence overall community resilience), collaborations across spaces and scales are to take place, which in Kitchener-Waterloo is achieved through the LIP.

CONCLUSION

Resilience is widely employed to describe desired individual and social responses and capacities to manage the shocks and stresses evident in contemporary society. Our study on the discursive use of this term and related proxies regarding immigrant settlement and integration policies contributes to advancing research in this field in two main ways. First, we developed a practical methodological approach to analyze the use of resilience (and proxy terms) in policy discourses – distinguishing between the meanings and framing of resilience (i.e., how the term is used in practice), the agents involved

(i.e., structures of power), and the targets of the discourses (who and what ought to become resilient) – that can easily be adopted in a variety of other contexts. Second, our comparative analysis of municipal and provincial discourses of resilience regarding immigration provides empirical insights into the significance of geographical context and scale of governance in how the term is mobilized; we identified differentiated interests in what resilience is expected to achieve in relation to given groups, spaces, and territories. Thus, our findings highlight the malleability of the notion of resilience to fit particular agendas: governments can frame and adapt its use to advance certain values, norms, and programs with the aim to achieve specific outcomes (be it economic growth, community development, or advancing linguistic or social justice goals related to broader community aspirations).

In terms of practice, the provincial discourses tend towards branding that emphasizes more abstracted concerns, being economic (contribution to economic development through skills and entrepreneurship) as well as cultural (French language in Quebec and interculturalism). Practice at the municipal level tends towards more concrete applications of resilience in terms of individual and community success and well-being. The structural agents at each scale reflect this practice dimension in that community and grassroots organizations are more closely aligned to the municipal scale in terms of service operation and settlement activities, but the provincial scale is involved in funding and framing these services and advancing discourses or branding desired outcomes at the abstract level (e.g., inclusion, economic and social development). Spaces and scales of resilience are reflective of the closeness of each level of governance to communities. For provincial governments, resilience helps to frame the desired policy outcomes in economic, social, and cultural terms in the context of international competition for skilled workers and national development agendas. Again, the linguistic context differs in terms of its cultural (Quebec) and economic value at the scale of society, but both Ontario and Quebec utilize (neoliberal) resilience discourses to advance immigrant economic contribution for the benefit of the wider political unit. At the municipal level, spaces include urban community and infrastructural issues, and resilience is articulated through ideas of inclusion and antidiscrimination and particularly focused on specific spaces such as service provision and schools.

Lastly, our findings demonstrate the continued significance of collaborative approaches to the governance of immigration and integration, a characteristic that is specific to Canada (Cockram et al. 2021; Praznik and Shields, 2018a, 2018b; chapter 12). Since improved understanding of how governance actors apply ideas of social and individual resilience is key to enabling enhanced evaluation of policies in terms of both the sector and scale of interest, further examination is warranted of how the collaborative governance of immigration and integration is articulated with discourses of resilience, and to what ends.

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NOTE

1 Launched by the Rockefeller Foundation in 2013, the Resilient Cities Network provided selected cities with funding to hire a chief resilience officer to guide the development of their resilience strategy, in addition to access to various services and supports through the global network of chief resilience officers (https://resilientcitiesnetwork.org/our-story/). Being members of the network at this scale partly frames the approach of these two city members, in terms of having hired chief resilience officers and having addressed the four principles of the Resilient Cities Network; namely, city-led, impact focused, regionally driven, and partnership based.

4

Policy Responses to COVID-19: Equitable Resilience in Action

Christina Gabriel and Muna Osman

> Pre-existing conditions of [the life of] racialized populations and systemic issues – such as racism and discrimination – have to be identified. These conditions – like housing, employment, food – affect everything we do. We already knew of these challenges; COVID just exposed them.
>
> – Community dialogue participant, *The Impact of COVID-19 on Immigrants and Racialized Communities in Ottawa: A Community Dialogue* (OLIP 2020)

INTRODUCTION

On 11 March 2020, the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a global pandemic. Immediately, states around the world moved to secure borders and impose health measures, such as quarantine, to control viral spread. As the pandemic unfolded, new issues came to the fore, including access to vaccines and debates around vaccine mandates. These issues played out within global forums and drew together international organizations and state actors in dialogue. Of key concern was the effect of COVID-19 on global mobility (see Benton et al. 2021) and its differential impacts on migrants. But the pandemic reverberated through a series of interconnected scales – of which the global was just one.

In Canada, COVID-19 greatly affected the workings of the national immigration system (Esses et al. 2021); drew attention to shortfalls in care and the essential role migrants played in key sectors such as agriculture, grocery, meatpacking, and health care; and exposed the socioeconomic vulnerabilities of many newcomers.

Institutional responses to the pandemic took place within a multilevel dynamic operating across national, provincial, and local scales. National policy regimes largely govern migration and integration, as explained in chapter 1. Working in tandem with the federal government is a constellation of local groups and networks – the settlement sector – who play an important role in how integration processes are experienced on the ground. This sector was also involved in pandemic responses and leadership at the local level. In this chapter, we draw attention to the ways the pandemic prompts a consideration of how resilience in practice needs to be attentive to issues of equity and power. The pandemic did not affect all groups in the same way. Policy responses, as discussed below, need to be attuned to their possible differential impact if they do not wish to entrench or exacerbate existing vulnerabilities. Within this context, community-based organizations have the potential to bring the concerns of the marginalized to the fore and shape local policy responses

This chapter proceeds in three sections. First, we briefly probe the concept of resilience and draw linkages to the broader institutional landscape marked by national and local interventions that framed newcomers' abilities to navigate the adverse outcomes of the pandemic. Second, we detail some of the aspects of the COVID-19 Economic Response Plan, introduced at the national scale by the federal government to support individuals as they navigated the adverse outcomes of the pandemic. Lastly, we draw attention to the importance of the local scale by focusing on the activities of the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership (OLIP)[1] during the pandemic. OLIP's work makes clear that a one-size-fits-all response may not be appropriate for all people, and especially not for those who were at the margins before the pandemic took hold.

RESILIENCE AND THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Newcomers in Canada can face a number of challenges, including securing employment and housing and experiencing feelings of isolation, as they establish a new life in Canada. The pandemic complicated these challenges and made visible many vulnerabilities and disadvantages newcomers already experience. The concept of resilience offers a way to understand how people cope with adversity and crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. However, there are different understandings of resilience. For example, neoliberal accounts

of resilience focus on individual capacities and ability to adapt to change. These accounts, discussed in detail in chapter 2, tend to sideline the role the state and other societal institutions play in individual experience (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020, 6–7; Hall and Lamont 2013). In contrast, a social resilience approach offers a more robust understanding of resilience insofar as the "perspective stresses the transformative capacities of individuals, groups, and social institutions in dealing with challenges and simultaneously recognizes how power relations and institutional structures shape these capacities" (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022, 1424). The social resilience approach provides a useful frame to consider questions regarding migration and settlement because it is attentive to the manner in which actors are located with specific contexts, it offers a relational account between individuals and institutions, and it prompts attention to how newcomers are engaged in struggles around resistance and reinvention (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022, 1424–25)

In contrast to neoliberal conceptualizations of resilience that sideline asymmetrical relations of power, the social resilience approach, with its emphasis on the capacities and strategies that migrants marshal as they encounter adversity, "takes account of the social inequalities that shape migrants' participation in the societies where they are building new lives" (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022, 1422). In a similar vein, scholars Nilufar Matin, John Forrester, and Jonathan Ensor (2018, 202) also address issues of power and equity by speaking of equitable resilience as "that form of resilience which is increasingly likely when resilience practice takes into account issues of social vulnerability and differential access to power, knowledge, and resources; it requires starting from people's own perception of their position with their human-environmental system, and it accounts for their realities and for their need for a change of circumstance to avoid imbalances of power into the future."

The social resilience approach also draws attention to the differing roles of state civil society organizations and how the relationships engendered by these roles affected newcomers during the COVID-19 pandemic. On the international stage, Canadian programs have been hailed as a model for immigration and integration policies. "Canada stands out because of a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach to immigration which includes all levels of government … employers, and civil society in selection and settlement policy" (Esses et al. 2021, 65). Within the current federal system, immigration is

a concurrent power shared between the federal government and the provinces. From 2007 on, provinces have played a greater role in immigration through federal-provincial agreements. As discussed in chapter 1, Canada's immigration model is also coupled with a strong settlement sector providing a network of government-funded settlement supports that include reception, job counselling, language instruction, childcare assistance, and house hunting (see also Praznik and Shields 2018c). "Currently there are over 500 settlement providers across Canada (not including Quebec)." While Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) provides the bulk of funding, other funding sources include provincial and municipal governments, community groups, and the private sector (Esses et al. 2021, 22). This settlement infrastructure, with its varied supports, may facilitate migrant resilience in the settlement process insofar as these institutions help newcomers by providing resources to manage the challenges associated with migration and settlement (Broughton and Shields 2020, 3). In short, Canada's immigration infrastructure has become increasingly decentralized – not only are the federal and provincial governments involved, but increasingly, cities are places where policy plays out along with a range of new actors. A social resilience perspective "draws attention to the diversity of institutions that influence integration and the interactions and inter-relations among them that influence the integration of international migrants in specific locales" (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022, 1428).

Place, whether involving macroprocesses associated with the nation-state and elites or more microprocesses at a local level, as feminist geographer Lynn Staeheli (2003, 164) has observed, is deeply implicated in politics. The Canadian approach to migration and settlement suggests that cities are increasingly the places where new policy approaches to migration and integration are introduced, debated, and facilitated. The multilevel collaborative governance associated with the decentralization of migration governance has the potential to address policy gaps across jurisdictions and enable the development of policy "in more flexible, responsive, and participatory ways" (Bradford and Andrew 2010, 7). Neil Bradford (2005, v), for example, outlines the elements of a place-based framework. These include: "Tapping local knowledge; finding the right policy mix; governing through collaboration; recognizing local government." In many ways the Canadian approach, as Oliver

Schmidtke (2019, 36) argues, provides an exemplar "of the power of place-based, community-driven modes of shaping integration and providing newcomers and minorities with real opportunities for engagement and empowerment." As discussed below, many COVID-19 measures to support individuals were fashioned at the national level by the federal government. However, local settlement institutions and programs also played important roles in facilitating the resilience of migrant communities during the pandemic.

Local Immigration Partnerships

Unique to the "Canadian model of settlement" approach is the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) structure. The LIPs have been characterized as a pioneering program initiated by federal/provincial governments to provide cities with the capacity to promote local policy change and long-term proactive strategic planning around immigration and settlement issues (Schmidtke 2019, 35–36). This initiative was prompted, in part, by a concern about gaps in services, duplication, poor settlement outcomes, and an increasing interest from municipalities in immigration issues. Within this context, the federal government stepped in and provided funding for a new community driven structure (Bradford and Andrew 2010, 9–10). LIPs do not provide direct service delivery but are characterized as "community-based councils" bringing together not just organizations serving immigrant and refugee groups but school boards, public health units, and municipal governments (Walton-Roberts et al. 2019, 351). As Schmidtke (2019, 36) puts it, "The mandate of the LIPs to use the entire social infrastructure of the community to tackle issues of settlement and integration has had notable effects on the broader governance of migration at the city level … In particular, community groups in civil society and migrants themselves have been able to more fully engage in bottom-up grassroots initiatives."

Of the more than thirty-five LIPs in Ontario, OLIP was one of the earliest. Established through an effort led by Local Agencies Serving Immigrants and the City of Ottawa (Veronis 2019, 395), OLIP now draws together eighty local organizations in a multisectoral partnership "designed to build local capacity to attract, settle and integrate immigrants in five sectors: education; economic integration; health and well-being; language; and socio-civic integration" (OLIP 2023). This coordination mandate and the relationships with a variety of

"on-the-ground" partners came into play as the pandemic unfolded insofar as OLIP was not only well-placed to document COVID-19 related vulnerabilities and power asymmetries but also had the potential to develop new inclusive place-based policy practices moving forward.

COVID-19 AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RECOVERY MEASURES

The impact of COVID-19 in Canada and elsewhere has been far-reaching and profound. Within Canada, there were travel restrictions, lockdowns, and closures of nonessential workplaces and schools as governments moved to contain the spread of the virus. These measures created major disruptions to the economy, and consequently, millions of Canadians experienced job losses. Indeed, it is reported that the Canadian economy experienced the sharpest contraction since the Great Depression of the 1930s (Canadian Press 2021). With the onset of the pandemic, the inherent weaknesses of the economy and welfare state protections became increasingly clear. Changes in the Canadian labour market meant that many people were precariously employed in nonstandard forms of work such as self-employment, contract, and part-time work. This work is often insecure, characterized by low wages and no access to employment benefits. Additionally, there has been a pattern of government retrenchment that negatively affected unemployment benefits and social assistance. Retrenchment has been a feature of a shrinking welfare state (Segal, Banting, and Forget 2021, 395). It is against this backdrop that COVID-19's effects must be considered. Not surprisingly, the pandemic did not affect all groups of people in the same way. It exacerbated existing systemic inequalities.

In this section, we map some of the national government's responses to the pandemic by focusing on some programs that were directed to individuals across the country. These state-provided funds were critical in fostering social resilience insofar as they provided income supports that allowed Canadians to navigate the disruptions and adverse outcomes associated with the global pandemic.

In March 2020, the federal government introduced the COVID-19 Economic Response Plan – programs designed to provide supports to individuals and sectors affected by the pandemic. These programs were rolled out quickly and the government provided "over $212

billion in direct support to Canadians and businesses" (Department of Finance Canada 2020, 13). We highlight some programs here because they touched the lives of many Canadians. These included:

- *Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB)*: This income support program was introduced in March 2020. It provided $2,000 per month to support workers experiencing a change in job status or income. Contract and self-employed individuals who lost income as a result of COVID-19 were also eligible for the benefit (Department of Finance Canada 2020, 23).
- *Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS)*: This program was designed to allow employers who met eligibility criteria to retain or rehire workers. It delivered a wage subsidy of 75 per cent of wages up to $847 per employee (Department of Finance Canada 2020, 17).
- *Canada Emergency Student Benefit (CESB)*: This benefit was directed at postsecondary students and recent graduates who could not access CERB or Employment Insurance (EI) and "and who are unable to find employment or unable to work because of COVID-19." It provided support up to $5,000 from May to August 2020 (Department of Finance Canada 2020, 25).

These supports were a source of social resilience insofar as they allowed individuals to negotiate the adverse outcomes of the pandemic. Their impact should not be underestimated.

The CERB offers a case in point. It played a critical role in helping many people weather the loss of earnings through the first wave of the pandemic. As of June 2020, more than $53 billion had been paid to recipients (Department of Finance Canada 2020, 23). A recent Statistics Canada report (Morissette et al. 2021, 3) indicates the CERB's broad reach and importance by documenting the characteristics of applicants and recipients. It reports that 35.2 per cent of workers who earned at least $5,000 in 2019 received CERB payments, with women receiving payments more often than men. Visible minority workers "were hit harder than others by various social, economic and health impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. Many of them were also exposed to the risk of contracting COVID-19 while at work, which may have forced them to stop working and apply for the CERB." Consequently, 41.4 per cent of population groups designated visible minorities collected CERB as compared to

32 per cent of people who were not members of these groups (7). Given that the economic downturn profoundly affected low wage employees, these workers were more likely to be recipients of CERB payments. The report also highlighted that "of all immigrant workers admitted to Canada from 1980 to 2019, 41.2% received the CERB in the first months of the pandemic," with refugees most likely to have received payments (51.6%) "compared to 46.2% of family-sponsored immigrants and 32% of economic immigrants" (9). These figures underscore the importance of the CERB as a critical resource for many Canadians. They are also telling insofar as they reveal which groups were more economically precarious.

This said, many migrants, temporary workers, and international students still fell between the cracks. The Migrant Workers Alliance for Change pointed out that the CERB did not address the needs of many temporary migrant workers and those migrants who do not have social insurance numbers (Hjalmarson 2020). In some instances, permanent residents were also concerned that accepting CERB payments might be seen as a form of social assistance and would jeopardize their sponsorship applications (see, for example, Fogarty 2020). A World Education Services' survey of different migrant groups also indicates their economic vulnerability during the pandemic: 14 per cent experienced job loss due to COVID 19, one in five could not meet housing expenses, and one in ten was experiencing problems meeting essential needs, such as groceries and medicine. Many of these workers were not able to access income supports (Atlin and Mehboob 2021, 2). For example, data obtained from 4,932 survey responses indicated that 52 per cent of individuals who lost their jobs or experienced reduced hours or pay did not receive either CERB or Employment Insurance. Many did not know about the benefit or thought they were ineligible (9). Only 19 per cent of permanent residents in the survey contacted a social service agency for help: "12 per cent reported that they were interested in contacting a social service but didn't know how, and more than a quarter (27 percent) reported that they did not think they were eligible for services." The report also highlighted that "only 7 per cent of TFWs[2] [Temporary Foreign Workers] and 9 per cent of study permit holders had done so." Eligibility requirements were cited as the main reason TFWs and international students did not reach out to service agencies (9–10). Many migrants and racialized groups were economically vulnerable before the pandemic, and as a result,

they experienced greater financial hardship. Not all of them, as this report indicates, were able to obtain income support through programs such as CERB. This raises issues of inclusivity and equity in the recovery period. As John Shields and Zainab Abu Alrob (2020, 37) have observed, "Social resilience responses from government will require an activist state … Times of crisis can open policy windows that provide opportunities for sweeping structural reforms." While it may be premature to speculate on the legacy of COVID-19 related policy measures, the pandemic's differential impacts and the uneven take up of recovery measures demonstrate the need for more equitable policy solutions.

CASE STUDY: OTTAWA AND OLIP ACTIVITIES DURING THE PANDEMIC

A social resilience perspective considers the importance of specific institutional contexts. The Economic Response Plan was introduced at the national scale and promoted resilience broadly. But this response to the pandemic was implemented through a number of interrelated scales. The national state and its provincial counterparts are not the only institutions implicated in the construction of socially resilient systems. The settlement sector, at the local scale, also played a critical role (see chapter 2 for more discussion of the settlement sector in Ontario and Quebec). This section focuses on Ottawa and the impact of COVID-19 on newcomers. The public health and employment issues identified in large migrant receiving cities such as Toronto were replicated in the City of Ottawa with a much smaller migrant population. Within this local context, we focus on the role of OLIP and how it used the LIP structure to foster collaboration and engage in strategic coordination among its multisectoral partners. In many ways, its actions during the pandemic speak to the place-based policy model of settlement proposed by Bradford (2005). In particular, OLIP was engaged in a process of what Bradford termed "tapping local knowledge." This process "engages different forms of localized expertise including the 'lived experience' of residents, the 'action research' of community organizations, and the 'technical data' of statistical agencies" (v). In doing so, we suggest OLIP was engaged in a practice of engendering equitable resilience.

Snapshots: Ottawa-Gatineau and COVID-19

The geographic scope of OLIP's work is the City of Ottawa. However, the city is part of the broader metropolitan region of Ottawa-Gatineau. It is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a complete demographic snapshot of immigrants in the region, but some features are important to note. A study of 2016 immigration categories by admission indicates that the province of Ontario "is home to about half of all immigrants to Canada" and, within Ontario, those immigrants are concentrated in urban centres such as Toronto (Akbar, Ray, and Preston 2018, 1). For instance, 78 per cent of all economic immigrants in Ontario are found in Toronto and only 6.7 per cent are in Ottawa-Gatineau (8). Nevertheless, the number of immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau is substantial. Geographer Brian Ray (2021) notes that the population of Ottawa-Gatineau in 2016 numbered slightly more than 1.3 million people and of these "approximately 255,800 were permanent residents, and another 17,200 were non-permanent or temporary residents" (11). In terms of economic and labour force characteristics, Ottawa-Gatineau is somewhat different from other Canadian cities insofar as it is a service-based economy with "almost no manufacturing activity" (5). The largest employer in the region, the Federal Public Service, with its citizenship preferences, often excludes newcomers (6). Ray also found that more immigrants than Canadian-born individuals are employed in health care and social assistance (26).

It is against this demographic and labour market landscape that the COVID-19 pandemic played out in the City of Ottawa. The full impact of the health crisis on newcomers remains to be seen, but data from Ottawa Public Health (OPH), collected in the first year of the pandemic, offers some insights into what happened in the nation's capital. In many ways, trends in the region are similar to those in the province as a whole. OPH (2020) collected sociodemographic data from 1,444 individuals diagnosed with COVID-19 before August 2020 and who did not live in a congregate setting such as a retirement home. The OPH data revealed several key findings:

- Racialized populations (particularly those who identify as Black) are over-represented among people diagnosed with COVID-19 in Ottawa.

- In most racial groups, females are more likely to be diagnosed with COVID-19 than males.
- Among people diagnosed with COVID-19, most of those who are racialized are immigrants (i.e., not born in Canada); people who identify as Middle Eastern, Black, and South Asian appear to be more recent immigrants (within the last 5 years).
- People working in health-related occupations have been the most affected by COVID-19; people who are racialized are overrepresented across all health-related occupation categories.

Statistics Canada has documented COVID-19 mortality rates within Canadian neighbourhoods based on the proportion of the population that identifies as visible minorities. It reported, "In Quebec and Ontario, the age-standardized mortality rate in neighbourhoods with the highest proportions of population groups designated as visible minorities was more than three times higher than that of the neighbourhoods with the lowest proportions of population groups designated as visible minorities" (Subedi, Greenberg, and Turcotte 2020, 4).

In Ottawa, CBC News (2020b) reported that OPH's data also demonstrates that "areas in Ottawa with the highest percentage of recent immigrants and racialized minorities have rates of COVID-19 almost twice that of areas with the fewest recent immigrants or racialized minorities." The same held true for areas in Ottawa with the most material deprivation. Ottawa's chief medical officer of health went on the record to state, "We need to address anti-black racism and racism in the community … We need better data to understand how racism affects people's health, but it's clear that it does. And we're not waiting for all of the data to act" (CBC News 2020c).

In sum, migrant and racialized groups were more exposed to the risks and impacts of COVID-19 due to multiple factors related to their life conditions. Although many health, social, and economic disparities are not new for migrant and racialized communities, the context of the pandemic has significantly exacerbated these conditions. Using a social determinants of health lens, it was clear these communities faced barriers in accessing health care and were overrepresented as providers of essential and front-line services. Provincial and municipal levels of government collected data that consistently show migrants were more exposed and had

fewer protections available to them throughout the pandemic than the Canadian-born. Compared to Ottawa residents who are not migrants, migrants are more exposed to unstable and unaffordable housing options in unsafe neighbourhoods, suffer economic injustices resulting in low incomes, and have limited access to quality health care options to meet their needs. The public health protection measures imposed early in the pandemic created additional barriers, including limited mobility, isolation, and reduced access to services as they moved online, that had a disproportionally negative impact on those who were marginalized.

OLIP's Response to the Pandemic

> Communities are resilient and they can come-up with solutions. Sometimes the best that can be done is to provide resources and let them come-up with the answers.
>
> – Community dialogue participant, *The Impact of COVID-19 on Immigrants and Racialized Communities in Ottawa: A Community Dialogue* (OLIP 2020)

OLIP as an institution was well-placed to play a key role in responding to the pandemic and facilitating processes of equitable resilience. Several pre-COVID-19 enablers supported OLIP's capacity to address the inequities of the pandemic. At a provincial level, health equity policy prioritized marginalized communities. The Ontario Ministry of Health had health equity standards, assessment tools, and resources available for local agencies to advance health equity. At a local level, there were municipal strategies and plans on anti-racism. Among OLIP partners, there was a shared vision for immigrant integration, which included immigrant health and well-being as a key priority. Many partners were also part of the Equity Ottawa initiative and community of practice, a space for multisectoral partners to build authentic relationships, have dialogues about equitable organizational change, and explore ways to include community voices in the equitable planning and delivery of services. There was also a growing focus among partners to enhance disaggregated sociodemographic data collection and analysis to inform service planning and enrich accountability. Through these varied activities, OLIP provided a critical platform to discuss complex issues and plan collaborative efforts.

Additionally, OLIP is structured around sector tables that are designed to meet the priorities of Ottawa's Immigration Strategy (OIS). "Collectively [they] identify feasible ideas that advance the priorities outlined in the OIS, engage partners to develop proposals and secure funding, track progress, and address challenges that arise" (OLIP 2023). At the start of the pandemic, OLIP leveraged the Health and Wellbeing Sector Table to organize frequent meetings with partners from multiple sectors with "the aim of mobilizing collaborative leadership and actions to mitigate the health risks facing immigrants and racialized populations in Ottawa" (OLIP 2020, 4). The online meetings, which averaged thirty-five to forty participants, were a site for OLIP partners, health leaders, city officials, and community partners to learn about the risks facing communities, plan ways to best serve them, and implement collaborative and coordinated initiatives. Participants relied on a social determinants of health lens to identify the complex life conditions underlying the increased impact of the pandemic on migrants and identify points of intervention to mitigate these risks. In OLIP's (2020, 4) words, "The Health and Wellbeing Sector Table thus emerged as a platform for building an equity lens in Ottawa's response to the COVID-19 pandemic."

As noted earlier, a key starting point for a process of equitable resilience is beginning from people's own perceptions of their lived experience. In October 2020, OLIP convened a Community Dialogue on the Impact of COVID on immigrants and racialized communities. This event drew together seventy participants to gain community-based insights. At the meeting, OPH presented its analysis of the socioeconomic demographic characteristics of clusters of COVID-19. Participants also heard about the work and life conditions of immigrants and racialized people in Ottawa and their risks of COVID exposure as revealed by the COVID-19 Equity Data Initiative (OLIP 2020, 3–6). Discussions focused on the factors that rendered immigrants and racialized groups disproportionately more vulnerable to the pandemic, especially precarious employment, transportation, housing conditions, access to information, financial and food insecurity, immigration status, the digital divide for low-income communities, and mental health challenges (OLIP 2020, 8–9). These findings were subsequently published. In this way, OLIP played an important role in generating awareness in the broader community of the unique challenges faced by migrants and racialized groups in Ottawa during the pandemic. These challenges included

reliance on public transit, inadequate and high-density housing, and working in essential services. Based on the Statistics Canada 2016 census, at a population level, we know several things about recent immigrants in Ottawa:

- They are more likely to live in inadequate and high-density housing (i.e., five or more individuals per household), which makes physical distancing very difficult if a family member has COVID (Statistics Canada, Census 2016a).
- They are more likely, and at times almost twice as likely, to be employed in essential services (health occupations, support, and food services) than nonimmigrants (Statistics Canada, Census, 2016b).
- They are almost twice as likely to rely on public transit for commute than nonimmigrants (Statistics Canada, Census, 2016c).

OLIP mobilized health sector partners to develop immediate actions and collectively publish a call to action to mitigate the disproportionate impact of COVID on migrants and racialized groups. One key proposed action was the collection and use of sociodemographic data to inform planning, implementation, and evaluation of protection and prevention measures. To monitor the prevalence and impact of COVID-19, OLIP, its health partners, and community members called for the collection of data on race, gender, country of origin, economic vulnerabilities, and immigration status, among other variables. As part of this campaign, Ottawa Public Health held a press conference in November 2020 on the impact of COVID-19 on racialized communities, where OLIP's director Hindia Mohamoud, as well as the co-chairs of the Health and Wellbeing Sector Table, Naini Cloutier and Andrea Gardner, spoke.

OLIP's Health and Wellbeing Sector Table initiated the *Strengthening Disaggregated Sociodemographic Data Related to COVID-19 Initiative* with funding from the Ottawa Community Foundation. Using the three strategic components of partnership, data, and community engagement, this data initiative enhanced OLIP's strategic vision to build the data capacity of organizations to collect and use disaggregated data in Ottawa. *Collaborative partnerships* were essential to mobilize a coordinated and data-driven response to COVID. *Research* evidence and data focused activities involved engaging researchers to identify the underlying vulnerabilities behind

the disproportionate impact of COVID on migrants and racialized people. *Community engagement* was used to build knowledge and awareness of community needs and to drive equitable health protection. As part of this data initiative, OLIP, with health partners and its academic and community members, successfully advanced several collaborative activities to plan for the protection and needs of migrant and racialized communities. They included working with Ottawa Health Team, Ottawa Public Health, and other health partners to establish a neighbourhood-based health protection and promotion response focusing on the most impacted communities. Mobile testing and vaccine clinics were implemented, weekly metrics on effectiveness collected, and a weekly platform to share strategies and document lessons learned was established. Based on a social resilience framework, OLIP worked to advance organizational capacity to use sociodemographic data to measure health disparities and inform health planning for migrants and racialized communities.

As the COVID pandemic receded, new plans and activities guided how to build back better (see chapter 12 for a discussion of the efforts of other LIPs and immigrant-serving agencies to learn from the pandemic). OLIP documented the lessons learned by its partners. Collectively, the partnership underlined the need for coordinated and collaborative responses, the severity of the health disparities facing migrants and racialized populations, the centrality of economic injustice and systemic racism for health and well-being, the importance of community connections and targeted engagements, and the urgency to build organizational capacity to collect and use disaggregated data. Drawing on pandemic learnings, new plans were formulated to build a novel data strategy, develop capacity across the partnership, and renew the cross-sectoral newcomer integration strategy. These strategies will enable collaborative advocacy to address limited access to primary care during current physician shortages and alternative responses to mental health crisis. With these new developments, OLIP, with its multisectoral partners and community members, can ensure that Ottawa builds back better.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we drew on a social resilience approach, with its emphasis on structural factors, institutional contexts, power, and the interrelations between individuals and institutions, to examine

responses to the pandemic at the national and local scales. Such responses are critical underpinnings of resilience. The global pandemic affected people from all walks of life in Canada. The federal government's Economic Recovery Program, with its critical state supports, was an effort to support resilience at a time of crisis. But the pandemic's impacts were unequal. Some groups, such as migrants, were disproportionately affected. Many migrants could not access state supports such as CERB because they were ineligible and/or they were not aware of them. Consequently, a one-size-fits-all strategy may reproduce, exacerbate, and entrench existing vulnerabilities. This case demonstrates the need to think about more equitable and inclusive public policy responses to crises such as the pandemic. Doing so not only requires including migrants, newcomers, and their organizations at the beginning of the policy process but also providing them with the ongoing capacity to participate.

OLIP's interventions, at the local scale, are an example of social resilience in action insofar as it was instrumental in promoting the efforts of migrants and community organizations. It typifies Valerie Preston, John Shields, and Marshia Akbar's (2022, 1425) contention that a social resilience approach "acknowledges their efforts to engage in the politics of COVID-19 and shape post-pandemic societies." In particular, OLIP shaped the resilience of migrants and newcomers in the face of the pandemic in two ways. First, the activities of OLIP in Ottawa can be seen as efforts to promote equitable resilience *strategically* – insofar as many of its efforts were of an immediate nature such as improving access to health care and raising awareness of the unequal situation of migrants and racialized populations. Second, its work to engender collaborative partnerships and its calls for disaggregated data and metrics and the need to problematize root causes behind existing vulnerabilities speak to a more *transformative* process aimed at developing new inclusive policy strategies as we move forward in the recovery period.

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NOTES

1 The Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership is a member of the SSHRC Sponsored Partnership – Building Migration Resilience in Cities – Immigration et resilience en milieu urbain.

2 TFW refers to temporary foreign workers whose visas only permit a fixed period of residence and work in Canada.

PART TWO

Economic Institutions

Economic institutions influence all aspects of international migrants' integration in Canada, shaping migrant resilience. To be truly resilient, migrants, like all Canadians, need secure and sustainable economic footholds in society. Migrants and their family members must engage successfully with the labour market as employees and with capitalist marketplaces where they establish businesses and make purchases as consumers. Despite these positive discourses, the economic marginalization and exclusion of migrants is a long-standing issue (Banerjee, Verma, and Zhang 2019; TRIEC 2023; Vosko, Preston, and Latham 2014). Immigrants continue to earn less than equally qualified Canadians and the wage gap has increased. It is now estimated that it takes more than a decade for the earnings of foreign-trained, experienced workers to match those of equivalent Canadian workers. Immigration policies that tie some temporary residents' rights to Canadian residency to a specific job contribute to marginalization (Vosko, Preston, and Latham 2014). Even for immigrants whose labour market rights are almost the same as those of the Canadian-born, research suggests that racial and ethnic discrimination, institutional barriers including many employers' failure to recognize the value of foreign experience, the challenges of foreign credential recognition by employers and professional bodies alike, requirements that professionals gain Canadian experience before being accredited in Canada, fluency in Canada's official languages, and limited "soft" skills often restrict their economic opportunities. The mismatch between migrants' skills and their economic experiences, often labelled "brain waste," is costly for migrants and for Canadian

society as a whole (Banerjee, Verma, and Zhang 2019; Kaushik and Drolet 2018). One expert estimated recently that brain waste cost the Canadian economy between $13 and $17 billion annually (TRIEC 2023).

Several policies and programs have been implemented to improve migrants' economic outcomes. These institutions are shaped by numerous policies including immigration policies regarding the selection and admission of immigrants. Since 1980, immigration and settlement policies have emphasized that international migrants make invaluable contributions to the Canadian economy. This message has been highlighted recently as the Canadian population ages. International migrants are celebrated as crucial workers who will ensure the country's future economic growth by replacing aging Canadian workers. In addition to calls for demanding that all migrant workers be given permanent residency status in recognition of their contributions to Canada, several are designed explicitly to assist skilled immigrants who often enter Canada under the economic class. For example, a mentoring program offered by Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) has helped skilled professionals find jobs commensurate with their skills and experience in Canada's finance industry. Bridging programs that enable skilled workers to upgrade their qualifications and acquire crucial experience in Canadian workplaces have also been evaluated very positively (Sattler et al. 2015). Despite their success, programs designed to assist with economic integration have not yet had much success reducing disparities in wages and occupational status. By restricting eligibility to immigrants, the programs overlook the growing numbers of temporary residents trying to establish an economic foothold in Canada, and the programs are still underfunded and in short supply relative to current demand (Sattler et al. 2015).

The effectiveness of such programs also depends on detailed knowledge of current and future labour market needs in specific places. Even with the recent expansion of remote work, international migrants, like all Canadians, live and work in cities, towns, and rural areas with diverse economies and economic opportunities. Although individual employers have recruited migrants successfully to fill current job vacancies through various Provincial Nominee Programs, predicting future labour demand at the local level in sufficient detail to recruit migrants has proved challenging. Despite recent success

at establishing consultation tables with representatives from the public and private sectors to plan for migrant integration in Ontario (described in chapter 12), the challenges of economic integration persist for many international migrants in both provinces.

Many programs to assist migrants concentrate on large businesses. In this section, we complement current research by a case study of small and medium-size enterprises, the businesses that make a significant contribution to Canada's economy, accounting for more than a third of the GDP (Tam, Sood, and Johnston 2022). By examining small and medium businesses, we learn about the workplaces and enterprises that employ most of the Canadian workforce. We also gain insight into the small businesses established by immigrant entrepreneurs.

In their study of immigrant entrepreneurs in chapter 5, Francine Schlosser, Kyle Brykman, and Gerry Kerr investigate how small business owners survived during the pandemic. While much of the entrepreneurship literature underscores the challenges that migrants face when establishing businesses, this chapter highlights how migrant entrepreneurs transform Canada. They not only altered the economic landscape, but migrant entrepreneurs also demonstrated tremendous resilience during an unforeseen and unforeseeable crisis. Faced with pandemic challenges that threatened the survival of their businesses, many made use of strategies and resources that helped them overcome earlier integration challenges. Theirs are stories of resilience that highlight how overcoming the hardships of migration enabled small business owners to adapt during the global pandemic.

In chapter 6, Sharon Broughton dissects the recruitment practices that stymie so many migrants. After speaking with employers and staff involved in hiring, she finds an overall commitment to inclusion and diversity is not sufficient to ensure equitable treatment of international migrants. A detailed review of recruitment practices leads her to call for differential treatment of applicants who are international migrants, even those educated in Canada. As she points out, the failure to address recruitment issues contributes directly to compounding and widening the disparities in earnings and occupational status that perpetuate current inequalities in Canadian businesses.

The last chapter in this part, chapter 7, turns our attention to immigrants themselves by investigating how immigrants'

experiences settling in a new city influence their economic success. Drawing on in-depth interviews, Jelena Zikic and Viktoriya Voloshyna examine how successful immigrants acquire key information about the job market, learn how to convince Canadian employers about the value of their credentials and experience, and establish social networks that assist with these tasks. Their findings confirm that where immigrants settle plays an important role in how they integrate. While the immigrants in this study have achieved economic success, those who had positive experiences of a new place and a new society actively participated in Canadian society, especially in terms of assisting those who arrived later.

The chapters comprising this part about economic institutions underscore migrant resilience and the factors that sustain it. Migrant entrepreneurs in Windsor survived the crisis of the pandemic by drawing on the strategies and resources that had sustained them after their arrival in the city, as they worked to establish businesses despite limited funding, social networks, and relevant information about local economic circumstances and small business policies and regulations. Recruitment strategies that go beyond acknowledging the challenges facing international migrants in applying for jobs and work at addressing them are crucial for ending the vicious cycle that marginalizes immigrants and leaves few migrants in a position to change current recruitment strategies and biases. Finally, the stories of successful immigrants illustrate how they use social contacts, unexpected sources of information, and adverse experiences with job applications to reframe their career aspirations and achieve economic success. It is important for all of us to learn from these studies because the Canadian economy and Canadian society can only thrive when migrants thrive.

5

Canadian Immigrant Entrepreneurs Developing Resilient Businesses during COVID-19

Francine Schlosser, Kyle Brykman, and Gerry Kerr

INTRODUCTION

The resilience and survival of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) have been tested by the COVID-19 pandemic. Some of its adverse effects have been felt most strongly by immigrants and their families (OECD 2022), and, especially, by those who own businesses (Wilson and Olowolafe 2020). Understanding how the COVID-19 pandemic affected immigrant-owned SMEs is important because immigrants engage in a significantly higher rate of entrepreneurship than their native-born counterparts (Vandor and Franke 2016). As well, the personal and professional adversities of the pandemic have sparked a serious need for research on resilience in the entrepreneurial context (Shepherd and Williams 2020; Hartmann et al. 2022).

Prior research has conceptualized resilience as both "an ability to go on with life, or to continue living a purposeful life, after hardship or adversity" (Tedeschi and Calhoun 2004, 4) and "a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker 2000, 543). Due to its positive outlook, resilience is very relevant to entrepreneurial intentions in times of adversity (Bullough and Renko 2013). Consequently, the goal of our research is to identify the key factors that influence how SME owners, in particular immigrant owners, enacted the resilience necessary for SME survival during the early

stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. In particular, we explore how multiple levels of mixed embeddedness relate to the development of individual and business resilience in Canada.

The term "mixed embeddedness" explicates the complex relationships among social, economic, and political activities and structures at the levels of the individual entrepreneur, the local opportunity, and surrounding institutionalized structures (e.g., Kloosterman 2010). Researchers have applied a mixed embeddedness approach to understand how serial and lifestyle immigrant entrepreneurs build social ties (Kerr et al. 2017) and to investigate trends in migrant entrepreneurship (Barberis and Solano 2018). We apply a mixed embedded lens to understand immigrant versus native-born responses to the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada. This unique context allows us to address gaps in the literature concerning migrant and native self-employment in terms of both mixed embeddedness and the capacity to exploit opportunities (Barberis and Solano 2018), and we can offer lessons for building resilience to overcome other societal and macroeconomic disruptions in the future.

This chapter is organized in four sections. First, we review recent academic and practitioner studies on the effects of COVID-19 on immigrant and native-born owners of SMEs. A step forward in answering the research question appears from the complementary theoretical approaches of mixed embeddedness and resilience, which we introduce in the next section. There, we also harmonize the theory and secondary information with insights from two qualitative datasets collected between the first and second waves of the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada. We conclude with a discussion of our findings relevant to policymakers.

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Economic Importance of SMEs, and in Particular, Immigrant-Owned SMEs

As with other Western democracies, SMEs are crucial to the Canadian economy. For example, in 2017, firms with fewer than a hundred paid employees comprised 97.9 per cent of all enterprises in Canada. These firms employed the majority of private sector employees and accounted for more than two-thirds of Canada's net employment growth (Industry Canada 2019).

Immigrant entrepreneurs form an invaluable subset of SME owners. In Canada, immigrant entrepreneurs have generated 25 per cent of the net job creation since 1980, even though they have accounted for only 17 per cent of firms. These enterprises are also 1.3 times more likely to be the high-growth firms that provide the vast majority of employment expansion in developed economies (see Birch 1979; Picot and Rollin 2019). However, Yuri Ostrovsky and Garnet Picot (2018) have identified potential challenges associated with the "newness" of immigrants, whereby businesses started by immigrants who have resided in Canada for fewer than ten years survive for a shorter duration than those launched by immigrants with longer tenure in the country.

Immigrants often play an important role as trade intermediaries, largely due to their transnational connections (Zolin and Schlosser 2013) and innovative capabilities (Terjesen and Elam 2009). A recent StatsCan study found that immigrant-owned SMEs were more likely than those owned by native-born Canadians to implement innovations in their product (goods and services), process (production processes and methods), and marketing (new ways of selling) (Ostrovsky and Picot 2020). Transnational and innovative capabilities took on a new significance in the wake of COVID-19, when SMEs struggled for survival and nations depended on innovations to bounce back from pandemic-induced adversities.

Impact of COVID-19 on SMEs and, In Particular, Immigrant-Owned SMEs

The challenges faced by small businesses were well-documented throughout the course of the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada. First, many SMEs were forced to close their doors for months while their survival demanded that they embrace a new world of online ordering and delivery services. Reopening was further complicated by labour shortages and debt. Immigrants and temporary residents played a large part in this story because they were asked to fill many frontline essential positions. However, less has been studied about the challenges faced by immigrant business owners.

According to a recent Canada-wide survey, the COVID-19 pandemic imposed a greater negative economic impact on immigrants, women, and other underrepresented business owners than on other segments of the population (Wilson and Olowolafe 2020). Nancy

Wilson and Isaac Olowolafe (2020) concluded that women and underrepresented founders are more vulnerable in times of crisis because they experience unique challenges and barriers to access programs and benefits, maintain revenues, and avoid marginalization. Likewise, Louis-Philippe Beland, Oluwatobi Fakorede, and Derek Mikola (2020) found that the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic was significantly larger for self-employed persons without paid help compared to those businesses with paid employees, and the authors noted that this effect was considerably stronger for immigrant-owned businesses.

In the main, prior literature has emphasized the importance of SMEs, particularly immigrant-owned SMEs, to the Canadian economy and the significant negative impact of the pandemic on immigrant-owned SMEs. Consequently, we sought to understand more about strategies that build resilience in immigrant-owned SMEs and help these entrepreneurs to build a sense of comfort in a new place. Building on Doreen Massey's (1991) reflection on a "Global Sense of Place," we wondered how Canadian immigrant business owners expressed their sense of place and their embeddedness in their communities in the face of unravelling social and business norms and alongside the waves of uncertainty caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Accordingly, in this chapter, we will draw on theory related to mixed embeddedness to enhance the discussion of place in this volume.

Mixed Embeddedness and Immigrant Entrepreneur Resilience during the Pandemic

Sociologists have developed a multilevel conceptualization that locates economic behaviour in its immediate social and institutional environment (Granovetter 1985). Mark Granovetter (1985, 487) characterized economic action as essentially "embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations," a theory purposely situated between the "undersocialized," atomized social conceptions of microeconomists and the "oversocialized," normative models of some mainstream sociologists. Later researchers extended the concept to entrepreneurship literature by recognizing and demonstrating the interaction of social relations, economic transactions, and the surrounding political and economic structures (Kloosterman 2000, 2010; Kloosterman and Rath 2003; Rath 2001, 2002; Rusnovic

2006). These researchers coined the term "mixed embeddedness" to reflect the integration of the individual or microlevel of the entrepreneur, the middle or mesolevel of the local opportunity, and the surrounding institutional or macrolevel (Kloosterman 2010). The multilevel nature of mixed embeddedness can help us understand resilience in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic in terms of the institutional environment (macrolevel), the SMEs that were launched (mesolevel), and the individual entrepreneurs who created them (microlevel).

At the *macrolevel* of mixed embeddedness, structural constraints and supports affect the entrepreneurial resilience of immigrant businesses. For example, Guangying Mo et al. (2020) identified clear structural inequalities and significant challenges facing businesses owned by immigrants and other diverse groups that existed prepandemic and that were potentially exacerbated by government responses to COVID-19. Adequate access to financing was particularly important for surviving the pandemic closures. However, prior research indicated that immigrant business owners were reluctant to apply for financial capital, which then affected their ability to accumulate other needed resources (Leung, Ostrovsky, and Picot 2018), another potential barrier to meeting the challenges of the pandemic.

At the *mesolevel* of mixed embeddedness, research on SMEs has helped us to better understand the resilience of the local entrepreneurial opportunity and the business venture it incited. For example, a large Canadian study (Grekou and Liu 2018) concluded that self-employment has higher entry and exit rates and lower survival probabilities than does the ownership of businesses with employees. The short-term nature of many self-employment opportunities reflects a lack of SME-level resilience. Additionally, the ownership of businesses with employees may involve accessing the combined talents of a management team that affects how the organization develops and grows over time (Hambrick and Abrahamson 1995). The interconnectedness drives some overlap between resilience at the entrepreneurial opportunity level and the psychological resilience of the entrepreneur described in the next section (Hartmann et al. 2022).

At the *microlevel* of mixed embeddedness, psychological resilience denotes a multidimensional individual-level characteristic that varies with context, time, age, gender, cultural origin, and life circumstances (Connor and Davidson 2003). Individuals have different

responses to negative life events, and positive human qualities, such as an individual's resilience, can influence these reactions. In this sense, "resilience" refers to the personal attributes and competencies developed through personal experiences that allow individuals to navigate difficult life events (Connor and Davidson 2003; Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker 2000). Kathryn M. Connor and Jonathan R.T. Davidson's (2003) literature review identified many characteristics of resilient people and explained that "resilience embodies the personal qualities that enable one to thrive in the face of adversity" (76) and is "viewed as a measure of successful stress-coping ability" (77).

Previous research has found that resilience can have a similar role in entrepreneurship, enabling the development of entrepreneurial intentions in dangerous environments (Bullough, Renko, and Myatt 2014). In such conditions, resilient individuals can persevere through hardships and are more capable of new venture creation. Consequently, Amanda Bullough, Maija Renko, and Tamara Myatt (2014) concluded that the association of resilience with entrepreneurial intentions is stronger than the more often studied relationship between self-efficacy and entrepreneurial intentions.

Although prior research defined resilience as a trait that consists of psychological and contextual factors such as competence, societal support systems, and personality traits, varying opinions have been posited about how individuals develop resilience (Campbell-Sills, Cohan, and Stein 2006; Connor and Davidson 2003; Masten 2001). In addition to traits, resilience may encompass the processes and mechanisms through which internal and external assets (i.e., strengths) are engaged when people are faced with adverse situations (Ungar 2005). Hence, resilience can be viewed as more dynamic in nature than a fixed trait (Edward 2005).

Building on recent perspectives of psychological resilience (Hartmann et al. 2022; Hoegl and Hartmann 2021; Shepherd and Williams 2020), our study views psychological resilience as a process. Similar to Silja Hartmann et al. (2022), we borrow from Trenton A. Williams et al. (2017, 742) and define psychological resilience as the process by which individuals develop and harness their "capability endowments to interact with the environment in a way that positively adjusts and maintains functioning prior to, during, and following adversity."

Hartmann et al. (2022) clustered antecedents of entrepreneurs' psychological resilience into two broad categories, personal factors

(including personality, learning experiences, commitment) and attitudes and contextual factors (including external and internal environment, resources, and social support). These antecedents were clearly recognizable during the pandemic crisis. For example, a recent study conducted by Alexandra David, Susann Schäfer, and Judith Terstriep (2021) discussed how migrant entrepreneurs' characteristics, such as a risk-taking and bricolage attitude, extensive social and cultural capital applications, and transnational embeddedness, helped them to weather exogenous crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic. They also noted that the phenomena "highlight, on the one hand, branding and profiteering practices imbued with commercial interests, and, on the other hand, the reinforcement of exclusionary practices of local identity and community engagement" (E38).

Other studies have noted the impact of contextual factors such as the greater environment, resources, and social support. For example, social networks can offer informational, emotional, and instrumental support. Nina Szczygiel, Carmina Nunes, and Dina Ramos (2020) conducted a small qualitative study of immigrant entrepreneurs' perceptions of the routine and the crisis support their SMEs received after the coronavirus outbreak. Findings indicated material support is one of the key functions of social relationships, providing business-related resources for immigrants that are of utmost importance in major crisis situations like the COVID-19 outbreak.

In summary, even a brief review of resilience and economic embeddedness demonstrates the ongoing and iterative connection among contextual factors and entrepreneurs' psychological resilience. Theory related to mixed embeddedness can augment our understanding of how economic and social context is linked with institutional, local, and social resources and may stimulate differences in both psychological and SME resilience among immigrants and domestic-born entrepreneurs.

METHOD

This research is a synthesis of two major sources of knowledge. The first part is a review of recent practitioner and academic studies on the effects of COVID-19 on immigrant and native-born owners of SMEs. The second part draws insights from two sets of qualitative data collected between the first and second COVID-19 pandemic waves.

The first dataset, Study 1, is a section of a larger dataset that includes open-ended responses from Canadian SME owners about how they were coping with the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. We spoke with seventy-seven SME owners from a range of industries to explore how they were handling business restrictions introduced by the federal and provincial governments in Ontario, Canada. We focused on participants' strategies to maintain employee engagement and support and considered the actions critical to building SME resilience with the understanding that businesses with disengaged employees could not have successfully "bounced-back" from the onset of COVID-induced business adversities. We also collected demographic information to compare the strategies employed by immigrant versus native-born business owners. We asked three open-ended questions: (1) What is the most important thing you've done or are doing to support your employees during the crisis? (2) What is the most important thing you're doing or plan to do to re-engage your employees as pandemic restrictions are limited? (3) How has COVID-19 changed your feelings about your business, your employees, or yourself? Do you expect to change any behaviours or practices or plans because of COVID-19?

The survey was distributed through the local Chamber of Commerce and other local economic agencies, and responses were collected from seventy-seven SME owners, fourteen of whom were immigrants. On average, immigrants were younger than native-born owners, with a small age spread between those operating essential[1] service businesses (Imm = 48.5, Cdn = 50 years) and nonessential businesses (Imm = 46, Cdn = 49 years). Immigrants were more educated but had fewer years of paid work (Imm = 24, Cdn = 30 years) and self-employment (Imm = 9, Cdn = 15 years) experience. The fourteen immigrants in the sample had emigrated from thirteen different countries. Two-thirds of native-born SMEs were in essential services, as compared to one-half of immigrant SMEs. SMEs categorized by the government as "essential" during the pandemic were larger. Interestingly, SMEs that were not deemed essential were more likely to be family-owned businesses.

The second dataset, Study 2, involved twenty interviews with recent older immigrant entrepreneurs. Each major aspect of their profiles conformed with measures commonly employed in research and by government institutions. For instance, "recent immigrants" were those who had arrived in Canada in the past ten years, a

definition applied by the Government of Canada to its Public Use Data Files and continued in academic research (see, for example, Lamb, Banerjee, and Emanuel 2022). "Older" benchmarked the age of fifty as regularly used in the entrepreneurship literature (see Kerr [2019] for confirmation and further support).

Our participants had emigrated to Canada from six different countries, but most were from the Middle East. Immigration status was not individually identified, but we know that our participants overwhelmingly immigrated to Canada within the family or refugee class and that none were in the entrepreneur class. Finally, women accounted for only four of the twenty interviewees, exhibiting a gender disparity common in prior entrepreneurship studies (Brieger and Gielnik 2021). The imbalance is likely enhanced by our focus on recent older immigrants whose countries of origin are associated with gender-based obstacles to entrepreneurship (Chreim et al. 2018). However, the interviews provided by the four women participants were closely examined and integrated into the results. Furthermore, fifteen of the sixteen men interviewed described women relatives or, much more commonly, their spouses, as partners in the ventures – placing them prominently in their narratives.

Our interview script and questions were developed based on a review of practical and academic sources, including prior research about immigrants, entrepreneurship, social capital, resilience, and mixed embeddedness. The interviews were mainly conducted in person at the entrepreneur's workplace and completed in about one hour, with a brief telephone follow-up afterwards. In part, the interviews focused on the challenges faced by the participants in identifying and realizing their business opportunities. A brief telephone follow-up clarified any remaining questions, including the challenges imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic on their entrepreneurial activities.

We began our questions in a general and informal way so that participants would feel comfortable as they related their thoughts. An interpreter was engaged as required to aid the entrepreneurs to convey and confirm their thoughts in English, helping to develop a shared negotiated meaning or reality. Building on qualitative phenomenological methodology, we encouraged participants to tell stories about their experiences so they could frame and make sense of the many ambiguous situations they had experienced (Boje 2001; Lounsbury and Glynn 2001). We concluded our interviews with twenty participants,

which is in the range of what is generally considered adequate for phenomenological qualitative research (Creswell 1998). After the interviews were completed, two of the researchers independently reviewed the transcribed notes and identified and grouped the challenges and themes that emerged. We identified patterns related to their social embeddedness and resiliency in the context of the development of their ventures. We compared our interpretations and came to an agreement on the important emerging themes (Berg and Lune 2012).

RESULTS

In this section, we report and connect themed descriptive results from both datasets. First, we considered macrolevel embeddedness and its connection to entrepreneurial resilience. The individual (micro) and SME (meso) levels were found to be very tightly interrelated. As a result, we describe findings related to the meso- and microlevels of embeddedness at once, simultaneously impacting SMEs and the psychological resilience of the entrepreneur.

Macrolevel Embeddedness and Entrepreneurial Resilience

As noted earlier, prior research indicates that the COVID-19 pandemic levied a larger negative economic impact on immigrants and other underrepresented business owners than on other segments of the Canadian population because many of these businesses engage in higher-risk industries, such as accommodation and food (Wilson and Olowolafe 2020). However, our research took on an interesting twist when, similar to their native-born counterparts, we found that immigrants from Study 1 who operated such "essential" frontline service businesses continued to operate successfully throughout the pandemic, albeit declaring high concerns for safety. The finding demonstrates the positive impact of political decisions that enhance access to essential services for immigrant-owned businesses. Indeed, they benefited even though the political decision to promote a positive "essential services" culture – framing the value and heroism of such workers – did not specifically differentiate immigrant entrepreneurs.

The negative impact of political decisions was also clear in our research. For example, nine of the twenty recent immigrants we interviewed in Study 2 had either closed, suspended operations, or delayed opening their nascent Canadian businesses due to the

pandemic. Many of Study 2's participants were self-employed businesses that were unlikely to survive, in part because they did not meet structural requirements to access government aid. For example, several of the ventures were not in operation long enough to qualify for rent support and did not have any employees and so did not qualify for payroll aid. As recent immigrants, it was also difficult to understand the complex and dynamic nature of the government support that was offered to businesses during the pandemic. Thus, the participants did not seem to have sufficient resources to surmount operational challenges during the pandemic. In contrast, the businesses that survived were generally those considered essential or that could operate from home, thereby reducing costs.

Concerns were expressed across all SMEs in Study 1 about how to continue to provide employment to their staff, about draining their savings to meet the additional costs of the pandemic brought on by the regulatory requirements for safety supplies, and about operational restrictions meant to deter the spread of COVID-19 (such as stay-at-home orders and limitations on in-person customer services). The costs were not alleviated by government policies and support, which were sometimes slow in arriving due to unforeseen delays and the severe nature of the waves of COVID-19 infection. Consequently, although the immigrant entrepreneurs in Study 1 had generally been in Canada longer than those interviewed in Study 2, they still experienced several challenges in accessing government funding. Nevertheless, the challenges encountered by established immigrants (Study 1) were similar to those encountered by native-born SMEs.

Mesoembeddedness and SME Resilience

In this section, we consider how the social embeddedness and managerial concerns of the owners facilitated SME resilience. All of the participants in Study 1 were preoccupied with employee safety. However, we can report results from two areas that differentiate immigrant and native-born SME owners: communication with and engagement of employees and customers.

EMPLOYEE COMMUNICATION

Study 1 highlighted two themes in SME's strategies to build and/or maintain employee engagement during the pandemic. The first theme reflects challenges in the communication process between

employers and employees, while the second theme encapsulated the evolving nature of the employee-employer relationship. SME owners highlighted communication efforts that included formalizing strategic and operational plans for adapting to the pandemic. Others described the importance of informal communication strategies that focused on developing team cohesion, which were often extracurricular in nature (e.g., game nights, mentoring, and customized wellness check-in calls). Although the established immigrant and native-born SMEs canvassed in Study 1 employed similar employee engagement and resilience strategies, immigrant owners tended to highlight strategies that were more directly tied to completing the job itself. Immigrant owners also tended to be more directive with employees, for example, using phrases like "top-down communication."

The second employee theme involved differences in employer expectations of employees' motivations, initiative, and resilience. Part of the Study 1 survey asked owners to report on whether they believed their employees generally knew how to cope with challenges and whether employees felt confident in their own skills and ability to solve problems. The very high average rankings from native-born owners demonstrated that they had much more confidence in their employees than immigrant owners, whose average rankings were neutral or noncommittal. The difference may explain why more immigrant owners utilized very protective language as they described their strategies for supporting employees. For example, one participant (P1) said, "[I am] reassuring them that we are taking every precaution we possibly can."

By contrast, the native-born SMEs in Study 1 were more likely to employ a broader range of strategies to support employee resilience. For example, native-born business owners encouraged their employees to become more autonomous by providing increased flexibility in hours and terms of work. Native-born SME owners also placed more emphasis on employees' role in navigating pandemic changes. For example, one voiced his intention to "put them through additional training" (P4). Another "assured employees that they will not be laid off" (P7), while attaching a caveat that puts responsibility on employees: "provided they continue to do their jobs in the most diligent of fashions."

Immigrant SME owners were also more likely than native-born owners to continue to compensate employees during layoffs. The greater pressures exerted on immigrant-owned businesses may

present a case against such a strategy, but several reasons could explain the action. For one, this may be yet another protective strategy whereby immigrant owners felt greater responsibility for family or ethnic enclave members, or they wished to retain strong ties with key employees. Immigrant owners may also have had less understanding of the government benefits available for those laid off or isolated employees due to pandemic restrictions.

Thus, the pandemic created a new complexity in employer-employee relations. The breadth of the management challenges encountered during the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic is difficult to overstate. For example, one immigrant SME owner noted, "The biggest lesson learned from this was the amount of mental stress this bought into the workplace, and the way different team members reacted to the situation was stunning – some locked themselves into their offices, some thought and still think it is just a political issue" (P2).

CUSTOMER COMMUNICATION

Study 2's recent immigrant SME owners highlighted their frustration with the uncertainty of pandemic restrictions on business operations; for instance, highlighting how customers lacked knowledge of when the businesses were open. These difficulties signaled a tenuous local social embeddedness. The lack of connection with customers also challenged the resilience of the nascent business opportunities. When asked about their business plans for the next few years, the majority of participants across both studies conveyed their preference for a return to face-to-face operations, again connecting customer relationships with SME resilience.

Microembeddedness: Psychological Resilience of the Entrepreneur

Study 1 highlighted how immigrant SME owners connected their own resilience to the resilience of their employees and business. One participant responded that his main employee support strategy was "making sure I am okay, mentally" (P3). Similarly, Study 2 participants described the significant stress they experienced in trying to plan or open a Canadian business during the pandemic. These immigrants had overcome many personal stressful challenges before they immigrated to Canada, most from war-torn Syria and Iraq. However, the additional challenge of the pandemic hit them psychologically, creating enormous strain for some and directing

others to temporarily pursue other employment paths. Interestingly, although some researchers have viewed self-employment as a response to blocked mobility in their own professions, there was only one interviewee in Study 2 that underscored issues related to blocked mobility, and this entailed recertifying so he could begin his business (P15). Most of Study 2's respondents had owned businesses before, in their country of origin, and still expressed the intention to start a business in the future. This finding aligns with prior research examining entrepreneurs in war-torn Afghanistan, which indicated that resilience mitigates the negative influence related to war and danger on an individual's entrepreneurial intentions – if they are able to grow from adversity and believe in their entrepreneurial abilities (Bullough et al. 2014).

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Our research context during the current pandemic provides insights about how immigrant and native-born SME owners differed in the ways they developed resilience by simultaneously examining their personal profiles, their businesses, and the economic and social context in which they are embedded. As we examined the actions and attitudes of employers, and the complex web in which they were embedded, we discovered that entrepreneurial resilience reflected both the organizational and psychological resilience of the SME and its owner. Although immigrant SME owners were accustomed to uncertainty and catastrophic events, several were unable to overcome the many hurdles associated with creating and maintaining a young business during the pandemic, including amassing governmental aid that was limited and complex to access. Government policymakers must consider how to more effectively reach, communicate with, and help immigrant businesses to positively affect their resilience in the future. Similarly, in the next chapter of this volume, Sharon Broughton notes, "Treating newcomers fairly and equitably in effect demands treating newcomers differently."

We synthesized two studies using an embeddedness framework in which multilevel relationships reinforce the importance of the macrolevel, especially government support. However, results indicate that government policy can only go so far, and there were still other challenges at the meso- and microlevels. We were struck by the similarity of findings concerning operations, whereby the pandemic

drove managerial practices to their most essential, that is, forcing founders to focus on basic communication with customers and employees. When crises strike at the heart of the organization, such relationships with employees and customers become the basis for survival, and this experience presents newcomers with additional social challenges to their entrepreneurial resilience.

This chapter's examination of business owners illustrates one avenue by which immigrants strive to achieve economic integration. It highlights the challenges that immigrants face when trying to access critical government supports and illustrates the need to examine and reform how governments communicate with immigrant entrepreneurs and address their distinctive needs.

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NOTE

1 The Government of Ontario released a list of "essential" workplaces early in the pandemic. They were allowed to remain open and operate with in-person employee activities (e.g., food services, gas stations). All other businesses were forced to close for up to two months (CBC News 2020a).

6

Employer Recruitment Strategies and Newcomer Resilience

Sharon Broughton

INTRODUCTION

Canada welcomed 406,000 permanent residents in 2022, with a planned increase to 465,000 and 485,000 arrivals in 2023 and 2024, respectively (IRCC 2022a, 2022b). The demographic reality of Canada's aging population and declining birth rates demands a focus on immigration, and newcomers bring diverse experiences, talents, and perspectives that expand and enrich Canadian society economically, socially, and culturally. Despite the priority of immigration for Canada and the critical skills newcomers bring,[1] newcomers continue to experience higher rates of unemployment and underemployment relative to their Canadian-born peers (Statistics Canada 2016d, 2018; Oreopoulos 2011; Reitz, Curtis, and Elrick 2014, 12; TRIEC 2018, 11–12). These inequities are most pronounced at the intersection of immigration status, gender, and race (Goldring and Joly 2014, 109; Banerjee and Phan 2015, 349). An extensive body of research interrogates the impact of pathways, citizenship, and human, social, and cultural capital on newcomer employment outcomes; however, few studies investigate employers. Yet employers, as sites of economic empowerment, play a critical role in the shaping of Canada as an inclusive society, or not. Organizational recruitment structures and practices delineate the space between labour market insiders and outsiders. Operationalized, such practices can either foster or impede newcomer resilience.

For newcomers to Canada, social resilience is a dynamic process in which newcomers navigate new environments, rebound from

challenges, and secure a future of material, physical, and psychological well-being (Hall and Lamont 2013, 13). Within this framework, the role of commensurate employment should be understood both in terms of its material dimension and its financial necessity; market participation facilitates critical social resources in the form of "bridging and bonding networks, identities [and] narratives of belonging" (Kymlicka 2013, 118). Integration, which involves both bridging across groups and bonding within one's group, is preferable to assimilation and other acculturation processes with respect to newcomer well-being, life satisfaction, and belonging (Berry et al. 2006, 323, 327). Employment is an important source of outgroup attachments and supports newcomer integration and resilience, and skilled newcomers, like their Canadian-born peers, have strong occupational identities. Unjust barriers to economic integration can have a devastating impact on self-esteem, identity, family, and the ability and desire to form connections (Wilson-Forsber and Sethi 2015, 102; Novak and Chen 2013, 10). Employment, income, and social status are also important social determinants of health (Deana and Wilson 2009, 187). As social institutions and sites of economic empowerment, employers' influence on newcomer resilience is profound.

Employer practices assume greater consequence in a Canadian immigration landscape that increasingly privileges temporary and two-step migration. In 2019, only 28 per cent of admitted newcomers were permanent residents, and among the 2018 economic principal applicants, 59 per cent reported pre-immigration Canadian earnings (CERC 2020; Hou, Crossman, and Picot 2020a, 1). This shift to two-step migration prioritizes newcomers with skilled employment experience in Canada (i.e., gained through temporary worker programs) in the admission of permanent residents. Employer decisions with respect to the hiring and retaining of temporary workers thus become central to permanent residence acquisition (Hou, Crossman, and Picot 2020b, 1). Those endorsing two-step migration cite favourable employment outcomes for economic applicants and improved postmigration earnings for high-income cohorts (Hou, Crossman, and Picot 2020b, 7). Others argue that two-step migration simply shifts the inequities upstream, entrusting employer practices with the selection of future citizens, exploiting temporary migrants who, without support, must demonstrate their capacity to "succeed," and excluding the vast majority of temporary workers and international students who, despite equivalent credentials and experience, face greater barriers to

employment (Bhuyan et al. 2017, 59). Canada's tactical shift to two-step migration prioritizes a neoliberal, responsibilized conception of resilience at the expense of investments in what Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont (2013, 3) describe as the "institutional and cultural resources that underpin resilience in the wider social environment." As Valerie Preston et al. argue in chapter 1 of this volume, social resilience is inherently relational; power structures and the actions of institutions can serve to promote or constrain resilience.

This chapter seeks to foreground the analysis of institutional factors by investigating employer recruitment and selection practices and their impacts on newcomer employment and resilience. The chapter is informed by in-depth interviews conducted from September to November 2020. Respondents were employed by private sector organizations covering a wide range of industries including telecommunications, information technology, energy, transportation, retail, consulting, finance, banking, and others[2]. Participants represented employers located in diverse regions across Canada. Half of the respondents interviewed were employed by firms that were regulated by the Legislated Employment Equity Program and half by Financial Post 500 firms that were not regulated by this program. In total, 177 talent acquisition / recruitment leaders were contacted multiple times by telephone. Engaging this audience on the topic of recruitment and newcomer employment proved difficult and of the twenty-six individuals who responded, only eleven agreed to participate.[3] While participant recruitment was challenging, particularly given the COVID-19 pandemic, the quality of the interviews was excellent, and they facilitated a robust understanding of the issues and opportunities present at each phase of the talent acquisition process. The exploration that follows demonstrates that employer recruitment and selection practices are not neutral; without active intervention at every step, such practices serve to impede rather than advance newcomer resilience. Each phase of the process will now be examined.

EMPLOYER RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION STRATEGIES – RESEARCH FINDINGS

An organization's capacity to differentiate, innovate, and compete in today's knowledge economy increasingly privileges employee intellectual capability as an input, with success contingent upon a firm's ability to recruit, select, and retain human capital. Contem-

porary hiring practices generally situate work analysis as the first step in the recruitment process, followed by a range of techniques to attract candidates, screen applicants, and test, interview, and select the top candidate. For respondent organizations, the recruitment process commenced with a hiring manager consultation that frequently involved a discussion regarding (1) the position description and candidate's "must have" knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics (KSAOs), (2) the sourcing approach, (3) the interview questions, and (4) determining the selection committee.

DEFINING THE WORK

Study participants frequently detailed a formal job analysis process involving the manager, the human resources business partner, compensation, and, often, talent acquisition. The process involved determining the core functions, scope, and structure of the role, success factors, and KSAOs, which were then evaluated by organizational experts. Job descriptions create the conditions for inclusion or exclusion. They are embedded in particular organizational contexts and, as such, may present unique biases and barriers for newcomers. A regional case study in Australia, for example, found that where accounting professionals developed job specifications reflecting their own qualifications and experience, the lack of diversity among existing decision-makers led to localized criteria that disadvantaged newcomer applicants (Almeida, Fernando, and Sheridan 2012, 1956). Similarly, highly detailed job requirements, regardless of whether they are intended to remove ambiguity and bias, can often stipulate a level of experience that could only be acquired through local organizational understandings. As one survey participant aptly noted, "I think it all starts with the job itself. What are you looking for from the role? And is it a requirement or a nice-to-have? I think that's where it starts for me. I think sometimes there's too much in jobs. And I see them use it on job boards. For some straightforward jobs, there's just too much of requirements in there."

In contrast, another respondent's practice of evaluating requirements within the context of the larger workgroup may increase opportunities for newcomer skillsets. This practice can, for example, identify the benefits of diversity and new and global perspectives versus hiring for specialized local product and institutional knowledge that is already well represented within most organizations and teams.

CANDIDATE SOURCING

Candidate sourcing methods can have a profound impact on applicant pool diversity, and dominant techniques for midcareer hires include employee or network referrals, search firms, external job sites/portals, internal company job postings, websites, trade publication advertising, and social media channels. Forty-six per cent of global talent specialists on LinkedIn identified online job boards[4] and 48 per cent cite employee referrals as the top channels for quality hires (Capelli 2019). Consistent with global trends, study participants operationalized a diverse range of tactics to source midcareer professional and manager candidates. Several themes emerged. First, technology dominates the sourcing landscape. Career websites and digital platforms, specifically LinkedIn and Indeed, were universally applied to identify active and passive candidates. Second, social-capital-intense techniques, such as informal networks and referrals, remain an important source of quality candidates. Third, diversity and inclusion (D&I) objectives have inspired new partnerships and new ways of sourcing and engaging talent.

Applicant tracking systems (ATSs) were used extensively by respondent organizations to facilitate and/or document multichannel candidate sourcing (e.g., through social media or job boards), application screening, and candidate assessments. Respondents identified LinkedIn and company career websites as the primary online channels. Advertising and the direct engagement of passive candidates were employed when recruiting for multiple roles, difficult to fill roles, or for more senior talent. "So, I think going back to your question about what's most successful, LinkedIn in general, but in terms of, again, intermediate to senior, we have an internal sourcing team within the recruitment team, and their job is to look for passive candidates. So, they're not necessarily applying to a job. They haven't necessarily engaged us. But we, or they, are researching, finding them, reaching out to them. Again, on LinkedIn, typically, or otherwise."

For newcomers, technology presents both a barrier and an opportunity. Technology provides critical access to pre-arrival services and online job fairs and offers them the ability to advance their job search, engage with employers, and, ideally, secure employment prior to arrival in Canada. At the same time, passive employer searches may introduce bias. Newcomers, for example, may not be present on

targeted social media, and role titles and role description taxonomies may differ. LinkedIn's early-stage interface and search algorithm has been criticized for emphasizing profile photos and penalizing nonstandard career trajectories (Sharone 2017, 14, 20). Once candidates progress to applying online, they do so through structured data fields and character limits; this interface further penalizes nonstandard work histories and limits the jobseeker's opportunities for self-presentation (Ajunwa and Greene 2019, 81). This can be detrimental for newcomers, who, despite their exceptional skills, often face labour market inequities, precarious work, volunteering, and "survival jobs," all of which bestow unique self-presentation challenges in a world of structured data fields.

Informal networks and referrals have endured as a source of quality candidates, and eight of the eleven participants cited their use. The referral sources identified by respondents included manager or recruiter networks, association affiliations, business partners, or, most commonly, employee referral programs. "And usually the referral candidates go through the process faster and are more successful in getting the job than anybody that just applies from the outside from the careers site. So, I would say the referral program is probably one of the bigger ways of how we find candidates, especially quality candidates."

While research on the overall efficacy of referral programs has been mixed (Cappelli 2019), recruitment processes privileging employee and interfirm referrals can disadvantage newcomer applicants (Elrick 2016, 812). Referrals rely on social capital, and recent immigrants, having left their networks behind, have networks in Canada that are both significantly smaller and less occupationally diverse relative to their Canadian-born peers (Majerski 2019, 322). Since individuals new to Canada often first associate with other newcomers who share their language and experiences (Nakhaie and Kazemipur 2012, 426), company diversity and newcomer mentoring programs may help mitigate the bias inherent in informal network sourcing. Organizations activating such programs help facilitate newcomer networks and social capital accumulation, supporting social resilience.

Nine of the eleven respondents were either actively engaged in developing a D&I strategy or had significant long-term efforts already in place. These initiatives ranged from comprehensive programs supporting all four designated groups (i.e., Indigenous persons, women, racialized persons, and persons with disabilities) to

specific targeted initiatives. More than half of respondent organizations had formal partnerships in place with nonprofit organizations supporting employment and leadership opportunities for these four designated groups. Several respondents identified partnerships with immigrant-serving agencies (ISAs) as important in their sourcing of newcomer talent. In addition to talent attraction, these partnerships afforded a means of furthering organizational understandings of the challenges that new immigrants face, which in turn triggered improvements in the companies' interview and selection processes:

> I think creating those partnerships with organizations that support immigrants is very important in making sure that we understand the challenges that new immigrants face. We take that thing into account into our interview selection process to make sure we're as unbiased as possible. I think that's the biggest step is to create those partnerships with immigrant support communities.
>
> There are agencies that help newcomers to Canada or people that have not had the necessary opportunities to find employment, where they will offer a bootcamp, if you will, four to six weeks … And we've been working and partnering with a few different agencies now to sort of share our opportunities, share our learnings, go and conduct presentations in these boot camp type sessions, and then have interview days and help candidates transition out of the bootcamp into employment.

Long-term efforts can lead to tangible competitive benefits and demonstrate the strategic importance of being active in this space: "In Canada, just like anywhere else in the world, we have shortages in many areas … so that's another opportunity for us to engage with new immigrants to make sure that we have a steady pipeline of talent coming in for those areas where there's a big skill shortage."

ISA programs assist newcomers and help employers access immigrant talent. Such programs can mediate labour market inequities and promote skill-commensurate employment. ISAs facilitate what Hall and Lamont (2013, 23) term "possibilities and hopes," helping newcomers "negotiate new environments in flexible and ambitious ways." In chapter 7, Zikic and Voloshyna describe this process as *boundary object career exploration* wherein newcomers learn to translate their human and social capital into a new urban context. For the employers quoted above, this knowledge transfer was

reciprocal. ISA "boot camps" build newcomer-employer connections in a way that drives understanding, transformation, and an enhanced role for employers in advancing social resilience.

CANDIDATE SCREENING

A hiring manager's interview assessment may yield the final decision, but the shortlisting process has the most significant impact. Respondents note that it is here that hundreds of applications are refined to a shortlist of approximately five to twenty candidates through what one respondent described as a five to seven second review. Candidate screening may include automated processes through AI or ATSs, credential assessments, and/or manual structured or unstructured resume and social media screening. Most frequently, candidate screening involved recruiters performing an unstructured, manual review of candidate resumes versus the "must have" job criteria. This process is heavily weighted towards "hard skills" or technical skills such as programming languages, functional expertise, and years of relevant experience.

The formalized candidate screening processes at respondent organizations excluded a review of an applicant's social media presence. This ranged from a firmly administered practice to omit such content to a discretionary activity sometimes performed by "the younger crew" of recruiters. Either way, it could still have an impact."We don't make that part of our process to understand what their social media looks like. But it has had an impact in terms of other folks knowing about a presence that did not align with our organization and had an impact on the final decision."

ATSs were ubiquitous; however, respondents reported polarized attitudes towards the use of automated decision-making. Responses ranged from "we're not there yet" to articulated concerns regarding AI's efficacy or fairness. As one respondent remarked, "We do not have any kind of algorithms or any tools that look through keywords in the resumes … Nobody's resume gets discounted based on any program or algorithm."

Where operationalized, the AI resume screen leveraged the candidate database and was either employed to prioritize applicant CVs prior to a full manual review or to fully automate a high-level qualifications screen. Where AI replaced human decision-making, its use was proceeded by rigorous testing to ensure unbiased outputs.

Given the prevalence of nonstandard work histories and the potential misalignment between international job taxonomies and key word algorithms, an analysis of newcomer screening outcomes would be an important component of such audits. Most respondent organizations, however, indicated that newcomers were not specifically addressed nor tracked within their D&I strategies. Newcomers face higher rates of unemployment and underemployment, and their experience may not be appropriately represented within historic human resources datasets. The use of historic workforce data in the development and training of AI recruitment algorithms is therefore cause for concern. AI candidate screening can present a barrier to newcomer resilience; it impedes one's ability to negotiate new environments and may perpetuate historic bias.

Diversity considerations were mentioned by several respondents, who recognized the potential role of screening in enabling equitable hiring practices. This involved broadening the perspective on qualified candidates, giving more weight to transferrable skills, and, given that voluntary preemployment self-identification was applied in only two instances, using available resume ques (e.g., names) to provide a diverse candidate shortlist. In the absence of preemployment self-identification, the tracking, analysis, and elimination of barriers throughout the recruitment process becomes more difficult. One participant organization was looking to adopt an ATS that would mask candidate names in an effort to combat bias in the screening process.[5]

When it came to assessing newcomer candidates' education and work experience, the strategies varied. Many respondents automatically considered international and Canadian education and work experience to be equivalent. Two organizations leveraged their connections with credential assessment agencies or industry associations to validate the match. Others stated that "typically, just the Canadian experience would be favoured" or "I wouldn't say it's equal, if I'm being honest." Several respondents noted newcomers' international experience allowed their organizations to differentiate their global outlook versus competitors or address critical skills gaps, for example, in emergent information technology. In contrast, it was noted that a failure to be open to newcomer skillsets can result in essential positions remaining vacant:

> Prior to this organization, there were a lot of times when I tried convincing the hiring managers that okay, the skills are still

> transferable. You haven't had any luck with the last six months in hiring someone for this role. Give this person a chance, you can see, these are the right skills that he's bringing to the table and there are times when you may have worked on one software that is not a requirement but it's very similar to the one that they're asking for so you could just train them. The first step is just [to] have an open mind.

This failure to recognize newcomers' transferable skills impacts the resilience of newcomers and organizations. Thirty-seven per cent of Canadian organizations report challenges recruiting skilled talent as an obstacle for their business (Statistics Canada 2022a), yet newcomers remain underemployed.

Talent acquisition leaders play a key role in ensuring international talent is recognized. "I would say sometimes it can be a bit of challenge working with hiring managers to convince them that that experience also counts entirely. Sometimes they can be a little bit more hesitant, but I think we've actually had quite a bit of success. We've actually hired a number of individuals new to Canada."

Respondents remarked that they frequently must assess applications from candidates who are somewhat or drastically overqualified for the role for which they have applied. This task was complicated by concerns that such candidates, if hired, would soon leave the job to pursue other opportunities at level. Most indicated they would contact the candidate to validate their interest, investigate other opportunities, or proceed with shortlisting the candidate; however, there exists significant variability in this regard as evidenced by the following participants:

> Typically, they would be declined. It's about fit. Could they do the job? Yes, but in two years are they going to be bored? Is this a challenge for them? Is this a move upward in their career? So, we look at that. We don't want people to be bored or they may take a lower job and do it for a year or so. Then the fear is if a job at the level they expect and the salary they prefer or they have in the past, that comes calling... The fear is that they'll leave us in two seconds.
>
> If someone has applied for a job, we take it for face value that they understand the qualifications and the level of the job. And

> if someone is qualified, whether they're partially qualified, fully qualified, or overqualified, and they meet the other screening benchmarks, then we would still consider them for the role.

Frustration with the persistent discounting of newcomer experience can prompt the pursuit of more junior roles. This can prove equally futile when applicants are deemed "overqualified." As of 2013, Ontario Human Rights legislation prohibited the requirement for Canadian experience and the rejection of qualified candidates on the basis of additional qualifications or skills (OHRC 2013). Employment law, however, varies across provincial boundaries and, even within Ontario, awareness gaps persist (TRIEC 2018, 27). Social media website screening introduces further human rights concerns due to the inclusion of protected trait data and varied participation across platforms. Further, common resume-screening "warning signs," such as unexplained gaps in an applicant's work history, career regression, or "self-employed" or "consultant" stints (Catano, Wiesner, and Hackett 2019, 305), may preclude the shortlisting of highly qualified newcomers for whom such gaps may be unavoidable. Early-stage recruitment process inequities are particularly damaging to newcomer resilience. They block newcomers from participating in the skills demonstration and testing phase and from the opportunities for self-presentation afforded by employment interviews.

EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEWS

The employment interview remains the dominant, most influential selection tool, and as such, there exists a significant body of research exploring its efficacy. It is understood that interviews involve complex social processes in which the ratings of interviewee performance are influenced by the content of the candidate's answers along with verbal and nonverbal cues, self-promotion, and impression management (Melchers et al. 2015, 157). Among respondent organizations, the standard interview processes for midcareer managers or professionals incorporated (1) an HR telephone screening interview (in all but two cases); (2) a concise on-demand video interview (used by four respondents); and (3) for three to five shortlisted candidates, in-person interview(s) with the hiring manager and others (employed in all cases). Phone screens were universally the remit of talent acquisition and could be unstructured or structured at their discretion. Where appli-

cable, on-demand video interviews (e.g., HireVue) supplemented or replaced the phone screen; however, this mechanism was not without controversy and it had been discontinued in one context where recruitment was decentralized. As one respondent remarked, "I'll share a little bit more about the HireVue technology, but that's been a journey as well. I think it is a mechanism that we use in the organization that has had a love-hate relationship. Some leaders have welcomed it with open arms and other leaders are like, 'I don't like that.' Because again, it is an activity that requires you to acknowledge the biases, but also be mindful of them. A lot of the time, you've mentioned training, we do have an unconscious bias training that we deliver."

Video resumes have been criticized for introducing human rights code protected data early in the process, presenting greater potential for bias (Catano, Wiesner, and Hackett 2019, 304). The structured, late-stage use of on-demand video by respondent organizations allows for greater control; however, candidate technology access may still be an issue.

Face-to-face employment interviews were identified as the most critical aspect of the selection process. For respondent organizations, interviews were in-person and, with only two exceptions, a structured behavioural interview or, to a lesser extent, a structured situational interview was applied. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, face-to-face interviews had been temporarily replaced by a virtual video interviewing process, leveraging technology such as Microsoft Teams. The interview structure remained unchanged and most often included standardized role-specific interview guides used for all candidate interviews, note taking, some probing and, for half of the respondents, a structured scoring grid.

Interview content varied, from a combination of technical skills, soft skills, and competencies to a prioritization of the latter:

> Yeah, we're very big on collaboration and teamwork. I know everyone says that, but that's a very, very big thing for us, that this person will work, not even just within their own team, but collaborative across the enterprise … and also adaptability. The business that we're in, it's fast-moving … We have to react and be able to pivot. I think those are two big criteria for us aside from, of course, competency and technical skills.
>
> The nature of the roles changes so much in organizations that, as long as we've got kind of those squares of competency and

> your adaptability is there, the collaboration is there, as the work changes, you've got the right mindset to keep changing.

Competencies are meant to signal the KSAOs and behaviours foundational to job performance, and their ability to align with organizational goals and changing environments is advantageous (Catano, Wiesner, and Hackett 2019, 155, 162). For immigrant professionals, broader criteria can create the space for their extensive transferrable skills to be recognized. At the same time, cultural understandings may inform, for example, how one has managed conflict in the past. A hiring manager's reliance on this data may misrepresent a candidate's ability to adapt to new organizational norms. The participants quoted above, whose organizations prioritized adaptability, had also privileged Canadian experience, despite the scale, capacity, and skill with which newcomers navigate and adapt to disparate transnational contexts. Newcomer and organizational resilience are hampered by the failure of organizations to recognize and address this contradiction.

In line with best practices, panel interviews with a minimum of two interviewers or serial interviews involving multiple individual interviews were most frequent. Having a diverse HR team involved, including newcomers, could also support diverse understandings. Beyond the obvious decision-making benefits, hiring committees inclusive of immigrants can also promote resilience; they facilitate social connections with employees who are also immigrants, creating a local sense of belonging for newcomer candidates, as discussed in chapter 7. The talent acquisition leaders who were themselves immigrants recognized this dynamic and initiated this interaction. As one respondent noted, "I feel like the comfort level is very different for them because a lot of time, usually when we're talking, they're like, 'Yeah, we haven't moved there yet but we're planning,' and I'm like 'Oh,' and then obviously tell them I moved fifteen years ago and whatever and this is how it was and you're going to be fine. So just making them feel comfortable makes a huge difference, and I feel like yes, as a recruiter I'm doing that."

Beyond unconscious bias effects, interviews may present unique challenges for newcomers due to language proficiency, communication styles, and nonverbal behaviours that are often culturally specific. In one study, nonverbal cues explained 43 per cent of overall interviewer ratings, with a firm handshake, frequent smiling, and direct

eye contact leading to more favourable ratings (Manroop, Boekhorst, and Harrison 2013, 3520). Thus, candidate assessment imbues a particular cultural understanding; whereas direct eye contact implies honesty and confidence in low power-distance (Western) cultures, those from high power-distance cultures would perceive it as rude (3523). Similarly, while individualist cultures such as North America favour assertiveness and self-promotion, individuals from collectivist cultures will instead minimize their personal contribution (3525); in Canada, this may result in less favourable interviewer ratings for comparable achievements.

Assessments of candidate "fit" present a further challenge for newcomers. Jennifer Elrick's 2016 study with Toronto information and communications technology firms found the prioritization of cultural fit and the hiring of "like minded individuals" disadvantaged newcomers (809). For many respondent organizations, this vague application of fit was contested: "The fit is the working style that's required. It's not what would have been the cultural black hole fit, the conversation, which really was a veiled way at having and enforcing racial bias and institutional discrimination."

Where fit was mentioned as a consideration, it was most often with respect to softer skills or competencies (e.g., caring for customer service roles), role-specific personality attributes (e.g., extraversion for sales roles), specific organizational values (e.g., the requirement for ethical behaviours, safety focus), or in the context of being open to sharing ideas and "getting along." Work group personality fit was also mentioned, albeit infrequently. "There's some roles where if a person's kind of an introvert and more quiet, that's suitable to fit for that team. If you brought somebody that was more boisterous, it may not be a fit. Conversely, our client-facing roles, we want people that are more extroverted and engaging."

Employment interviews remain critical and, as such, accommodation is required to ensure the equitable assessment of newcomer candidates. Laxmikant Manroop, Janet A. Boekhorst, and Jennifer A. Harrison (2013, 3526–27) recommend organizations provide cross-cultural training, design interview questions with varied cultural understandings in mind, allow candidates to clarify questions, diversify the interview panel, and leverage interviews in combination with intelligence, cognitive, and work sample tests, which are less prone to cultural bias. Assessments of the historically vague notion of fit should be interrogated and avoided to eliminate bias. It is unknown

whether technology reduces cultural impacts; however, research indicates interviewees perceive face-to-face interviews as fairer (Melchers et al. 2015, 168).

TESTING

Most respondent organizations executed some form of universal or role-specific testing, case study work assignments, or portfolio reviews for shortlisted candidates. Generally, technical testing or case studies were administered for a small proportion of roles (i.e., 20 per cent or less). Psychometric assessments (e.g., cognitive ability), where executed, were applied universally for midlevel roles but were evaluated according to job-specific requirements and benchmarks. Other testing included third party coding tests for IT programming roles and safety tests for safety sensitive roles. Employer use of technical and cognitive testing can benefit newcomers relative to the other practices (Elrick 2016, 813; Manroop et al. 2013, 3527), provided such tests avoid disparate impact due to cultural or linguistic demands. Case study work assignments afford newcomers the opportunity to demonstrate the strength of their extensive transferrable skills, provided the assignment content is valid and unbiased. This process advances newcomer resilience.

ASSESSMENT AND SELECTION

Respondent organizations leveraged quantitative or judgemental means to form an overall assessment of each candidate and make their final selection. Hiring managers may prioritize the CVs, work auditions, a composite measure, or, in the majority of cases, the face-to-face interviews' scoring, ranking, or judgemental assessment. Talent acquisition and the hiring committee contributed but, ultimately, selection was most often the hiring manager's domain. In this way, selection involved discrete, individual line manager decisions that add up to a workforce. In aggregate, these decisions dictate the talent pool for future leaders. In a context where Canadian organizations often lack diversity at senior levels and D&I strategies frequently do not attend to immigrant communities, the resilience of both newcomers and Canadian organizations can be challenged.

Several respondents referenced their organization's commitment to measurement, learning, and an acknowledgement that even

with a robust program to combat institutional biases, opportunities remained. "I think for me, one of the important things that I'm learning is that we need to continue to be out in the community and understand what the challenges are. That's a big part of us being able to make any change within our organization. And continue to study the data within our own organization." Measurement, community engagement, and employer learning can support newcomer resilience. In doing so, organizations should direct attention to the unique employment barriers faced by newcomers at the intersection of immigrant status and racialization. An intersectional approach will evolve recruitment strategies and promote equity and skill-commensurate employment.

CONCLUSION

Employer recruitment and selection practices, like many organizational constructs, have been created and sustained in a manner that privileges some groups over others. Many respondent organizations have recognized this issue and have developed sophisticated processes geared towards combating bias, facilitating D&I objectives and as an outcome, acquiring top talent. At the same time, the interviews revealed significant variability with respect to the content, tactics, and evaluation methodologies employed and the corresponding positive or negative impact on newcomer employment and resilience.

Newcomers face unique barriers in the Canadian labour market and, in the case of recruitment and selection, treating newcomers fairly and equitably in effect demands treating newcomers differently. A failure to do so may disadvantage newcomers and privilege Canadian-born candidates in a manner that is unjust and, from an organizational perspective, precludes the recruitment and selection of the most qualified candidates. Talent acquisition processes are not neutral. They are embedded in local organizational and cultural contexts and without modification, leave limited space for negotiation. For newcomers, such structures hinder resilience through their limits on market participation and the material, social, and psychological well-being entailed. The potential for and consequences of disparate impact compound in an immigration framework increasingly privileging two-step migration. ISAs can and do help mediate this impact, supporting possibilities and a creative response; however,

transformation must involve an equitable policy landscape and, most critically, the active engagement and mobilization of employers.

Corporate discourse frequently highlights the importance of inclusion. Social inclusion is about full participation, recognition, and belonging; it is not about participation at the margins (Saloojee 2005, 3). It involves "respect for differences and the removal of barriers to effective and equitable participation in all spheres of public life" (Saloojee 2005, 3). Employers, as sites of economic empowerment, play an integral role in the shaping of Canada as an inclusive society, or not. Recruitment practices are a critical aspect of employer impact and require examination. As the respondent interviews identified, this effort must include outreach, learning, and an action-oriented dialogue with newcomer communities. A dialogue that promotes equity, inclusion, and skill-commensurate employment, engaging newcomer perspectives and talents and enhancing the resilience capacities of newcomers, organizations, and communities.

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NOTES

1 Newcomers are highly skilled and are two to three times more likely to hold university degrees than their Canadian-born peers (Reitz, Curtis, and Elrick 2014, 9).

2 Ethics regulations required that all recordings and transcripts be destroyed after two years. For this reason, quotes cannot be attributed to individual participants.

3 To ensure confidentiality for the eleven interview participants, their social characteristics are not outlined.

4 Based on a 2017 survey conducted by LinkedIn, surveying 3,973 talent-acquisition specialists who were LinkedIn members (Capelli 2019).

5 Name-blind recruitment is a response to the presence of ethno-racial discrimination in candidate screening revealed by a field experiment conducted in the Greater Toronto Area by Philip Oreopoulos (2011). Candidates with Asian-sounding names received an employer callback

rate of 11 per cent vs 16 per cent for those with equivalent experience and Anglo-sounding names; the callback rate for those with Asian-sounding names and comparable experience obtained outside of Canada was 5 per cent (24).

7

Skilled Migrants Building Careers in the New City

Jelena Zikic and Viktoriya Voloshyna

INTRODUCTION

Skilled migrants are individuals who bring credentials and experience from other countries and wish to permanently settle and work in the host country; they have been metaphorically described as "forgotten" and "invisible men and women" (Bell, Kwesiga, and Berry 2010). Many skilled migrants choose to settle in cities. Big urban centres are perceived as offering more attractive career opportunities and an environment easily conducive to social and family life (Buhr 2018; Walton-Roberts 2011). Cities satisfy and respond to the basic needs of their inhabitants (Portugali 1997). For migrants, arrival in a host city can also lead to discomfort and introduce discontinuity in their lives (Fullilove 1996; Tams et al. 2021; Trabka 2019). In this chapter, we draw on our research, which explores migrants' desire for continuity and ability to exercise resilience when coping with career challenges in a host city. We refer here to resilience as a personal resource that assists migrants in coping with career challenges encountered when seeking to adapt and re-establish their careers in the host city.

Skilled migrants[1] arrive in the host city hoping to apply their accumulated foreign career capital in seeking new jobs. Each host city, like all cities, is composed of artifacts or systems of material objects; "arenas full of landmarks, paths, and other elements" (Portugali 2004, 589). As a completely new and unfamiliar spatial and social context for most migrants, the role of the host city in enabling or constraining migrant career re-establishment is still largely unknown

(Tams et al. 2021; see for exception, Kozhevnikov 2021). In this chapter, we explore how physical and social embeddedness in the host city may increase migrants' resilience and motivate them to engage in career action and re-establishment. We investigate the notion that the "physical place," with all that it contains (from resources of all kinds to services and social connections), carries great significance in how migrants exercise resilience to continue their careers and integrate overall (Gieryn 2000).

The existing research on migrant careers mainly focuses on individual career capital challenges, discrimination, and integration issues in the local labour market (e.g., Al Ariss et al. 2012; Dietz et al. 2015). While skilled migrants may need many individual resources such as resilience and proactivity to cope with the obstacles they face in a new city – communication difficulties, translating their human capital, accreditation challenges – notably absent from the research is the role of the host city's physical and social space on migrants' ability to navigate their careers and exercise resilience.

In fact, existing research shows that a lot depends on migrants' initial framing and attitudes towards migration and integration (Cerdin, Diné, and Brewster 2014) as well as how they view employment in local organizations (Dietz et al. 2015). While migrants demonstrate different coping strategies, ranging from "embracing" career challenges to even "resisting" coping and lacking resilience to engage with local challenges (see, for example, Zikic, Bonache, and Cerdin 2010), we still lack understanding of how the physical and social space of the host city may influence career action. As a result, in this chapter, we examine the role of city context, the local environment in which migrants must demonstrate resilience to translate their foreign career capital into re-established careers. Understanding the intricate connections between migrant careers and local context will allow for deeper understanding of local constraints and facilitators in translating human and social career capital locally.

In what follows, we describe how, through a qualitative inquiry, we discovered *career recontextualization,* which embodies not only local knowledge transfer but also translation and transformation of career capital from home to the host city context. Host city boundary objects serve as intermediaries as migrants take action to re-establish their careers in the host city.

To do so, first, we introduce boundary object theory and its role in studying the city context and skilled migrants' career re-establishment;

then, we provide a brief overview of our research methodology. Next, we focus on key findings that identify the role of resilience in how skilled migrants engaged with boundary objects to re-establish their careers. Specifically, we describe how the process of career recontextualization was enacted via three types of career actions. Finally, we conclude by touching on challenges in recontextualization (ways that resilience may have been constrained). We close the chapter with a look at the practical ways boundary objects and recontextualization may assist in migrant integration into host cities.

BOUNDARY OBJECTS AND THE HOST CITY CONTEXT

Unlike locals, who may easily recognize and navigate the city in search of career opportunities, migrants must simultaneously manage the initial uncertainty and discontinuity in their lives and careers (Buhr 2018). To effectively apply and use their accumulated career capital locally, as newcomers, they must quickly understand and familiarize themselves with the new city context (e.g., spatial and visual aspects). Acquiring "host city know-how" may be necessary for exercising resilience and learning about local work opportunities and may be a matter of great relevance for continuing migrants' productive work lives (Buhr 2018; Fullilove 1996). While this contextual change for migrants may be stressful and potentially anxiety provoking, it also offers an ideal opportunity to exercise resilience in the interplay of careers and context (Richardson 2000), specifically through learning and interacting with *city artifacts* (Portugali 2004).

There is a vast array of perspectives from which cities can be studied in relation to our work lives (e.g., architectural, urban, social); but to get us closest to our goal of understanding the enabling and constraining role of city context for migrant career re-establishment, we suggest understanding the role of a city's boundary objects (Portugali 2011; Star and Griesemer 1989) as career tools. Boundary objects are city artifacts that can be understood and studied at a more microlevel, they include locally encountered knowledge tools such as newspapers, training programs, and certificates that migrants use to gain knowledge about work-related issues in the host city (Star 1993; Star and Griesemer 1989). Boundary objects are said to "inhabit several intersecting worlds and to satisfy informational requirements of each of them" (Star and Griesemer 1989, 393); in this case, they inform and transfer knowledge to local and

migrant career actors. Thus, boundary objects are plastic enough to be adapted to the needs and the constraints of the multiple parties that may employ them in more than one context (Dar 2018; Star 1993; Star and Griesemer, 1989), and with potentially different meanings for different actors.

Overall, the function of boundary objects is to serve as "anchors or bridges" (Star and Griesemer 1989, 414) between different groups; to help in solving everyday problems by reducing uncertainty, improving information seeking, and even changing user's behaviour (Savolainen 2007). Some researchers have studied boundary objects within organizations as knowledge tools that allow for knowledge transfer across diverse stakeholders or closed communities of practice (e.g., teams of scientists or software development groups working on projects, new technologies and innovation groups; see for example, Barrett and Oborn 2010; Bechky 2003; Dar 2018; Fox 2011), others have explored the dynamic nature of boundary objects and their user and started to extend the literature into education and other domains by studying how librarians perform boundary work (Williams and Willett 2019) or by studying the boundary spanning possibilities of adult education programs such as ESL programs (Shiffman 2019).

In our research, we extended the study of boundary objects to the city context and, specifically, its role in facilitating and constraining migrant careers through career-related learning and knowledge transfer between different groups of actors (e.g., skilled migrants vs. locals). Along the same lines, we explore how, as boundary objects, career tools may also serve as intermediaries for migrant integration beyond career re-establishment. Our research demonstrates how being physically and socially embedded in the fabric of the host city may motivate migrant resilience and coping, leading to career re-establishment and integration (Alacovska, Fieseler, and Wong 2020; Guo and Baruch 2021; Kozhevnikov 2021; Montanari et al. 2021). We focus on the city context as an ideal setting to explore how migrants exercise resilience and enact their careers through social encounters and engagement with the city and its artefacts (Portugali 2004).

STUDY FOCUS

Our study focused on a group of skilled migrants that came from different cities abroad and chose Toronto as their immigration destination. Our participants differed in terms of the cities they worked

and resided in previously, the types of work and occupations they engaged in, age, gender, and length of residence in Canada. Our respondents came from a pool of skilled migrants identified as respected professionals, community leaders, and/or entrepreneurs in the Toronto area.[2] The list contained a total of 525 names of migrants living and working across Canada and also provided a short biography for each. Of this 525, 114 were located in Toronto. These individuals represented a theoretically relevant population of migrants who had seemingly overcome various barriers in the host city environment to achieve both integration and some level of career success, both relevant to our research (Gehman et al. 2018; Pratt, Rockmann, and Kaufmann 2006). The final sample included forty skilled migrants who volunteered to be part of the study. Our in-depth interviews allowed for a more holistic and greater "emic" understanding of migrant career contextualization that included reflections on both visual and social aspects of the host city and their interactions with local boundary objects. Specifically, our interviews focused on the following key areas: (1) initial city perceptions and experiences is seeking work opportunities and settlement in the new context, (2) career narratives (e.g., barriers and coping) in the new city, and (3) local contextual (i.e., social and institutional) factors and experiences of integration locally.

We applied grounded theory principles (Corbin and Strauss 2008; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990), which allowed for inductive understanding of the complex social phenomena (Suddaby 2006) of how the host city context and its boundary objects constrain or facilitate migrant resilience and coping (i.e., applying their foreign career capital locally). Our analysis of interview data proceeded in three stages – open, axial, and selective coding – during which we constantly applied a comparative method, moving back and forth between interviews and the literature that informed our thinking.

ESTABLISHING BELONGINGNESS AND MOTIVATING RESILIENCE

Given the lack of theory on the role of the host city in migrant careers, our starting point was to explore the experiences of the physical and social embeddedness of migrants in our sample in their new context of Toronto. Relatedly, we discovered *career recontextualization,*

which embodies not only transfer but also translation and transformation of career capital from the home to the host city context – through the use of local boundary objects as intermediaries. The process of recontextualization is founded on early city comparisons and establishing belonging to the host city. A sense of belonging allowed migrants to exercise the needed resilience and, as a result, engage in coping and tasks related to career recontextualization. Career recontextualization was enacted via three unique types of career action: career orienting, cross-boundary career adaptation, and creative career action. Finally, through career-related contact and activities, migrants simultaneously integrated (functionally or holistically) into the local society and the host city, providing a novel perspective on the intricate relationship between migrant careers and integration, facilitated by the local context (Bamberger 2008).

The study investigated the connection between spatial embeddedness, self-continuity motives, and careers proposed by Vivian L. Vignoles (2011) and Vignoles et al. (2017). The findings elucidate the role of the physical environment of the host city (De La Chaux, Haugh, and Greenwood 2018) in how careers evolve and the resulting sense of self. The fundamental human motivation for self-continuity, as the core self-motive, has important implications for personal well-being and the ability to be resilient in a context that becomes familiar and welcoming (Becker et al. 2018). This relationship is even more pertinent in the context of migration, which poses challenging life and career transitions (Fullilove 1996). Only after the basic need for spatial continuity is established do migrants acquire enough ease and comfort locally to focus on other tasks in the city, such as seeking career re-establishment. By establishing spatial continuity and feelings of belonging through strategies such as walking around the host city and comparing spaces in the host city with those of the home of origin, migrants learn new city know-how. They are able to practise resilience in the context of their job searches and later settlement. Spatial continuity and feelings of belonging are the foundation and precondition for coping with challenges in the new city.

We found that, beyond spatial continuity, migrants also sought social and emotional connections to the host city. While the initial city comparisons served as shortcuts for immediate spatial understanding of the new and somewhat discontinuous context, new social connections and relationships in the city made the place

more legible, allowing migrants to develop a local sense of belonging (Carmona 2010). For example, one of the participants described how the city's cultural diversity helped her to connect and establish social continuity: "Manila was a really big city, but when I arrived to Toronto, I asked myself, 'Is this really Toronto?' I loved Toronto because of the people. What helped me connect the most? I would say diversity, different nationalities, people from different countries. And what really made Toronto for me are the people: [lists specific people]. I made connections with the Canadians too, with the co-workers, and I made friends besides Filipinos. Toronto is not so big, and you make connections easily" (Participant #1).

As a result, migrants' spatial expertise is not only essential for feeling safe and secure, but it is also critical for increasing social comfort and allowing trusting new connections to local social capital to form (for more on this, see chapter 11). These social connections also assisted in triggering migrant resilience and their ability to cope with career re-establishment tasks (as discussed below). This is further evidence for the intricate relationships between spatial integration (i.e., the physical landscape) and social integration. "I realized that [a] huge city like Toronto provides me with a lot of career opportunities. You may go to different events; you may see lots of people. There are lots of conferences happening here and workshops from different universities. Also, headquarters of lots of associations are usually in big cities, not in small cities. So, I think living here, I can take advantage of this" (Participant #14).

Our findings provide new evidence for "how," through use of local boundary objects, including phone directories/brochures and job search tools, skilled migrants contextualize careers in the cities (see, for example, Kozhevnikov 2021; Tams et al. 2021). Through individual career agency and resilient effort, as newcomers to the host city, skilled migrants used boundary objects as tools for career orientation/socialization, career exploration, and even the creation of new objects.

Career Recontextualization in the Host City

We discovered that boundary objects served as intermediaries in migrant career recontextualization, negotiating the transfer and often transformation of career knowledge from the home to the host city context. Specifically, we discovered career recontextualization

as the answer to how intricate connections between physical city context, its artifacts, and resilient career action allowed skilled migrants re-establish their careers in the new city (see, for example, Kozhevnikov 2021; Tams et al. 2021). Career recontextualization therefore illustrates how career knowledge is transformed across different social worlds and how learning occurs at boundaries (Carlile 2002; Henderson 1998). In this process, the mediating function of boundary objects, such as English language programs, is present even though social actors are not directly interacting/collaborating on the same task or as part of the same organization (Shiffman 2019). "We settled in Montreal first, I walked around a lot, and visited McGill University. I asked around and found several courses I wanted to take; I realized that I could take programs in English there, even if Montreal is mostly French speaking! This worked out for me well until I started to look for a job. Without French language, it wasn't easy, we eventually had to move to Toronto" (Participant #20).

Specifically, migrants engaged in career action by using local boundary objects to orient themselves in the new career landscape, to adapt and cross career boundaries, and to create new objects. For example, *career orienting* served as a compass, allowing migrants to navigate and obtain basic, easily accessible career information; on the other hand, *cross-boundary career adaptation* efforts were needed to decipher and learn new knowledge that was embedded in harder to reach boundary objects. In this way, migrants proactively accessed new information and learned local rules and practices related to using and applying their foreign career capital (i.e., embedded career meanings, requirements, and societal norms) (Barrett and Oborn 2010; Dar 2018). For example, one of the participants noted, "Go buy the *Toronto Star* to get the job, they were telling us. I didn't go around much, it was more about where we get that newspaper. I looked at the newspaper and I remember – I can never forget this, it said, 'Girl Friday.' Oh, my gosh. I like this. Girl Friday. You only work on Fridays … the next day, [I] went for an interview" (Participant #15).

As a result, seeking career opportunities in the host city stimulated the generation of new career knowledge as well as the letting go of some old and established career practices (Oswick and Robertson 2009), with boundary objects such as job listings in newspapers, libraries, and bridging programs serving as vehicles for this knowledge transfer. Therefore, physical objects and city artifacts can have

an important signalling function (Akkerman and Bakker 2011), indicating locally acceptable ways to search for work, as well as requirements needed for career capital transfer/translation.

Finally, our findings provided unique new knowledge on the third type of career action that constituted career recontextualization, namely *creative career action*; that is, innovative problem-solving and creativity by migrant career actors. This involved highly independent boundary object creation and was often motivated by personal career struggles and lived experiences of the local labour market (Wherle et al. 2018); importantly, it goes beyond innovation in boundary objects used by organizational teams (Zuzul 2019). In fact, we found that migrants themselves become the "carriers" of new knowledge to others in the city by creating new boundary objects such as phone directories, new community programs, and communities, facilitating learning and communication for themselves and many others.

Together, the three boundary object career strategies further illustrate the importance of resilient and proactive career behaviours (e.g., career self-management efforts) (van Hooft et al. 2021); something that is even more relevant in a new labour market where foreign career capital is discriminated against and afforded lower value. On the other hand, spatial knowledge and a sense of belonging to the new city allowed migrants to engage in more demanding and complex work-related tasks and activities (e.g., local job search and seeking career re-establishment) and exercise their resilience in coping with barriers in the local labour market.

REINFORCING BOUNDARIES BETWEEN CAREER ACTORS AND CONSTRAINING RESILIENCE

Our research also showed that seeking access to boundary objects as part of career re-establishment efforts may depend on the status of the individuals (i.e., local vs foreign career actors). Thus, we identify the social and relational dynamics embedded in local artifacts and their ability to symbolize status in specific local communities and groups (Thomas, Sargent, and Hardy 2008). When migrants sought to use and access some local boundary objects as tools for career capital "translation," they often encountered barriers. These barriers at times interrupted their initial coping efforts and potentially lowered resilience. Thus, migrants first needed to learn idiosyncratic

scripts and local norms about accessing boundary objects, for example, local requirements for degree accreditation/recognition, certificates, and additional training.

> I attended an open house in a huge pharmaceutical company. There were, like, five hundred people from many countries such as India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and all wanted to work there. I had a biology degree, not a chemistry degree. I understood that I had no chances, I had to go back to school to take other courses … but there was a woman who said to us all that "the game was over." "You will never make it in Canada," she said to me. I needed to adjust to this reality. I made a decision to do whatever it takes to enter a specific science course. I made a plan and worked on writing, grammar, and speaking modules. Toronto Libraries were also perfect for me, they had free books and prep materials." (Participant #3)

These findings extend earlier work in relation to the role of local gatekeepers such as local professional bodies (Zikic and Richardson 2007) and their power to control the entry of foreign professionals into specific occupations. We provide further evidence for how, through multiple boundary objects as career tools, local actors communicated unique career meanings (e.g., the value of local vs. foreign career capital), further re-enforcing boundaries between local vs. foreign-trained professionals, for example (Briers and Chua 2001). These findings also build on the recent work (see, for example, Risberg and Romani 2021) related to the power of internal organizational logic, whereby hiring skilled migrants was described as a potential risk to organizational performance and everyday work.

Finally, while the existing literature describes boundary objects as serving to bridge and negotiate the divide between different groups, our findings highlight that the opposite may also be the case: boundary objects can instead further accentuate boundaries between different groups and communities in the city and the need for newcomers to mobilize resilience in terms of acting as boundary spanners (Kaplan, Milde, and Cowan 2017). Specifically, we find that as skilled migrants seek to apply their foreign career capital and gain career status locally, local actors may influence and/or constrain that career action. In fact, local barriers may lower migrant resilience by regulating conditions or limiting access to specific objects, thus highlighting

various boundaries. As a result, we underline that boundary objects also have a *career negotiating function* (Huvila 2011; McLeod and Doolin 2010), negotiating access to local human and social capital and reinforcing boundaries between different career actors in the labour market. Through various boundary object strategies, migrants sought to understand local intricacies and rules involved in reaching specific objects while also managing the costs of time and resources needed to learn about available career options, embedded meanings, and ways to overcome career obstacles (Kaplan et al. 2017). Next, we describe the two integration outcomes that resulted from migrants' work-related experiences in the host city engaging in various boundary object strategies.

FUNCTIONAL VS HOLISTIC, MORE RESILIENT INTEGRATION OUTCOMES

Engagement with and learning from local boundary objects not only constituted career recontextualization but simultaneously facilitated migrant integration. Through career actions and related boundary crossing, migrants connected to city inhabitants and communities. In this context, while we illustrated the "how" of career recontextualization, we also discovered two major integration outcomes – functional and holistic – that contributed to more resilient integration in relation to a migrant's life and connection to the new city.

Functional integration meant that individuals focused more on guarding their own career success while being somewhat closed towards the local society and the context in which they lived. They were learning and integrating themselves locally but only in as much as they could function effectively and reach their own goals. Those with a more *holistic* orientation had more positive and welcoming experiences in their initial exploration and expansion of boundary objects and this allowed for more resilient orientation and the ability to accept and embrace local society; they were externally driven to engage with the local context and give back.

These outcomes describe unique new ways to understand and explain a complex and often difficult to define migrant integration phenomenon (Ager and Strang 2008); specifically, career-related action that is motivated by resilient attitudes and coping and also builds local social connections. Our findings add a new dimension to the current understanding of migrant integration, which has mainly

focused on participation, incorporation, and acceptance into the receiving society (Penninx 2005). While the scope of these two outcomes does not necessarily allow us to make conclusions about the host vs. home culture relationships or attachments (Cox and Blake 1991; Vora et al. 2019), it more broadly situates migrant integration at the boundary of career-related experiences, individual coping resources, and relationships within the host city.

Our findings related to integration also highlight the power of initial career and social interactions with local boundary objects. We provide new knowledge on the lasting and inherent consequences of early settlement experiences (e.g., society's reception of migrants). When seeking career re-establishment by engaging with various boundary objects, some migrants described that a lack of assistance from the locals and other work-related hardships contributed to a narrower (i.e., closure towards local society), less resilient orientation towards work and life in the new city. Informed by the recent Threat vs Benefit Model (Tartakovsky and Walsh 2016, 2019), 52 per cent women, mean age = 44.2, these findings highlight the power of societal attitudes that view migrants as threats or benefits to the local society. Even in the current multicultural and migrant-friendly urban context of this study, we still observe both positive and negative treatment and attitudes towards migrants. This observation reinforces the importance of the power dynamics inherent in boundary objects, influencing foreign vs. local relationships (e.g., locally controlled access to specific boundary objects) far beyond initial job search experiences and having more lasting impact on migrant resilience and integration.

Another way to explain the two integration outcomes is by focusing on the importance of reciprocity in migrant experiences (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2018). We find that reciprocity in migrant-local relationships plays a major role in how migrants orient themselves and eventually integrate (Ager and Strang 2008). Specifically, those who felt positive treatment locally were ready to reciprocate and give back, and migrants who experienced less positive treatment initially were much less inclined to do so. We highlight the norm of reciprocity as an important value in migrant integration, and a fruitful avenue for future research.

The two integration outcomes highlight the need to understand integration as a relational two-way process in which newcomers and local inhabitants play an equally important role (Klarenbeek 2019).

Inherent in the interactions with the host city and its artifacts is the role of the local population (e.g., local gatekeepers, professional societies, local recruiters, neighbours, local acquaintances). Migrant orientations towards work and life in the host city were shaped in the context of their work experiences and relationships with local career actors and the boundary objects they possessed or controlled. Migrant integration in early career and settlement experiences in the host city can either motivate or constrain migrant resilience for coping, further highlighting important relational/social processes that constitute integration (Ager and Strang 2008; Crul and Schneider 2010; Klarenbeek 2019).

CONCLUSION

Our findings are relevant for local organizations, employers, policymakers, and migrants themselves as they highlight the complexity and connectedness between specific migrant career actions and the context of the host city. First, local city organizations and even employers should not underestimate the importance of initial visual, spatial, and social experiences in the host city. In our case study, initial experiences played a powerful role in migrant belonging and importantly motivated migrant resilience and a search for local career opportunities. Second, through career recontextualization, we highlight the importance of three types of migrant career action and the need for proactive career self-management. Specifically, it is through increased feelings of belonging and personal resilience that migrants were able to overcome career barriers and recontextualize. Migrant settlement agencies should consider these cross-boundary career adaptation findings and use them to inform their programs and strategies in career coaching and workshops; for example, by teaching about the importance of city context for a job search. Relatedly, we also found unique ways skilled migrants can greatly contribute and give back to local societies through innovative boundary object creation; for example, by creating useful objects/tools or programs that solve local problems. This is an important finding for local economies wishing to integrate migrants and benefit from the foreign human and social capital they bring to host cities.

Finally, we provide new insight into the significance of the city space for migrants' resilience and career re-establishment efforts. As discussed in chapters 1, 10, and 11 in this volume, place matters.

Our research confirms the significance of place for the integration of skilled migrants as they work to re-establish their careers. Our main discovery centers on how career re-contextualization takes place via three boundary object strategies: career orienting, cross-boundary career adaptation, and creative career action. Thus, we explore how migrants use boundary objects as career tools for learning and transferring work-related knowledge between skilled migrants and local career actors. Our findings also highlight local actors' ability to control or influence migrant resilience and career re-establishment. Finally, we provide a novel perspective on the intricate relationship between migrant career experiences and resources in the host city and integration, leading to recognition of two integration types: functional vs. holistic.

NOTES

1 Skilled migrants arrive in the host city on the basis of their accumulated human and social capital. Usually, to be admitted to the host country (based on the human capital model) they will possess a minimum of a bachelor's degree and some work experience from their home country.

2 We built our sample by contacting major immigrant settlement agencies as well as a national immigrant magazine, who assisted us by providing a list of potential interviewees. The list contained names and contact information of skilled migrants that were either featured in their magazine in the past five years (i.e., shared their transformational stories of challenges in settlement and integration that could inform other migrants) or were in contact with various agencies as clients who overcame barriers in their integration and settlement.

PART THREE

Social Institutions

Social institutions have increased importance in the current neoliberal era dominated by ever-increasing marketization; socioeconomic polarization (Harder, Kellogg, and Patten 2023); risk for individuals, families, and communities (Hacker 2019); and a decline in social connectedness (Ara 2023). Public and nonprofit/civil society organizations at various levels – neighbourhood, local/city, regional/provincial, and national – are the social institutions that provide a network of support for migrants, albeit one that is often uneven and uncoordinated. Neoliberal austerity has eroded the institutional infrastructure serving migrants (Springer, Birch, and MacLeavy 2016), downloading responsibilities to the municipal level, civil society, families, and individuals. Individuals are expected to demonstrate self-reliance, overcoming life challenges independently, without benefit of public support and services (see chapter 2).

However, migrants settle on services (Shields et al. 2019) that enable settlement and integration. As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, access to services is a critical dimension of resilience. As government services have declined, civil society has increased in social importance (Evans, Richmond, and Shields 2005; Casey 2016). Other chapters in this volume, especially chapters 2 and 12, have addressed the important role of nonprofit immigrant-serving agencies in providing services funded by government to international migrants. This part focuses on social supports and social institutions that lie outside the state and beyond the nonprofit organizations that the government supports financially as an alternative service delivery system. The chapters investigate how social

institutions based in civil society, beyond direct state involvement, enhance migrant resilience, especially for the most vulnerable migrants who lack access to many public services. The organizational/institutional face of civil society (Fumkin 2009), nonprofit, charitable organizations, are mission driven (Emmett and Emmett 2015) with activities that are "embedded within a deeper ethic of caring and giving, which enhances the quality of services offered" (Shields, Baines, and Cuunningham 2017, 33). Often filling service gaps that government fails to meet (Salamon 1995), charitable nonprofits also advocate directly for the communities they represent and empower these communities to amplify their own voices. Several examples that confirm the importance of such advocacy are provided in chapter 12.

By international standards, the Canadian government offers sustained and extensive support for services targeting international migrants. Despite their breadth and availability across Canada, the services also have eligibility requirements that limit the reach of government-funded immigrant-serving agencies. Only permanent residents are eligible for many federally funded programs, and the growing numbers of migrants with temporary visas such as temporary foreign workers and international students are usually excluded (Thanthong-Knight 2023). Asylum seekers who are especially needy because of their precarious status and the trauma they have experienced are also excluded from many government-based supports and services. The situation is different in Quebec, where temporary foreign workers and international students have been eligible for provincially funded supports and services since early 2020. Driven by their mission to serve populations in need, charitable nonprofit institutions have stepped in to fill the service gaps for many migrants. In some instances, they also provide services that are not typically available from government-funded immigrant-serving agencies, such as the legal services discussed in chapter 9. Their limited capacities mean that charitable nonprofits are not a comprehensive substitute for state-funded services. Rather, many charitable institutions act as connectors, linking migrants with available services. For example, in chapter 8, Frédéric Dejean and Emerson Jean Baptiste show how Christian churches in Montreal connect asylum seekers and refugees with other agencies and government departments. Charitable institutions also advocate on behalf of migrants, arguing for the extension

of services and educating policymakers and the public about the benefits of such service provision.

The key contributions of charitable organizations were highlighted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Volunteer-driven grassroots organizations and initiatives sprang up to address pandemic needs that were not addressed by other institutions. For example, pop-up food banks appeared, community volunteers reached out to isolated elderly residents, free facemasks were distributed by neighbours, and online resources like Vaccine Hunters Canada helped people locate available vaccine sites. Concentrated in low-income areas where disproportionate numbers of migrants lived, these initiatives were motivated by an ethic of mutual aid, encompassed by the ethos of "take what you need. Leave what you can" (Edwards 2021). Religious and charitable organizations were involved in many of these efforts, using their resources to sustain local efforts.

In chapter 8, Dejean and Baptiste consider the ways Christian churches in Montreal support Haitian asylum seekers. They document the responsiveness of the churches to the material and emotional needs of these highly vulnerable migrants. Guided by the 3Rs – resources, respect, and refuge – the churches mobilized their members to volunteer their time and expertise and donate cash and goods to aid Haitian asylum seekers. In addition to providing temporary spaces of refuge; donations of clothes, beds, and furniture; trauma counselling; and spiritual backing, the churches also played a crucial role by connecting asylum seekers to "a much larger ecosystem of asylum seeker integration support" networks. The churches' efforts have created a welcoming environment for these migrants, building trust among migrants, between migrants and parishioners, and between migrants and other social institutions that can provide services and supports to facilitate their settlement and integration.

Civil society organizations like churches, as revealed in chapter 8, are sources of connection for vulnerable immigrants, helping to break their isolation and connecting them with communities of support. The social connections and social networks established through the churches work against the asocial trends promoted by the extreme individualism of neoliberal values. Lauer, Wong, and Yan (2022, 5) note that "the Emerging Asocial Society includes individualizing pressures that contribute to loneliness and isolation

with direct consequences for health and well-being, and indirect consequences such as attraction to conspiracy theories and anti-immigration attitudes" (see also Messing and Sagvari 2019). For asylum seekers, who are among the most vulnerable migrants, the connections forged with the assistance of civil society organizations such as churches are important antidotes to the isolation inherent in so much of contemporary society. Churches and other religious institutions, along with other charitable organizations and civic infrastructure like libraries and public parks, create welcoming spaces that bring people together and forge solidarity, mutuality, and understanding. For Haitian asylum seekers, the churches in Montreal are the social infrastructure where crucial societal connections that build community resilience are formed (Klinenerg 2018).

In chapter 9, Po Kwan (Tara) Chan, Francine Schlosser, and Gerry Kerr turn their attention to the absence of services, specifically migrants' limited access to legal services and supports. As the authors note, migrants' legal needs extend well beyond legal support for refugee determination, where there has been considerable attention and where some services are in place. Legal aid for other purposes is much more limited, reducing less affluent immigrants' access to legal services. Most legal services are not funded by government and, in the rare instances where public legal services are provided, they are available only for the poorest immigrants. Legal services related to the justice system, civil disputes, and family law among many other topics, are complex systems that newcomers often find challenging to navigate. For some migrants, such legal issues constitute important "turning points" that, if successfully navigated, smooth the process of integration. The chapter calls attention to this service gap, arguing that migrant resilience would be enhanced with improved access to legal supports. The authors advocate for enhanced legal aid services for migrant populations and more.

Together, these chapters add to our awareness of the varied sources and locations of support and services that influence migrant resilience beyond the state and government-funded programs. While expanding on the range of social institutions that provide support and services to international migrants, the case studies highlight the importance of mission driven efforts to assist migrants. They also point to the need for a whole-of-society

approach to integration that considers charitable organizations and other civil society actors and organizations as well as government-funded organizations and services. To grasp the sources of social resilience that empower migrants requires detailed investigation of social infrastructure writ large and the diverse institutions therein at the level of local places.

8

Christian Churches and Haitian Asylum Seekers Coping with Displacement

Frédéric Dejean and Emerson Jean Baptiste

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2017, the public learned about the experiences of asylum seekers arriving mainly in Quebec from the United States by crossing at Roxham Road in Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle in the Montérégie region. Images of the Montreal Olympic Stadium, transformed into an emergency welcome centre, captured the public imagination. Initially, the newcomers to Quebec were mainly Haitian nationals; over 7,300 Haitians arrived in 2017, representing nearly a third of all asylum seekers. The movement then tailed off, and between January and October 2018, a little over one thousand Haitians arrived, the sixth largest group of asylum seekers in terms of numbers.

In this chapter, we examine the work of Christian churches, primarily evangelical Protestant churches, with Haitian asylum seekers. The case study illustrates the role of religious institutions in the settlement and integration of some of the most vulnerable migrants: asylum seekers who are often fleeing violence and trauma and live in Canada with temporary status until their claims to permanent residence are adjudicated.

Our analysis draws on the concept of resilience that was popularized in the French-speaking world through the works of neuropsychiatrist Boris Cyrulnik. The term "resilience" is now used in numerous fields and mobilized by a range of disciplines in human and social sciences. In psychology, it designates "the art of adapting to adverse situations … by demonstrating capabilities that bring into play resources both internal (the subject's intrapsychic, cognitive, and

social characteristics) and external (relationships and supports in the social and affective environment)" (Anaut 2015, 43; our translation).

Resilience is therefore not a personality trait, but a process over time that results from the individual's interaction with their environment and that therefore possesses a psychosociological aspect. Its outcome rests on poles of protection that arise in the form of individual factors (internal resources) and familial and extrafamilial factors (external resources), such as, for example, religious groups.

To investigate the role of religion in building migrant resilience, we draw on the literature about "religious coping" and "spiritual resilience." Close to the notion of resilience, though not synonymous with it, the notion of coping refers to "the responses, reactions that the individual will develop to control, reduce, or simply tolerate the aversive situation" (Bruchon-Schweitzer and Boujut 2014, 471; our translation). Like resilience, the individual's ability to cope is closely associated with their environment and the presence of social factors likely to help them. Work based primarily in psychology has coined the expression "religious coping" to designate "religiously framed cognitive, emotional, or behavioral responses to stress, encompassing multiple methods and purposes as well as positive and negative dimensions" (Krause et al. 2001; Pargament, Koenig, and Perez 2000). Religious coping enhances spiritual resilience, "the ability to sustain one's sense of self and purpose through a set of beliefs, principles or values while encountering adversity, stress, and trauma by using internal and external spiritual resources" (Manning et al. 2019, 172).

For resilience, as for coping, religion can play many key roles. Religious beliefs and practices perform a crucial psychological/cognitive role. They constitute a framework within which people can search for meaning and a sense of control, create a sense of well-being and intimacy with others, and transform their existence. Religious groups are also meeting and socialization spaces of the utmost importance. An individual can find emotional support among their coreligionists. Positive impacts stem directly from the interactions immigrants have with their coreligionists. Being able to discuss and exchange views provides emotional benefits.

An extensive literature has documented how religious groups facilitate immigrant integration, summed up by the 3Rs: refuge, respect, and resources (Hirschman 2004). The first R designates the need for "refuge" provoked by newcomers' loss of traditional identity markers, one characterized above all by its psychological and affective

aspects. In the Christian domain, the so-called "ethnic" churches have emerged as reassuring spaces in which newcomers can find known points of reference and cultural enclaves that assist them in the acculturation process. The second R designates the respect and recognition to which the immigrants aspire. Both are related to the feeling of participating in and being included in society, particularly through access to jobs that coincide with their qualifications. Finally, the third R covers all resources – both material and immaterial – from which immigrants benefit because they belong to a church.

In this chapter, we investigate the links between religious beliefs and practices and migrant resilience through a case study of evangelical churches serving Haitian asylum seekers who arrived in Montreal in 2017. Qualitative fieldwork consisting of interviews with ten religious leaders and twenty asylum seekers reveals how the evangelical Protestant churches in Montreal acting on behalf of asylum seekers of Haitian origin function as a "gateway to integration." Our research shows that the churches' intervention, which follows a tradition specific to churches arising from immigration, is distinct in two respects. The churches' care of individuals is comprehensive and it responds to the psychological and emotional needs of asylum seekers. Churches provide material goods and various services, but they are also social spaces within which people may find meaning in their trajectories and individual experiences while drawing on religious discourses.

We present the analysis in three sections. We start by outlining the context of the churches' intervention, briefly explaining the history of Haitian migration and settlement in Montreal. The second section outlines how the churches welcome Haitian asylum seekers and offer the 3Rs. Finally, the conclusions summarize the evidence that interventions by the churches act as protective factors for asylum seekers as they integrate into Quebec society and also strengthen the entire system of available supports.

THE GENERAL CONTEXT: THE HAITIAN DIASPORA IN MONTREAL

Montreal is the third largest Haitian diaspora in the world after Miami and New York. The history of Haitian immigration goes back to the 1960s, with a first wave mainly composed of professionals. A second wave started in the 1970s, during which larger

numbers of Haitians immigrated, although many were less educated than the first wave. The Haitian community numbered only five hundred in 1967, but by 1971, this figure had increased sevenfold. A third wave of immigration began in the 1990s in the aftermath of the Duvalier dictatorship. Statistics Canada's 2016 Census[1] revealed that the Haitian "ethnic origin population" in Quebec numbered close to 145,000 people, of whom 74,000 had been born outside Canada, and nearly 67,000, in Canada. From a geographic point of view, the Haitian community is concentrated in Montreal; in 2016, more than 92 per cent of Quebec's Haitian population lived in the Montreal census metropolitan area and nearly 61 per cent in the Montreal administrative region (which corresponds to the island of Montreal). Within Montreal, people of Haitian origin were concentrated in four boroughs: Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension and Montréal-Nord. A large percentage of the asylum seekers arriving in Montreal in the summer of 2017 made their home in Montréal-Nord: nearly three thousand asylum seekers settled there between July 2017 and March 2018. In 2019, the largest percentage of asylum seekers settled in Parc-Extension (21 per cent) with a smaller percentage in Montréal-Nord (7 per cent).[2]

In religious terms, half of the Haitian community are Catholic and nearly 40 per cent are evangelical Protestants.[3] There are 150 evangelical Protestant churches that we classify as "Haitian" because they were founded by people of Haitian origin and many parishioners belong to the Haitian community. In some cases, creole is still used in church services.[4] The first churches were created during the second wave of immigration in the 1970s. The oldest, still active today, can draw several hundred members, but most churches are modest in size and number fifty to one hundred congregants. On the island of Montreal, the churches are concentrated in the two boroughs of Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension and Montréal-Nord, with fifty in Montréal-Nord alone.[5]

To fully understand the situation of Haitian asylum seekers, we need to look at their various migration trajectories that give rise to diverse material and psychological needs. Among the people who arrived between 2017 and 2018, three major groups can be identified:

1 Those who had chosen Canada as their destination from the outset and came directly from their country of origin, sometimes with a brief stopover in another country.

2 Those who experienced a convoluted path, especially the many Haitians who had been living in the US with Temporary Protected Status since the 2010 earthquake. When the US government announced that it was ending their protected status, many were afraid of being deported to Haiti and sought refuge in Quebec.
3 Other asylum seekers made stopovers between their countries of origin and Canada. Step migration with stopovers is particularly the case for people from Haiti who, after working a few months or years in Brazil, made the long and perilous journey to Canada on foot or by bus, crossing ten or more countries. In interviews with both the pastors and the asylum seekers, it was apparent that this category of asylum seekers was the most psychologically fragile because the perilous journey had often been punctuated with traumatic experiences.

In all cases, the asylum seekers are marked by their entry onto Canadian territory in an "irregular" way. Once in Canada, they must claim refugee protection through the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. In late 2018, the waiting period for a decision was two years, and most Haitian asylum seekers received a negative response. The rate of acceptance for asylum claims from people who made irregular border crossings between February 2017 and June 2019 was only 22 per cent for Haitians, compared to 92 per cent for Angolans and 78 per cent for Sudanese (Hanley 2021).

As a result of their migration histories and legal status, Haitian immigrants have distinct needs for support. They differ markedly in two respects from other immigrants. First and foremost, their journeys are complex, beset with traumatic experiences (armed conflict, death of loved ones, rape, aggression, extortion, exploitation, etc.) that create needs for mental health services and other specialized supports. Second, Haitian asylum seekers have precarious legal status. Once they enter Canadian territory, asylum seekers have no certainty that they will obtain refugee status, as we mentioned above. Without secure rights to residency, asylum seekers' eligibility for some public services is also limited.[6]

Forming Relationships with the Churches

Most Haitian churches in Montreal have practical expertise in helping immigrants, as most of their members and the leaders in these churches are themselves immigrants. Though they had not experienced the same difficulties as asylum seekers, they still had an intimate familiarity with the experience of integration into Quebec society. For all the pastors we interviewed, the social vocation of the churches went without saying and they did not wait for the massive inflow of asylum seekers in the summer of 2017 to offer services to newcomers. A pastor explained it this way: "We were there for them from both a spiritual and social point of view, because the gospel isn't just spiritual, but social as well" (pastor 1).[7]

Before examining how churches support asylum seekers, it is useful to ask how the relationship between asylum seekers and the churches is formed. Three main modes emerged in the interviews: "friendly interaction," where contact with a church is brought about by a friend; "family interaction," where contact with a church is brought about by a family member; and "fortuitous interaction," in which chance plays a decisive role. Most often, the person has learned about a church through an internet search or by simply passing by it.

Contact with a Montreal church can be made even before arriving in Montreal. A pastor explained, "Most of the asylum seekers came from the United States. And it so happens that we also have contacts with sister churches in the United States. I have received calls from American pastors who have told me they were sending me one of their parishioners" (pastor 3). This example clearly illustrates the importance of the transnational networks that link the churches to one another. It is important to keep in mind that what have been designated as local churches, on the surface functioning on a limited scale, have contacts with other local assemblies in the rest of Canada, the United States, France, and Haiti. These links appear more clearly when a local assembly is part of a denomination (or a family of churches) that has branches in several countries. This is the case, for example, for the Church of God of Prophecy: a Montreal Haitian pastor who belonged to it was contacted directly by a pastor from another local assembly in the United States.

HAITIAN CHURCHES, INSTITUTIONS OF RESILIENCE?

Here, we describe and evaluate how Haitian churches facilitate migrant resilience and integration by considering the 3Rs: refuge, respect and recognition, and resources. The discussion emphasizes how each contribution by the churches is relevant mainly to one of the 3Rs, although we recognize that the three can sometimes overlap. The transformative contributions of the evangelical churches for asylum seekers are documented in the analysis.

Refuge: Spiritual Resilience and Religious Coping

The first contribution of the churches concerns the way individuals use religious discourse to put words to their experiences of displacement and give them meaning. When Kosovar refugees were being resettled in the United States, a researcher explained that "the Kosovars conceptualized their suffering as a spiritual experience and turned to Islam to recover from war trauma" (Gozdziak 2002, 136). In a work on the Haitian diasporas of Paris, Miami, and Montreal, Margarita Mooney (2009, 9) proposes the concept of *cultural mediation* "to indicate how Haitians' religious faith provides them with narratives of hope in situations where they have little status or political voice." From this perspective, religion is not an end in itself but more a container within which experiences may gain meaning. The interviews confirmed the importance of Christianity as a discursive repertoire that asylum seekers mobilize to put what they have experienced into words. Such usage is all the more important in that certain people, particularly those who left Brazil and went as far as Canada, experienced particularly traumatic ordeals. For example, activities such as prayer time were aimed more at asylum seekers. They were an opportunity for the pastors to mobilize – and interpret – biblical texts in a way that had meaning for asylum seekers.

In addition to mobilizing religious discourses to put sensitive experiences into words, beliefs and religious practice shared with others are also resources for asylum seekers. As one of them explained, "Yes, my belief is in God, he gives us strength, he gives us a little capacity, but not really all because we are human, we can weaken at any time, but by praying to God sometimes, by talking with the other faithful of the church, you can obtain a little comfort" (asylum seeker 2). Another went in a similar direction: "Yes, because I have aid and

people who are praying with me, that helps" (asylum seeker 5). These two quotes perfectly illustrate what literature in psychology identify as "spiritual resilience" or "religious coping," two processes in which religious beliefs and practices may help asylum seekers to cope with the many difficulties arising from their situation.

Nevertheless, such use of religion raises the question of the boundary between spiritual intervention, which is the remit of the cleric, and psychological intervention, which, in the Quebec context, is the remit of the healthcare professional. The pastors emphasize the difficulty of establishing a clear line of demarcation between the two. It is, in their opinion, more of a grey area where the two kinds of intervention overlap, and they are aware that some of their interventions require them to depart from the strictly religious domain. This grey area between the two domains is all the more obvious in that the distinction between the psychological and the spiritual, as two distinct domains, is not universal but a product of the Western biomedical paradigm. However, this does not mean that religious leaders think they are equipped to respond to all of the situations of distress experienced by asylum seekers. In a discussion group in January 2020 with some fifteen Haitian pastors[8] from churches in Montréal-Nord, the pastors recognized the limits of their interventions in the psychological domain and the necessity to refer people to healthcare professionals. As one of them explained, "One day I had a talk in my office with a young man who, during his journey to Quebec, had been a victim of violence and had to deal with the traumas of these experiences. Even if my spiritual counselling brought some relief, it couldn't fully address these traumas" (pastor 3). The question raised here is how the churches and other institutional actors in the field are to coordinate with each other.

Respect and Recognition: The Church as a Space of Trust

Religion can be approached from the perspective of the sociology of networks as a creator of social connections. As the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1905, 366) wrote, "The faith which has come to be regarded as the essential, the substance, of religion, is first a relation between individuals." Indeed, one of the etymologies of the word "religion" often advanced is "religare" – that which binds and rebinds – the relationship being as much horizontal as it is vertical (between humans and a god or gods).

In previous research, we showed that social connections within churches are founded on a feeling of trust that facilitates discussion and cooperation (Dejean, Richard, and Jean 2019). Authors emphasize the capacity of religious organizations to produce and maintain a feeling of trust that facilitates interaction. Robert Putnam (2000, 18) states that "trustworthiness lubricates social life." We observed a similar phenomenon in the field with the Haitian churches. It is within the churches that asylum seekers develop significant relationships, construct a network of sociability, and form social capital that they can mobilize on different occasions. It is precisely because they share a common faith that asylum seekers feel more at ease in sharing their migration experiences with other members. An identification process is all the easier because the members are often themselves immigrants. It must always be kept in mind that asylum seekers have different social class positions and different trajectories. Their levels of trust and distrust vary according to their experiences. One asylum seeker declared that they preferred to confide in members of the church rather than in others. They ran no risk of being betrayed, denigrated, or mocked. They turned to their own people because their own people understood them better. An asylum seeker explained, "Here, we are among brothers, we protect one another. We can't denigrate our brother; we can only help him improve. If I tell my problems to someone else, it might not be taken seriously, which is contrary to the church because in the church the brothers will help me resolve my problems – pray with me, find solutions – which is not the case in other places" (asylum seeker 2).

This asylum seeker's discourse echoes the views of other asylum seekers. He shares experiences in the church rather than anywhere else. He is well known by his own people, it is easier for him to tell them of these difficulties; they simply understand him better than all the others: "Yes, you can share … you share a personal experience in a church … Well, I'm used to sharing this experience with people in the church and not anywhere else. As you already know, I am an asylum seeker, so I am not obliged to go anywhere to share my experience. The people in the church know me very well, so they know I'm an asylum seeker. It's easier for me to somehow explain my difficulties, my experiences. Ultimately, they manage to understand me better than others" (asylum seeker 2).

Resources: From the Material to the Social

The literature dealing with the role of religious groups working on behalf of immigrants stresses their capacity to mobilize the faithful en masse to provide staples: clothing (in Quebec, these are often winter coats and boots), food (foodbanks are frequently set up), and miscellaneous objects for day-to-day life (kitchen utensils, pots, etc.). As one asylum seeker put it in an interview, "Normally, I'm Catholic, I was looking for a church where I could take mass; I was told there was a Haitian church. When I arrived, the priest told me that they were giving us things, like things to eat – rice, peas, even vegetables – and used clothes, boots … They didn't help us with housing, it was only things to eat and clothing, every Wednesday, that's all." Another asylum seeker wholeheartedly agreed, "I can say that the church, oh! It helped me so much when I was looking for an apartment and when I was moving, the church helped me at that stage … Oh! The church gave me those chairs, those sofas, the living room in general comes from the church … Me, personally, I did not receive food aid from the church, but it usually does this kind of distribution to other people" (asylum seeker 8).

Though material support is not exclusive to religious organizations, as indicated in chapter 10, it is interesting to highlight their capacity for mobilization and their responsiveness in the face of an emergency. In interviews, several pastors explained that their churches had already been offering ad hoc services for immigrants (economic and family class), but that in the summer of 2017 they were faced with an emergency that demanded a rapid response. In only a few weeks, sometimes only a few days, churches built up stocks of clothing and miscellaneous objects that could be given to asylum seekers.

The churches are also sources of expertise that facilitate asylum seekers' integration. In interviews, several pastors reported having accompanied asylum seekers through the process of claiming asylum – by referring them to lawyers, for those who could pay the fees; by helping them build their stories; and by steering them to community organizations that offered administrative support.[9] Here is a typical excerpt from a pastor: "They arrive, they don't know the country yet, whom to refer to, okay, we tell them, there's such and such other pastor, such and such friend, who is in immigration; house x, house y, the organization, and then we

accompany them so that they can begin the process of claiming asylum. If the person is refused, we say, okay, there's another step. Others who were successful with certain lawyers, who do the job very well … they were given support by being referred by others … In fact, it's in terms of networking and communicative, informative support" (pastor 4).

In addition, many churches provide support to families when they send their children to school. The pastors report that they work with the parents to introduce the Quebec education system before members of the church familiarize parents with the practical arrangements involved in sending children to school.

When looking at the relationships between the churches and other actors, particularly community organizations, the interviews reveal collaborative and complementary relations. The pastors are generally aware of the limits of their supports and regularly seek out the services of community organizations, which they see as indispensable actors in the system of intervenors working on behalf of asylum seekers (see chapter 2 for more details). The churches appear as complements, as alternatives, and as conduits towards the organizations. It is not uncommon for asylum seekers to go first to churches and to then, on the pastors' advice, knock on the doors of community organizations. A pastor explained it this way, "Community organizations are doing a lot of work with them. I have an uncle who has an organization that helps people in the Côte-des-Neiges area; because I don't have enough time to do a lot of things, I refer to him to help me in certain situations. However, how I see our involvement, us, we want to be more personalized" (pastor 6). And an asylum seeker reported, "There are some nuns who sent me to the Maison d'Haïti where they do a lot of things. I was given food, I was given diapers for the children, and they gave training. There's also a daycare where they watch the children if you have to go out for two or three hours" (asylum seeker 8).

Pastors know that they cannot handle all the issues asylum seekers are facing, especially mental health challenges. During the discussion group with Haitian pastors previously mentioned, one of them explained that "the scope of my intervention is not always perfectly clear; sometimes, I know the person I am talking with needs more than a religious counselling and that her situation would be better addressed by a psychologist" (pastor 4).

CONCLUSION

The wave of Haitian asylum seekers in the summer of 2017 put pressure on all Montreal institutional actors working with these populations. Among them, evangelical Protestant churches played a key role. Active members of the Montreal Haitian diaspora since its beginning, these churches demonstrated a powerful responsiveness and an ability to mobilize their members. It enabled them to offer asylum seekers services and interventions that covered the 3Rs (refuge, respect and recognition, and resources).

Located in part in the borough of Montréal-Nord, these churches have emerged as actors promoting the resilience of people whose lives have been beset by traumatic experiences. Their influence on resilience operates on three levels: first, in terms of resources, because individuals gain access to critical goods and administrative expertise; second, sociability, because the individuals form a network of acquaintances that can be mobilized on different occasions; and third, on a more spiritual and emotional level, where beliefs and the religious rites performed become ingredients in managing the trauma wrought by the displacement experience. The findings underscore the critical importance of spiritual resilience for migrants whose migration histories and precarious status render them among the most vulnerable in Canadian society.

For all that, the churches must be understood as elements integrated into a much larger system of asylum seeker integration and support. As we have shown, the churches are distinguished by comprehensive care of the individual in environments that are conducive to developing a feeling of trust. However, because they cannot do everything and because their resources are limited, they work collaboratively with other organizations. For example, the question of the boundary between spiritual intervention and psychological care clearly demonstrates how indispensable it is to encourage coordination with other actors in such a way that it optimizes the churches' contributions to integration.

What appears as an authentic social vocation of the churches also appears from certain angles as an incongruity in contemporary Quebec. The secularization that has affected Quebec and other Western societies over the past decades has been characterized by a process of functional distinction, where religious institutions are

expected to look after religion and withdraw from certain sectors, such as health and education. This study of the churches serving Haitian asylum seekers adds critical nuance to this argument. Taking advantage of their close connections to vulnerable asylum seekers, often forged through transnational connections among the churches and their parishioners, the churches continue to offer critical supports in the form of refuge, respect and recognition, and resources while simultaneously acknowledging the limits of their contributions. Haitian churches in Montreal work closely with the community organizations that have replaced many religious institutions to ensure asylum seekers' complex needs are met. Equally important, the analysis of the churches' activities demonstrates the transformative potential of migrant resilience. Migrants' success in building institutions such as the Haitian churches and the relations that the churches maintain with diverse institutions, both religious and secular, provide crucial supports that facilitate migrant integration.

NOTES

1 Statistics Canada, "Data Products, 2016 Census," modified 26 November 2024, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm.

2 Source, Santé Montréal (link defunct): https://santemontreal.qc.ca/fileadmin/fichiers/professionnels/DRSP/sujets-a-z/Inegalite_sociale_de_sante_ISS/Web_FR_Faits_saillants-Portrait_demandeurs_asile_Mtl.pdf.

3 The 2011 National Health Services enumeration is as follows: Baptists – 8.6 per cent, Pentecostals – 5.1 per cent, and "other Christian religions" – 26 per cent.

4 However, it is important to note that French tends to be used more, particularly because the second and third generations do not have a good command of Creole.

5 This figure comes from our own estimates and information provided by the Conseil des leaders religieux de Montréal-Nord.

6 Unlike the Syrian refugees whose experiences are described in chapter 10, asylum-seekers are not eligible for many settlement services.

7 All quotes are translated from their original language, usually French, to English.

8 This discussion group took place during a meeting of the Conseil des leaders religieux de Montréal-Nord (Religious Leaders Council of Montréal-Nord). Interviews were conducted with some of these leaders.

9 The importance of legal services is underscored in chapter 9.

9

Access to Legal Representation and Migrant Resilience

Po Kwan (Tara) Chan, Francine Schlosser, and Gerry Kerr

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a prime destination for many migrants, and they are profoundly changing the country. In fact, Statistics Canada projects that by 2036 almost one-half of the Canadian population will be either first- or second-generation immigrants (Morency et al. 2017). As the population continues to diversify, it is important that legal structures and processes include and represent new Canadians. Access to legal services is a pressing issue in Canada. Despite this, limited research has been undertaken on diversity within the legal practice and how it might support building or increasing individual resilience in migrants. In response, we reviewed existing literature to examine two related research questions: (1) Does access to government-funded services help Canadian migrants foster higher levels of resilience? (2) In what ways is access to legal services likely to foster migrant resilience? In keeping with this volume's focus on "place," we seek to understand how access to legal services might help to compress the traditional time-space differential between citizens and newcomers by expanding the resource capital of vulnerable immigrants (see Massey 1991).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The secondary research providing information on migrants in Canada and their challenges was largely drawn from publications by the Government of Canada and other affiliated agencies

that help migrants. Keywords targeting Canadian statistics and information were initially used, but the research was expanded to incorporate relevant research from the United States and other parts of the world. Articles from various Canadian and American bar associations, peer-reviewed articles, and Canadian agencies like the National Self-Represented Litigants Project were used to better illustrate the challenges migrants face when dealing with the legal system and the steps organizations have used to reduce these barriers.

Theories of resilience came from research that relied on the protective factor resilience model, while some ideas were borrowed from the challenge model (Garmezy, Masten, and Tellegen 1984), as will be discussed later in this chapter. This hybrid approach does not appear to be infrequent, as the models are not mutually exhaustive. Business journals and studies focusing on human resources and management were sought out for information regarding how to best facilitate diversity to reap its benefits. Recognition and support for diversity were gathered from a variety of sources to better illustrate how diversity is generally accepted as a concept. Resources cited include speeches made by members of Parliament during discussions of bills, statistics disclosed by public corporations like banks, large studies done by organizations and Statistics Canada, peer-reviewed journals, examples of shareholder activism, and news reports.

Quantitative data about the Canadian population are from Statistics Canada and other government web pages and publications, and, because Ontario lawyers are the target group, we selected Ontario's Rules of Professional Conduct for the purposes of this paper (Law Society of Ontario n.d.). Though there are variations in the rules between the Canadian provinces and territories, it is recognized that each rule set should reflect the national Model Code of Professional Conduct set out by the Federation of Law Societies of Canada (2017). Because of this requirement, research that aids Ontario lawyers to fulfill their ethical duties can be broadly applicable to Canadian lawyers practising outside Ontario. Data on the legal field in Ontario were extracted directly from the official annual reports issued by the Law Society of Ontario, formerly known as the Law Society of Upper Canada.

MIGRANTS IN CANADA

The term *migrant* is not defined in Canadian legislation under the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act, Citizenship Act, or Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. The lack of a definition is likely due to the term's varied usage in multiple jurisdictions, a barrier to the precision often required in law. The United Nations (UN) Refugee and Migrants (n.d.) agency recognizes that there is no formal legal definition for the term. The UN International Organization for Migrants (n.d.) conception reflects the broad application of the term and considers migrants to be any people who move from their habitual residence to another state or country regardless of their legal status, reason, length of stay, and volition. We will adapt the broad definition of the UN and use the term to include immigrants, refugees, and anyone moving to a new country with the intention to stay permanently or indefinitely.

THE MIGRANT EXPERIENCE AND THE NEED FOR LEGAL SERVICES

Migrant experiences are diverse. People move for various reasons, and migrants possess varied amounts of social, physical, and financial capital. We consider the capital associated with three main immigrant admission categories: economic, family class, and refugee immigrants. Access to capital also varies depending upon each migrant's legal status as a permanent or temporary resident or a person who has precarious status. A large longitudinal study of twelve thousand Canadian immigrants conducted between 2001 and 2005 that categorized immigrants into three main groups – family class immigrants, refugees, and economic immigrants – found that inadequate jobs, linguistic and cultural adaptations, a lack of social support, and limited recognition of foreign credentials were some of the most difficult challenges (Schellenberg and Maheux 2007). While migrants may collectively face similar obstacles, different groups of migrants struggle more than other groups with certain challenges. For example, employment difficulties were most frequently cited as an obstacle by economic immigrants, while linguistic challenges were most cited by the refugee group (Schellenberg and Maheux 2007). In addition, the three most named obstacles for obtaining employment were a lack of Canadian work experience, a dearth of contacts

in the job market, and limited recognition of foreign experiences and qualifications (Schellenberg and Maheux 2007). This refusal to accept credentials is especially discouraging. Out of 844,000 Canadians facing recognition challenges, over 524,000 are estimated to involve international credentials (Grant 2016). These difficulties reduce migrants' ability to find employment, especially employment related to their field, and deter them from pursuing higher education (Grant 2016). These challenges may explain why migrants are offered and are more willing to accept low-paid employment. The median entry wage of immigrants who landed in 2016 was $25,900, while the Canadian population's median wage was $36,100 (Statistics Canada 2019).

The stakes are high, and the benefits are plentiful and varied. Many migrants were selected to enter and allowed to stay in Canada because of their potential economic contributions. While immigrants make up roughly 20 per cent of Canada's population, they comprise roughly 50 per cent of all STEM degree-holders in the country. They are also more entrepreneurial than other Canadians (IRCC 2017); four to eight years after arrival, immigrants are more likely to own private businesses than other Canadians (Green et al. 2016). Other trends include the observation that immigrants from English-speaking countries and those with more education were likelier to become business owners, although almost half of the owners had high school or less education (Green et al. 2016). The research results suggest that the business owners probably possess higher levels of resilience due to their increased resources and ability to navigate through various social institutions. Canada could "gain $13.4 to $17 billion through better-employed human capital resulting from enhanced learning recognition" (Grant 2016, iv).

Immigrants are also challenged by the complicated processes involved in immigration to Canada, and there is also the issue of losing status, which has become an increasingly significant challenge for migrants who arrive on temporary visas. There is a rising number of temporary workers and international students admitted into Canada, whose lengthy two-step or multistep immigration pathways may lead them to lose their status. As a result, legal support is becoming more crucial for this large and growing group of migrants.

Some of the barriers can result in profound and long-term effects. For example, lower income, limited education, and difficulties with Canada's official languages are associated with lower citizenship

rates (Hou and Picot 2019). Permanent residents in Canada enjoy many of the same benefits as Canadian citizens, and their status compares favourably with the United States (se, for example, Bloemraad 2006). However, Canadian permanent residents still have fewer rights, and they can be deported more easily than naturalized citizens. Indeed, conviction of certain crimes, even if no jail time is served, can be grounds for deportation (Community Legal Education Ontario 2017).

Timely availability of settlement and integration services and access to legal advice could facilitate credential recognition and improve migrants' success in obtaining the legal status that allows them to work. Employers and others interacting with migrants would benefit from the increased pool of qualified and skilled workers. While this chapter strives to paint a general picture of some of the major challenges migrants face while settling in Canada, the focus is on migrants' need for legal representation as they navigate the legal status needed to stay and work in the country. In support, we present a temporal framework to demonstrate the types of challenges faced, accessibility of resources, how different parties may mutually benefit from the migrants' journey, and the routes migrants may be forced to take as a result.

THE CONCEPT OF RESILIENCE

Resilience is key to developing a positive response to the many challenges commonly encountered by migrants. We define *resilience* as "a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker 2000, 543). Resilience often manifests in complex ways, especially under demanding conditions. For example, migrants may fail to obtain the legal status needed to work in the country as hoped, but they could still understand enough of the rules and provisions to obtain temporary relief while an appeal is filed. While the outcome is not fully satisfactory, a negative result would still be avoided for the time being.

Although individual traits are important, external resources in the community can be more important when individuals are faced with extreme adversity (Ungar 2012). The related notion of "*navigational capital* refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions" (Yosso 2005, 80; italics in the original). Navigational capital is not

always used to develop resilience, because different contexts can present varying demands, but resilience can be necessary to help migrants either reduce negative outcomes or successfully engage with deeper challenges. Similarly, the *challenge model* of resilience (Fergus and Zimmerman 2005; Garmezy, Masten, and Tellegen 1984) argues that moderate risks can be beneficial because they engage people while not overwhelming them. However, if formal institutions are too complex and their demands exceed the navigational capital of migrants, the absence of ameliorating community support hinders the development of resilience. Generally, resilience is difficult to develop if the resources needed to successfully engage with risks are not available or accessible (Ungar 2008).

Promotive external factors of resilience do not necessarily have to be government-funded services. Informal external resources can include community or religious associations where individuals can get help with linguistic barriers, financial needs, or legal questions (Roberto and Moleior 2016). Much of the groundwork is already in place in terms of providing general services to migrants. However, some essential services vital to the successful settlement for migrants, like legal services, may need to be modified or adjusted to reduce accessibility issues.

ACCESS TO LEGAL SERVICES

Accessibility to legal services is vital to all Canadians. Migrants face issues that citizens do not typically face, like deportation, whether they are allowed to work or access services in the country, and foreign credential recognition. The inability to attain the right status in Canada could be detrimental in migrants' journeys to become self-sufficient. When migrants fail to adequately represent themselves to remain in the country, they may become undocumented migrants and be pushed into types of work that may increase their dependency on others or, worse, be exploitive or illegitimate. Delays in obtaining permanent residency also hinder foreign credential recognition, damaging migrants' current and future economic prospects.

Access to legal services can be challenging for many reasons. They can include the acquisition of financial resources, a mismatch of business hours, the presence of language barriers, or just the inability to recognize when and how to access services. Section 167(1) of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act states that "a person who

is the subject of proceedings before any Division of the Board and the Minister may, at their own expense, be represented by legal or other counsel." People without the means to hire a lawyer, however, must proceed unrepresented in front of the immigration and refugee board even if the consequences can be life-changing. Furthermore, frequent budget cuts to immigration and refugee services for legal aid further decreases levels of accessibility (Caruso 2017; Canadian Press 2019).

For instance, the Government of Canada (2023) indicates that in 2022 alone, 39,540 asylum seekers were stopped by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at irregular border crossings, while 63,265 individuals crossed at official ports of entry. Of the 102,805 individuals officially accounted for in 2022, 91,935 asylum claimants were processed, 81,418 refugee claims were submitted, and, ultimately, 30,518 claims were accepted (Government of Canada 2023). Processing claims requires substantial time, so those administrated in 2022 likely do not fully account for the crossings in the same year. One would expect that migrants, who put themselves and their close ones at risk to travel to Canada in hopes of a better life, would put their best application forward to support their refugee claims. Yet, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2023) demonstrates that 1,352 refugee claims were abandoned and 5,691 claims were withdrawn or otherwise did not proceed further for an undisclosed reason. Of the 17,368 appeals filed in 2022, 97 were dismissed due to a lack of jurisdiction, 513 were dismissed due to a lack of perfection, and 702 were withdrawn, abandoned, and otherwise did not proceed further for undisclosed reasons (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2023). No further breakdowns were provided, but the numbers suggest that the application process is beyond the means of some applicants. Though legal professionals may also make mistakes, the number of appeals dismissed due to a lack of jurisdiction and perfection would likely be heavily reduced were they guided by legal professionals.

But gaps in support have been identified. The chair of the Canadian Bar Association Immigration Law Section expressed concerns in an open letter to the minister of justice and attorney general of Canada about the general lack of funding and about recent reductions to immigration and refugee legal services (Caruso 2017). The letter also pushed for claimants to be granted the same right to equal treatment as other Canadians and argued that studies showed "refugee

claimants represented by a lawyer have a 230% greater chance of approval of their case as compared to unrepresented claimants" (4). In the United States, the Public Counsel's Immigrants' Rights Project argued that asylum seekers are five times more likely to be successful for asylum applications if they are legally represented (Balaban, Boyd, and Garcia-Navarro 2018). Matters that speak to individuals' legal status are of utmost importance, so the significance of any increase to the chance of success cannot be overstated.

Duty counsels offer free legal advice to people and are commonly found in courthouses and occasionally through external agencies such as a regional residential tenancy board. Of all the provinces and territories in Canada, including the six provinces with funding for legal aid services for immigration and refugee matters for the year 2020 to 2021, only British Columbia and Ontario record a number higher than zero for the number of people they helped regarding an immigration and refugee issue (Government of Canada 2022). According to the notes in the legend, it appears that the rest of the provinces and territories generally either do not collect this type of data, have not made it available for reporting, or do not have civil duty counsels available at the relevant forum or at all (Government of Canada 2022). Without available data, it is difficult to identify the true unmet need for legal representation on the part of migrants who rely on duty counsel for help before their immigration proceedings.

THE MUTUALISTIC MIGRANT-LAW FRAMEWORK: LEGAL NEEDS, ACCESS TO SERVICES, AND THE PATH TO RESILIENCE

The Mutualistic Migrant-Law Firm Framework (see figure 9.1) illustrates the routes migrants often take when dealing with legal matters and the role that access to legal services plays in the creation of resilience. The mutualistic migrant and law firm process begins (on the left-hand side) with migrants facing legal matters beyond their navigational capital. Critical events include gaining eligibility for legal aid and locating necessary resources to deal with the legal questions. Law firms (represented on the right-hand portion of the model) have an important role. The pursuit of diversity and inclusion by firms may match lawyers with clients who share cultural backgrounds and better understand their needs and thought processes, which

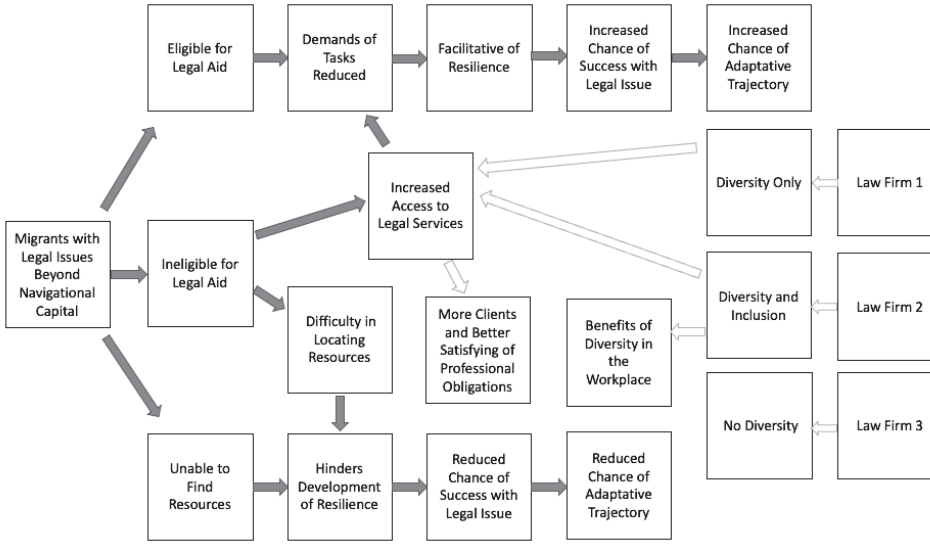

Figure 9.1 | Mutualistic Migrant-Law Firm Framework

may make it easier to discharge their ethical duties as well. Finally, the many complex tasks facing migrants typically involve numerous sources of support in many different forms and levels of persistence. Thus, migrant resilience is both manifested internally and fostered by external factors.

The Mutualistic Migrant-Law Firm Framework demonstrates how major challenges beyond the means of migrants' navigational capital may push them onto the route illustrated at the bottom of the model. There, unaided migrants are pushed into a less adaptative trajectory. In the next sections, we will explicate the framework, describing the challenges and making an argument for why increased access to justice is crucial.

High legal fees and income requirements for legal aid are barriers for legal representation. Legal aid also does not cover all areas of the law. The National Self-Represented Litigants Project recently issued a report in which 173 self-litigants voluntarily answered questions about their backgrounds and experience with the legal system (Fragomeni, Scarrow, and Macfarlane 2020). The report found that

75 per cent of respondents listed English as their first language, 68 per cent had postsecondary education, and over 65 per cent identified as "Caucasians." Challenges and barriers identified include the emotional demands of the process; the steep learning curve of knowing the necessary legal vocabulary, legal research, and case law; unclear required paperwork; and the risk of paying the legal fees of the other party if the action is unsuccessful (Fragomeni, Scarrow, and Macfarlane 2020). Though the sample size is not large and there is likely a self-selection bias since the survey was not mandatory, the comments in the report provide a glimpse into the problems experienced by self-represented litigants. Another report issued by the project stated that the majority of respondents felt overwhelmed by the process, and only a small number of them felt that they could represent themselves again if needed (Macfarlane 2013).

There are multiple examples of self-represented litigants who may have high levels of navigational capital but still struggled through the process (Macfarlane 2013). Migrants with less navigational capital are likely to have an even tougher time coping with the legal system. A case study of thirty-five participants concluded that one of their biggest challenges was understanding how formal structures like border services worked so they could gain the status needed to access realms like labour markets or educational programs (Roberto and Moleior 2016). Challenges also included linguistic barriers, a lack of information about the process, and the complexity of the required documents (Roberto and Moleior 2016). Community-based work has demonstrated that the translation of documents is not enough to promote resilience as not all immigrants are literate in the translated language (Vesely, Letiecq, and Goodman 2017). Barriers can make systems too complex for individuals to endure and, subsequently, affect their ability to build resilience (Vesely, Letiecq, and Goodman 2017).

In 2017, the Supreme Court of Canada released a decision recognizing the challenges that self-represented litigants often face. The key result of the case was the court's endorsement of the *Statement of Principles of Self-represented Litigants and Accused Persons*. These principles are meant to advise different parties in the legal system of ways to help "foster equal access to justice and equal treatment under the law" (Canadian Judicial Council 2006). By endorsing the principles, the highest court in Canada is formally acknowledging the difficulties self-represented litigants often

encounter, and it directs Canadian courts to take reasonable steps to help them through legal processes.

Only one conclusion is supportable. The legal system can be a useful tool to help migrants at vital points of their settlement. Representation by a lawyer can transform the legal system from a complex and inaccessible milieu to one where their entitled rights can be obtained, thereby granting the status needed to permanently stay in the country, avoid deportation, and sidestep disputes that may otherwise generate great financial burdens. Thus, lawyers can be invaluable resources for migrants, helping to reduce risks to a manageable level and, in turn, creating an environment conducive for building resilience.

The feeling that social justice is attainable has been found to be foundational for creating conditions that help foster resilience (Ungar 2008). If lawyers take steps to better understand the challenges migrants face, they can help migrants foster greater resilience by reducing challenges to a reasonable level so they can engage with them successfully (Rutter 1987) and by creating circumstances in which migrants may feel that social justice is within reach (Ungar 2008). Migrants who are unable to afford lawyers may feel that social justice is more attainable when dealing with innovations like the online Civil Resolution Tribunal in British Columbia, where litigants generally cannot be represented without permission. Migrants are likelier to surmount challenges and build resilience in settings like the Tribunal where unrepresented groups are the target demographic.

ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT-FUNDED SERVICES AND MIGRANT RESILIENCE

Migrants often have a difficult time settling in Canada. When faced with severe adversities, internal promotive factors may not be sufficient to help migrants if tasks are beyond their "navigational capital" (Ungar 2012). External factors like government-funded services can help migrants settle in Canada. A report evaluating settlement programs in Canada found that many other countries also saw the services as essential, and migrants agreed that their social networks did not substitute for the specialized expertise and training provided by settlement services (IRCC 2017). Therefore, the availability and accessibility of services that help reduce challenges to a manageable level are important in the development of resilience. One of

the bigger challenges facing migrants during the settlement process is navigating the legal system to obtain the required legal status (Roberto and Moleiro 2016). Legal aid is one of the most important government-funded services that can help migrants successfully negotiate the complex legal system.

Unfortunately, eligibility for legal aid is quite rare. As of April 2023, the financial threshold for Ontario Legal Aid is $22,720 for a one-person family, $32,131 for a two-person family, and $39,352 for a three-person family (Legal Aid Ontario 2023). For certificate services, in which legal issues are generally more serious or beyond the expertise of general legal aid clinics, Legal Aid Ontario may pay a private lawyer a limited number of hours to help, but the financial threshold drops to $18,795 for a one-person family while the other thresholds remain the same (Legal Aid Ontario 2023).

Setting low-income ceilings ensures limited resources are allocated to the most vulnerable in society. However, the limits exclude many people with low incomes. For example, fast-food workers working three eight-hour shifts a week at $16 an hour are already ineligible for certificate services. If workers complete an extra two shifts a month, they are ineligible for legal aid as well. Given that the national average cost of a two-day civil trial in Canada in 2015 was $31,330 (McKiernan 2015), the fast-food workers are likely unable to hire a private lawyer. As a result, many Canadians are not eligible for legal aid, yet they cannot afford to hire a lawyer. Migrants also face additional challenges that may not be experienced by naturalized citizens, like language barriers, unfamiliarity with local resources, or limited social networks, any one of which make them more vulnerable. Financial thresholds for legal aid should reflect the additional challenges migrants often have to face.

The financial eligibility thresholds are set for general legal matters for Canadians. Other areas found to be deserving of additional consideration are domestic violence and criminal cases. These legal matters used to be addressed by Ontario Legal Aid by having a separate financial threshold that allowed more people to get help (Pro Bono Ontario 2019), but that is no longer the case. With the recent Legal Aid Services Act that came into effect in October 2021, and the Legal Aid Services Rules developed from it, lists of specific situations have been created in which people may get help regardless of their financial eligibility. For immediate legal advice regarding domestic violence and immigration matters, people may

be eligible for multiple two-hour sessions a year regardless of their financial eligibility (Legal Aid Ontario 2024). Duty counsels and courthouse-based lawyers are also available to help Ontarians in criminal, family, and child-protection cases. It should be noted that, at the time of writing, the recently passed Legal Aid Services Act still has sections that have yet to take effect, so this section of the chapter may be affected by the changes to come.

ARGUMENTS FOR ACCESS TO LEGAL SERVICES AND HIGHER MIGRANT RESILIENCE

Engagements with the legal system are often significant turning points in people's lives. If the important tasks are dealt with successfully, a life course can take a more adaptive trajectory (Rutter 1987). For example, successfully obtaining the legal recognition needed to stay in the country, to work, to begin credential accreditation, and to be eligible to receive social benefits can mean the difference between a life headed towards a stable future and one that becomes increasingly precarious. Having access to legal services as an external promotive factor can help even the odds. In the following section, we describe the changing priorities in Canada that support increased access to justice for all Canadian migrants and recommend how to overcome the structural barriers that remain.

Making Access to Canadian Justice a Priority

The House of Common Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights (2017) made ten recommendations to improve accessibility to legal services in Canada. The proposal most relevant for migrants is the following: "The Committee recommends that the Department of Justice Canada work with the provinces and territories to enhance the number of individuals eligible for legal aid by examining how to better use client contributions on a sliding scale based on income to maximize access to justice" (15). Assuming the capacity of legal aid can increase without significantly increasing delays, implementing the recommendation would help more individuals who would otherwise not be able to afford representation.

Currently, only six provinces in Canada have legal aid funding allocated for immigration and refugee matters for the year 2020 to 2021 (Government of Canada 2022). This means migrants who do

not reside in the six provinces lack an important protective, resilience-building resource in their external environment. Even though the six provinces are the ones where most migrants are likely to settle, the arrangement eliminates legal aid as a potential resource for those who settle elsewhere. Rather than failing entirely to fund legal aid for immigration and refugee matters, it may be more reasonable to allocate modest funds, reflecting the low migrant numbers in those provinces.

Only the most marginalized in society qualify for Legal Aid Ontario, yet, in April 2019, Ontario cut one-third of the funding to Legal Aid Ontario (Tumilty 2019). The reductions eliminated provincial funds for refugee and immigration cases. The action led to an uproar within the legal community and the public. In response, Prime Minister Trudeau announced that the federal government would ensure that legal aid for immigrants and refugees continued in Ontario (Jackson 2019). Later in the year, Ontario cancelled the planned budget cuts to Legal Aid Ontario, but the budget cuts that had already been implemented for 2019–2020 remained in place (Ministry of the Attorney General 2019). The chain of events that unfolded and led to the cancellation of planned budget cuts demonstrates how the public can directly influence public policy.

The disconnection between government policies and public needs begs the question of whether the government is truly representative of society. To better understand the ramifications of their decisions, policymakers must rigorously consult those who have lived experiences of the issues. Instead of reducing or eliminating essential programs, all levels of government should recognize their importance to the most marginalized— which often includes migrants.

Implications for Policymakers

Legal issues permeate everyone's lives. The Canadian Forum on Civil Justice believes that 48.4 per cent of "Canadians over 18 will experience at least one civil or family justice problem over any given three-year period" (Farrow et al. 2016, 14). In Canada, Pro Bono Ontario (2019) claims that every dollar spent on their programs yield $10 in investment through economic benefits. Richard Fowler from the Canadian Council of Criminal Defence Lawyers also testified in Parliament that "studies have consistently shown, as my colleague said, that for every dollar invested in legal aid, there are economic ben-

efits of between two to seven dollars" (House of Commons 2016, 7). The literature consistently supports investing in ways to increase access to justice because it ultimately saves money for litigants and the government.

Ethical Conduct for Law Firms

Lawyers are strongly encouraged to make legal services accessible. Commentary 2 of rule 4.1–1 under Making Legal Services Available in Ontario's "Rules of Professional Conduct" encourages lawyers to take cases pro bono or to reduce or waive fees when doing otherwise would deprive a potential client of representation (Law Society of Ontario n.d.). The rule reminds lawyers to recognize the constraints of money and to encourage them to consider the underlying principles of the justice system such as fairness.

Although there are specific rules concerning the issues of integrity and respect for the administration of justice, cultural competency is not defined as a duty. However, the argument is often made that lawyers still have an obligation to "read in" cultural competency under their obligation to be competent in the role (Voyvodic 2005). Rose Voyvodic (2005) defines a culturally competent lawyer as someone who understands how cultural differences shape the way clients perceive the legal system, comprehends the potential impact of assumptions and stereotypes on themselves and clients, and is willing to take steps to reduce those negative influences to pursue justice for clients. Enhanced cultural competency may augment lawyers' ability to discharge their responsibilities to their clients. Matching clients with lawyers who best understand their language and values would allow firms to provide better representation and strengthen their duty of care. Correspondingly, public confidence in our legal system would be boosted by providing clients with an increased sense of being understood. Moreover, the closer match with clients to ensure that their interests and needs are best represented aligns with lawyers' obligations to "encourage public respect for and try to improve the administration of justice" (Law Society of Ontario n.d., 112).

Implications for Law Firms

Abundant research delineates the benefits of diversity in the workplace, but this "business case" is less connected to law firms. However, Lexpert (2020) noted that the ten largest Canadian law firms all had statements about diversity and inclusion and that fostering diverse perspectives and an inclusive environment can lead to better talent retention, higher performance, enhanced service levels, and broader market appeal. A true cultural competency may even offer firms a means of supporting a sustainable competitive advantage.

CONCLUSION

Canada welcomes migrants for many important reasons, including the need to replace our declining population and the benefits they bring in boosting and maintaining our economy (McArthur-Gupta, El-Assal, and Bajwa 2019). The Canadian identify is inseparable from immigration.

Though the settlement experience varies, it is known to be peppered with deep challenges for many migrants. Resilience is built when both risks and promotional factors that can either reduce negative outcomes or enable individuals to successfully complete tasks are present (Rutter 1987). When systems are too complex to navigate, negative outcomes are likely to result (Fergus and Zimmerman 2005). Challenges can be better dealt with if migrants operate in environments where they can access the resources necessary to successfully engage with tasks (Ungar 2012). Government-funded services can be key resources.

Among the many challenges migrants face on their settlement journeys, the legal system is likely the most important and complex system they encounter. It is important to support migrants at legal "turning points." They will be offered an increased chance to succeed and provided surroundings that foster resilience, which will, in turn, help migrants deal successfully with future challenges.

The benefits of improved access to legal services do not just flow to migrants. Investing in legal aid has been shown to bring cost-savings to the government. Although government and nongovernment agencies provide settlement services, legal services for migrants are often lacking. Engagements with the legal system to obtain the appropriate legal status to work or stay, to apply for citizenship, or to deal

with personal matters are tasks that can be complex and lengthy. Unfortunately, funds for legal aid clinics to help with immigration matters are not available in all provinces and only the poorest migrants qualify for legal aid. Even established Canadians, who do not face the same barriers as migrants, also had great difficulties in successfully engaging the legal system.

Migrants come from all walks of life, are at different stages of settlement, and hold varying levels of economic power. The implications for legal firms are similarly varied. Increasing the accessibility of legal services does not necessarily and simply mean doing more pro bono work. Increasing availability can benefit the legal profession in other ways. For example, accessibility can be increased through augmented diversity in law firms. Law firms can also reap benefits through improvements to lawyers' cultural competency. Both parties can benefit. While migrants can receive better services as clients, law firms can gain access to new clients, better discharge their ethical duties, fulfill their professional obligations, and reduce miscommunications. If diversity is properly managed, and an inclusive work environment can be maintained, law firms can also enjoy the well-recognized and researched benefits that come with having diverse workplaces. At the same time, migrants can foster higher levels of resilience by having their challenges reduced from a level beyond their navigational capital to ones that they can handle – enabling the development of still more resilience (Fergus and Zimmerman 2005).

PART FOUR

Local Places

Where migrants live is one of the most significant aspects of their new lives in Canada. Migrant integration is inherently local even though national and provincial levels of government largely set immigration and settlement policy. The policies come to life in each place where migrants live marked by the local social, economic, cultural, and political characteristics that affect every aspect of integration. At the same time, the integration of migrants alters the places where they live. In this part, two chapters examine explicitly the two-way relationship between place and migrant integration and resilience, investigating how place shapes the integration and resilience of migrants and, in turn, how migrants remake places. Chapter 10 probes the tensions that arose as volunteers and immigrant-serving agencies worked to welcome Syrian migrants in Gatineau and chapter 11 compares migrants' decisions to live in three neighbourhoods and the effects of those decisions on migrant integration. Reflecting the emphasis of much Canadian immigration policy, both chapters study immigrants who are permanent residents. In the case of Gatineau, attention is focused on Syrian migrants who received permanent residency because their claims to refugee status were acknowledged by the Government of Canada. In Ottawa and Gatineau, foreign-born permanent residents are large percentages of the population living in the neighbourhoods being studied.

In chapter 10, Anyck Dauphin and her collaborators underscore how the municipality where international migrants settle shapes integration and resilience. The influence of local governments on migrant integration is often underappreciated. Measures such as

sanctuary city policies that promise access to municipal services to all residents regardless of legal residency status and direct police and other municipal employees to not ask about residency status signal a welcoming community for newcomers. Other municipal policies concerning subsidized housing, zoning codes that facilitate secondary rental suites, and public transportation investments among others have even more impact on migrants' everyday lives. Municipal support for immigrant-serving agencies often facilitates migrant integration, as Dauphin et al. show in Gatineau by documenting the benefits of a well-developed immigrant-serving agency that worked closely with local government and a welcoming community of volunteers.

The Gatineau research also illustrates the complexity of place where supports and services are available from the municipal government, immigrant-serving agencies, and volunteers anxious to help Syrian migrants integrate. Tensions arose as the three tried to work together to support Syrian migrants. For example, municipal priorities to serve all urban residents regardless of race or ethnicity and the desire of volunteers and immigrant-serving agencies to meet the needs of specific ethno-racial groups clashed. Tensions also arose between the immigrant-serving agency and volunteers, in part because of the immigrant-serving agency's limited capacity to train and supervise volunteers and its commitment to ensuring that migrants who arrive as refugees are independent within a year of arrival when financial support largely ends. Having befriended Syrian migrants, volunteers were acutely aware of their difficulties and eager to provide assistance that in the short-term might not promote independence. The case study highlights the benefits of coordination and collaboration, highlighting how institutions shape integration as much by what they do not support as by their actions to serve international migrants.

In chapter 11, which compares immigrants' views about their living conditions in three neighbourhoods from Ottawa and Gatineau, the authors document the significance of place-based activities for migrant integration. Residents note that the ethno-racial diversity of the neighbourhoods promotes social ties. Sharing the experience of being uprooted and building a new life in a new place, residents often find it easy to build new social ties and networks, especially when their neighbours are from different ethno-racial groups. Working together to improve local spaces also

facilitates social connections among immigrants in these neighbourhoods. Despite the success of residents' bottom-up efforts to improve their neighbourhoods, the chapter also highlights how limited access to gathering spaces, few financial resources, and poor communication of policies and other relevant information limit residents' efforts to improve local spaces, strengthen social connections, and help each other. The stigmatization of the three low-income neighbourhoods with large migrant populations poses additional challenges for integration, with residents reporting that their sense of belonging had been undermined by living in a neighbourhood labelled dangerous and poor.

With its detailed examination of the neighbourhoods where immigrants live, chapter 11 identifies the neighbourhood characteristics that matter to international migrants. Even in low-income neighbourhoods, affordable housing, walkability, sociability, and the availability of services facilitate integration, enabling migrants to overcome integration challenges. They can also encourage migrants' involvement in civil society. According to the neighbourhood residents quoted in chapter 11, civic participation that often begins with grassroots community events and, for some, extends into sustained participation in community organizations contributes to a sense of belonging that counteracts the effects of stigmatization, just as Sean Karen Lauer, Lok Yi Wong, and Miu Chung Yan (2022) found for neighbourhood houses in Vancouver. In Ottawa and Gatineau neighbourhoods, bringing together otherwise diverse groups of people with a shared interest in a local place combats isolation and loneliness. The volunteers in Gatineau also benefited from their shared commitment to helping Syrian migrants settle. Successful neighbourhood efforts to combat social problems and stigmatization set up future struggles as low-income migrants resist the displacement that often accompanies neighbourhood improvement.

The chapters in this part document the complicated nature of place for migrants, even when we consider only those who have permanent residence. An everyday, taken-for-granted term that has multiple meanings, *place* refers to a spatial location, a locale that offers differential access to facilities and services and separation from environmental hazards and a territory with multiple and shifting meanings for each resident (Cresswell 2014b; Massey 1991). More than 80 per cent of permanent residents in Canada

live in urban areas (Statistics Canada 2022b), although increasing numbers live outside the historic gateway cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The case studies in these two chapters provide invaluable insight into the challenges of integration and resilience in midsized and small metropolitan areas. In Gatineau, the detailed investigation of efforts to support Syrian migrants highlights the complexity of place. Despite being united by a shared purpose to help Syrian migrants, different institutions and social groups still struggle to agree how to achieve this goal. Chapter 11 shows how focusing on neighbourhoods, the resources and constraints they offer to international migrants, and migrants' involvement in civil society uncovers many aspects of place that are relevant to international migrants.

The value of the place-based approach advocated by the authors in this part was confirmed during the recent pandemic, when people relied on local resources as key sources of social resilience and mutual aid. Local sociability also proved an important antidote to the decline of civic engagement and loss of trust associated with neoliberalism and the rise of right-wing populism before and during the pandemic. The studies reported in this part highlight the value of looking below the national, provincial, and even metropolitan scales to the very local circumstances in which migrants live and work to enhance our understanding of integration and the factors that promote resilience.

10

Local Stakeholders and the Resilience of Syrian Refugees

Anyck Dauphin, Seham Shoubaky, Jeanne Boucher Lauzon, Florina Gaborean, and Ousama Malouf

INTRODUCTION

Gatineau, a historic welcoming haven (Ville de Gatineau 2013), is one of the fourteen cities designated by the Quebec government for receiving refugees. The city participated in Operation Syrian Refugees launched by the Canadian government in November 2015. Of the 664 Syrians who arrived between 2016 and 2020, 439 were government-assisted refugees (GAR) and 225 were privately sponsored.[1] This means that, after Montreal and Laval, Gatineau resettled the third-highest number of Syrian refugees among all Quebec cities. Like other small and medium-sized cities designated by the province of Quebec, Gatineau received more government-assisted than privately sponsored refugees.[2]

Five years after the first wave of Syrian refugees arrived in Gatineau, a report[3] by Anyck Dauphin et al. (2021) evaluated their resettlement experiences in the city. Written at the request of several civil society actors who had worked on resettlement, the report describes how the municipal government, civil society organizations, and the public in Gatineau mobilized to assist Syrian refugees, outlining the services and other forms of assistance they received, particularly through refugee sponsorship. In addition to describing Syrian refugees' settlement experiences in Gatineau, along with their retention rates and plans to stay in the city, the report reveals that many refugees encountered difficulties learning French and obtaining

employment, challenges they also encountered in Montreal, as outlined in chapter 8.

Although the report's observations largely reflect the shared views of municipal actors, front-line intervenors, civil society, and refugees, the study also revealed disagreements regarding the "best ways" to resettle Syrian refugees. By "best ways," we mean practices that promote the resilience of the refugees. *Resilience* is defined as the ability to recover from disruption and cope with adversity. In the case of refugees, *adversity* is made up of all the obstacles they will have to overcome to rebuild their lives in their new environment (Vatz Laaroussi 2009). Resilience is what helps refugees overcome the barriers to rebuilding their lives and to integrating into their new environment. It depends not only on the personal resources of the refugees but also on available social resources (Vatz Laaroussi 2009). Formal and informal support and resettlement services, public services generally, and prevailing social policies affect the social resources available and the ease with which refugees can recognize, access, and mobilize them (Preston et al. 2021; chapter 2). At the same time, social structures and power relations that condition access to resources can be empowering or constraining.

The disagreements about resettlement practices all refer to situations in which "existing" social resources that had the potential to enhance refugees' resilience were not made available. Specifically, three issues arose: (1) the place of volunteers in the structure of resettlement services, (2) the support given by the municipal government to mono-ethnic groups, and (3) the approach to care and support of sponsored refugees. This chapter documents these divergent views to create a dialogue between them. We approach the issues one by one, presenting first the perspectives adopted by different actors and then briefly hovering over the debate to which they relate. To situate the disagreements, we begin by describing Gatineau, a place with unique characteristics, especially its complicated connections with the nearby municipality of Ottawa, and the methodological approach of the report.

THE GATINEAU CONTEXT

In the last census in 2021, the census metropolitan area (CMA) of Gatineau had a population of 353,293, making it the fourth-largest city in Quebec. With 13.45 per cent of its population consisting of

immigrants, of which 21.64 per cent are recent immigrants, the CMA of Gatineau has the second-highest rate of newly arrived immigrants in Quebec, after the CMA of Montreal. Its Arab community numbered 8,220 in 2021 (Statistics Canada 2023).

The City of Gatineau has infrastructure for welcoming and supporting refugees, and the agency Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais (APO) is at its centre. This agency is the sole service provider designated by the government to welcome GARs on arrival and provide them with immediate resettlement services.[4] Together with Accompagnement des femmes immigrantes de l'Outaouais, APO is also mandated to provide information, encouragement, and referrals to appropriate resources and services. The French-language courses that are funded and overseen by the Quebec government take place in educational institutions and at the Accompagnement des femmes immigrantes de l'Outaouais. As far as employment is concerned, three employment centres, each located in a different sector of the city, serve newcomers.[5]

A distinctive feature of Gatineau is its geographical location on the border of the province of Ontario, adjacent to Ottawa, the capital of Canada. The population of metropolitan Ottawa is practically three times the size of that of Gatineau and the English language predominates. Immigrants also comprise a slightly higher proportion of Ottawa's population, 23.91 per cent in 2021, of which 18 per cent settled recently, between 2016 and 2021. The Arab and Syrian populations in Ottawa are respectively five and ten times larger than those of Gatineau (Statistics Canada 2023). The City of Ottawa also received six times as many Syrian refugees under Operation Syrian Refugees (Government of Canada 2019). Despite the fluid transborder dynamics between Gatineau and Ottawa, notably in terms of employment and commercial activities, newcomers living in Gatineau cannot use settlement services in Ottawa. Access to settlement services is dictated by place of residence. Settlement services differ between Ontario and Quebec because Quebec, rather than the federal government, largely controls the reception and integration of immigrants, including refugees, on its territory (Charette 2021).

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The research for this chapter was conducted collaboratively with an advisory committee composed of representatives of the main agencies serving refugees: APO, the Centre de services scolaire des

Portages-de-l'Outaouais, and Services Intégration Travail Outaouais, as well as Services Québec and the City of Gatineau. A sponsor and two Syrian migrants, a man and a woman who had arrived in Canada before the beginning of the Syrian conflict, also served on the committee.

Data collection for the study was carried out in three stages. First, Syrian refugee families were surveyed between March and June 2019 with a questionnaire that asked about sponsorship, health status, housing conditions, francization, educational level, employment, financial situation, social interactions, sense of belonging, and respondents' settlement plans. Of the 108 families who had arrived in Gatineau between 2015 and 2018, 69 completed the questionnaire. Preliminary analysis of the data revealed that the support provided by sponsors, experiences with French-language courses, and employment integration called for further investigation. In the fall of 2019, we began semi-structured interviews with sixteen representatives from the various agencies and government offices involved in refugee resettlement to learn about their experiences with Syrian refugee families and to elucidate some of the survey results. Following analysis of these interviews, in January and February 2020, we interviewed ten refugee families to follow up findings from the surveys and semi-structured interviews.

DISAGREEMENTS ON REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

The Place of Volunteers in the Structure of Resettlement Services

Apart from the sponsorship groups, volunteers numbered in the hundreds during the wave of Syrian refugee arrivals in Gatineau in the first half of 2016. Many were dedicated to helping the newcomers, devoting incalculable hours to their volunteer activities. Some are still active. APO, which already had to deal with the arrival of Syrian refugees, was so overwhelmed by the influx of volunteers that it could not take full advantage of their energy and enthusiasm. The director of APO told us, "At the time, we missed out on a lot of people who could have helped us, who could have helped the newcomers, who could have been with the newcomers in a better way. We were overwhelmed by the number of people who wanted to be volunteers."[6] And as a volunteer with APO noted, "I went to one of their meetings for APO volunteers and I asked them why they didn't

have a volunteer program. That was in 2016–2017! There was no one in the structure of APO who was responsible for volunteers" (volunteer #12).

Seeing that APO and other organizations were not incorporating volunteers effectively and to better manage their efforts, some residents formed their own group and worked independently, without oversight from APO. "We had a lot of volunteers who wanted to get involved. There were even people that we didn't agree with … We provided every opportunity to have certain activities here, but some volunteers like to do things in their own way. So, okay, that's fine … They are people who have really invested a lot of time for the newcomers. And that should be highlighted. Their work should be appreciated" (director of APO). These volunteers organized educational and cultural activities, including excursions, and, thanks to corporate donations, distributed used and reconditioned bicycles, tablets, computers, and French-Arabic alphabet books to the families. Over time, realizing that adults were having great difficulty learning French and that some children were struggling at school, the volunteers concentrated their efforts on support for francization, focusing on daily life and helping children with homework. Providing assistance with francization at home was especially effective for mothers busy with family responsibilities.

The volunteers who were not supervised by APO had to work hard to ensure refugees knew about their services. For reasons of confidentiality and security, APO would not provide the volunteers with contact information for Syrian refugee families or provide the families with the volunteers' contact information. The volunteers had to depend on refugee families spreading the word about their services. Some isolated families may therefore have missed out on the services provided by volunteers. In addition, the difficulties of contacting families made volunteer work more difficult. "A family would arrive and hear about us. So that's how we were introduced: 'Come, I will introduce you.' So gradually we became better known. It's too bad Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais was not more proactive. For instance, having a form in French and Arabic explaining that the family gives permission to APO to transmit its contact information to groups of citizens who want to help. That would have saved us time, that would have allowed us to [reach more families]" (volunteer #11).

As the volunteers were not registered and had no official status, they lacked legitimacy in the eyes of APO, which ensures that

supervised volunteers do not have criminal records and have the human skills required to support newcomers. APO also had a number of "its own" volunteers, so it was not desirable from the organization's perspective to inform Syrian families about volunteers and their services.

The situation experienced in Gatineau is not unique. An Ontario study (Smith, Hadžiristic, and Alipour 2018) about the interactions between government-designated service providers and volunteers reveals that similar tensions arose in approximately half of the cases analyzed. On the one hand, service providers reported that some volunteers showed impatience at their limited access to the Syrians and lacked awareness of the vulnerabilities of refugees. On the other hand, some volunteers deplored how service providers acted as gatekeepers, limiting volunteers' direct engagement with refugees. Volunteers sometimes felt that service providers were more concerned with process and territory than with addressing Syrian refugees' immediate problems. As a result of service providers' difficulties managing the large number of volunteers, many were not efficiently mobilized or simply lost interest along the way. The difficulties of managing volunteers also sometimes hampered the delivery of services by the agencies themselves (Kenny and Mamuji 2019).

Dedicating personnel to the coordination of volunteers, as APO began to do in 2018, is considered a best practice to make better use of volunteers, but service providers need the necessary financial resources and expertise for this task. Susan Fratzke and Emma Dorst (2019) recommend that governments provide funding for community engagement as part of each agency's resettlement strategy. However, as rightly noted by Craig Damian Smith, Tea Hadžiristic, and Lina Alipour (2018), official recognition of service providers' responsibility to work with volunteers could backfire by reinforcing their image as gatekeepers.

The tensions raise important questions about the place of volunteer initiatives in settlement services, particularly when many residents mobilize to offer assistance. As groups of volunteers often arise spontaneously and are short-lived, it is not realistic to require them to constitute themselves as legal nonprofit entities before beginning their activities. The experiences in Gatineau invite us to consider how to give space to volunteers' initiatives and to establish their legitimacy without putting a damper on their momentum, given the fact that, undeniably, volunteers strengthen the resilience

of refugees by providing individualized assistance to help refugees meet the challenges of resettlement, complementing the support of services providers (see the report by Fratzke and Dorst [2019]).

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR MONO-ETHNIC GROUPS

Municipal governments are increasingly called upon to act on matters of integration. The City of Gatineau adopted a policy on cultural diversity in 2008.[7] It organized a summit on "living together" in 2018 with the aim of sharing the city's understanding of the municipal situation, consolidating its approach to integration, stimulating dialogue, and identifying priorities for intervention. Since then, it has set up an advisory group about immigration, diversity, and inclusion in Gatineau.

During Operation Syrian Refugees, the City of Gatineau played an active role. Initially, the city supported the local service providers by ensuring coordination and liaison. It also oversaw public communication relating to the arrival of the refugee families in Gatineau and made sure that a positive message and accurate information were transmitted to citizens. It created an information document for people responding to nonurgent 311 calls and put Frequently Asked Questions on its website and on the APO website to address Gatineau residents' concerns, especially comments posted on social media. These actions aimed to alleviate some concerns about the capacity of the Gatineau community to receive large numbers of Syrian refugees. It should be noted that, at the time, the city was considering welcoming between five hundred and eight hundred Syrian refugees within a few months, more than double the average annual number of refugees that typically settle in Gatineau. The municipal government also started a newsletter to share information among stakeholders.

The City of Gatineau also supported service providers in their preparation and activities, organized activities that complemented their services, and in some instances, channelled the energy and enthusiasm of people wanting to help settle Syrian refugees. For example, in collaboration with the charity Centraide Outaouais, the city organized two days (the first in December, the second in January) for the collection of donated clothing and household items, in which numerous citizens participated. The five thousand donated

items were used to furnish and equip the homes of Syrian GAR families, complementing the basic supplies from the government. The city made a truck available to APO for delivering donated articles to families. It also provided financial support to activities organized by the Université du Québec en Outaouais for increasing awareness of cultural diversity and Syrian refugees in Gatineau. Although the City of Gatineau has seen several waves of refugees, this was the first time the municipality played such an active role in welcoming refugees.

Some citizens, however, wanted the city to be more engaged in the organization of educational and cultural activities for the Syrian refugees or, at the very least, to support the volunteers who proposed to organize these activities, either financially or materially. For example, volunteers organized an excursion to a hockey game featuring the local Gatineau team, a visit to Canadian Parliament, outings to cinemas, and a cultural promotion show, among other activities. The city refused to support these activities, citing its policy of only funding activities that relate to all ethnic groups.

> When we proposed an activity to them, they [the city] would say no: "We won't take just the Syrian refugees, it has to be all refugees. We don't make a distinction … Whether it's a room like that, or anything for just one group, one group of refugees. It's discrimination. With us, it's either everybody or no one." That was their policy. They always said that.
>
> That clientele has specific needs. "We will organize the whole activity. We're just asking for support from the city." "No, everybody or no one." That was the way they talked. So we didn't get the openness, the interest or the spirit of cooperation from the City of Gatineau. (volunteer #12)

Furthermore, the volunteers' sense of frustration was exacerbated by the fact that the City of Ottawa agreed to support activities dedicated to Syrian refugees. During our semi-structured interviews with volunteers and Syrian refugees, the resettlement approach in effect in Gatineau was in fact often criticized in comparison to that of Ottawa. This reveals the influence the cross-border context of the place can have on the perception of citizens and refugees with regard to resettlement services.

A study of twenty-two Canadian municipalities, including Gatineau, identified five different municipal initiatives undertaken to facilitate

the resettlement of Syrian refugees (Garcea 2016). First, municipalities made the case to their residents for resettling refugees in their city. Second, municipal governments tried to facilitate refugees' and their sponsors' access to services for new residents and to increase the effectiveness of these services. Third, cities coordinated local actors involved in the resettlement of the refugees. Fourth, the cities made many in-kind contributions by making their facilities, equipment, and personnel available for various events, and finally, by making financial contributions to the settlement sector and taking part in fundraising activities. With the exception of the second initiative, the City of Gatineau took all these actions to various degrees.

Whether cities should financially support mono-ethnic associations is not a new question. It goes beyond the municipal context and involves other levels of government. Annick Germain (2002) reported several years ago that the Quebec government had reduced its funding for mono-ethnic associations, preferring multiethnic organizations. At the heart of the debate are opposing political stances. On the one hand, multiculturalism postulates that there is no official culture in Canada or hierarchy of cultures (Helly 2004), thus, the state must support the desire of individuals to preserve their culture, and the cultural minorities must, in return, share their culture with the whole of society in order to promote its adherence to diversity. As David McGrane (2011, 84) puts it, "Public policies that would be exemplary of liberal multiculturalism would be direct financial grants to ethnocultural associations for cultural retention activities and public support for 'multicultural' festivals or museums meant to share the culture of non-British and non-French immigrants with the broader public." On the other hand, Quebec interculturalism postulates a dominant francophone culture while advocating reciprocal exchanges between cultures with the goal of mutual enrichment (Rocher and White 2014). This position emphasizes participation and the valuing of intercultural dialogue and rapprochement at the expense of "policies aimed at the retention of homeland culture such as the teaching of heritage languages or direct grants to ethnocultural groups for the purposes of cultural preservation" (McGrane 2011, 86).

There is reason to think that activities targeted at specific ethnocultural groups, such as the educational and cultural activities mentioned above, could help them feel welcomed and recognized, which could foster their resilience and, therefore, their insertion and integration

(Vatz Laaroussi 2009). Moreover, the activities promoted by volunteers in Gatineau may have encouraged rapprochement between the Syrian culture and the culture of the francophone majority. This ties in with the central idea of social resilience that integration is shaped by organizations working to meet the needs of immigrants.

APPROACH TO CARE IN SPONSORSHIP

In 2020, APO had been operating for forty years. The agency's longevity attests to the confidence of its funders and its vast experience with settlement. Since its creation, sparked by the tragedy of the Vietnamese boat people, APO has welcomed and resettled more than fifteen thousand people. At the heart of APO's philosophy of support is the view that integration is a bidirectional process involving obligations both for local residents and for newcomers. On the one hand, the local population and its institutions must offer an inclusive and caring environment to newcomers, in which they can access the resources and services that will facilitate their integration. On the other hand, newcomers must take charge of their integration by taking advantage of the multiple resources and services made available to them.

Although this perspective enjoys a broad consensus in academic and practice environments, its operationalization is the subject of debate. Differences of opinion surfaced in Gatineau concerning GARs. In Quebec, GARs are offered financial support[8] and immediate essential settlement services provided by immigrant-serving agencies designated by Quebec; APO in the case of Gatineau. These immediate essential services consist of welcoming GARs on arrival in Gatineau, providing them with temporary housing, obtaining their first appointments with local health and social services, helping them open a bank account and apply for essential documents (such as emergency financial aid, Quebec health card, social insurance number, and permanent resident card) and helping them look for permanent housing and make essential trips for initial settlement steps. Later on, the services include helping GARs move into permanent housing, registering the children at school, accompanying them on shopping trips to purchase basic food items and clothes, and referring them to francization courses and other settlement services offered by the government including their registration for these services. Additional assistance is also provided for filling out various forms for Quebec family allowances, Canadian

tax benefits, the Canada Child Benefit, and the GST refund. APO must also follow up with GARs during the first year to support their settlement and integration.

For APO, it was important to show the GARs how to do things for themselves so that they could stand on their own two feet at the end of the sponsorship period, normally the first twelve months in Gatineau. "We, as an agency, whether APO or another, we are not there to assist you [refugees]. We are there to put you on track so that you can continue. You should not be dependent on us. You have to be independent. That is the role of APO. We have to try to help those people to be independent, autonomous! That's it! They should not depend on me, x, or y" (support worker #1). This perspective reflects the shifting orientation of resettlement services for refugees over the last few decades, going from close socioeconomic assistance to the empowerment of refugees (UNHCR 2001). The refugees are not to be treated as passive aid recipients and confined to identities as vulnerable people; they are to be treated like agents of their resettlement path.

The report revealed, however, that other social workers involved in refugee resettlement thought that the Syrians GARs were being left to cope too much on their own: "They were being left too much on their own … Without the material and moral assistance of the community, I don't know how they would have managed" (caseworker #14). "[The refugees] sometimes say 'We got the forms' … They are given the forms, but we don't take the time to explain them to them (caseworker #16).

Several Syrian GARs shared this opinion and said they felt they were left too soon on their own: "Maybe they were doing their job properly, but sometimes they left the people alone. How was that? Maybe there was a family that had got used to things, and they stopped helping them. Maybe they will give information, how to do something. But early on, when we had just arrived, they helped us to fill out papers and so on" (man #45). "They took me to the CLSC [centre local de services communautaires] and the next time I had to go there on my own. I hadn't been in the country ten days and they had me going on my own! I didn't know how to catch the bus or how to get there. If you want someone to be autonomous, you have to teach them" (man #17).

APO offers monthly information sessions on various subjects related to settlement such as Canadian history and values, budgeting,

looking for a job, and so on. The Syrian refugees were informed about these activities, but few participated, perhaps because they were given in French, a language they did not yet speak.

Differences of opinion on the "right" way to support GARs have been observed in other studies. Stéphanie Arsenault (2021) mentions that certain service providers designated by the government limit home visits and encourage GARs to come to see them on site with the goal of developing their autonomy. Other service providers, however, see home visits as an excellent way to learn about the general state of resettlement and consequently improve settlement for them. One of the risks of aiming for refugees to achieve early independence is that they may then turn to other resources, especially from family, friends, and community, that are not always suitable or effective. In other words, the risk is that GARs will in fact remain dependent, but on people who are less competent to assist with resettlement (Arsenault 2021).

The concepts of agency and empowerment can help us find the difficult balance between premature autonomy and dependence. Without getting lost in definitions, the essence of the concept of *agency* involves individuals' power to act on their lives and consequently their capacity to make informed decisions for themselves. *Empowerment* refers to the development of this agency. Empowerment requires the recognition that refugees have expertise about their own situations, while agreeing that service providers have knowledge and strategies that can benefit refugees (Potocky-Tripodi and Naseh 2019). It should also be remembered that being the holder of the information and financial resources refugees need for resettlement confers power over refugees (Harrell-Bond 2002) and the impact of this power should be minimized in all interventions and interactions. Finally, empowerment requires transparency and a commitment to sharing as much information relating to resettlement as possible to promote informed decision-making. It calls for strategies that allow clients to feel competent, valuable, and worthy. Empowerment techniques range from the mobilization of the refugee's material and interpersonal resources and the creation of support systems to education about rights and the reinforcement of self-esteem (Lum 2010).

The concepts of empowerment and social resilience are strongly related. Empowerment, by increasing the power to act in the face of adversity, nurtures resilience. Agency helps individuals to recognize

and mobilize social resources and to take effective action to cope with barriers to integration. The more individuals succeed in facing barriers, the more their power to act will develop and the more resilient they will be. But the logic also goes backward. The more failures individuals encounter in trying to overcome barriers, the less competent they will feel, which will reduce their resilience. An approach to care leading to premature autonomy is exposed to this pitfall. If people are not ready to make informed decisions, they will overcome fewer obstacles and this will have an impact on their resilience, with the possibility of generating a vicious cycle.

CONCLUSION

The three issues that arose during the resettlement of refugees in Gatineau are all situations in which "existing" resources that could have fostered the resilience of Syrians were not made available to them. In the first case, refugees were not made aware of material goods and social and support activities organized by volunteers. In the second case, activities encouraging cultural rapprochement did not take place because the City of Gatineau was unwilling to support activities intended solely for the Syrian refugees. Finally, in the third case, there was an early "withdrawal" of services for GARs.

While the provision of these resources had the potential to reinforce Syrian refugees' resilience, it also involved risks. As the debates around the three issues showed, there were concerns about the safety and competence of independent volunteers, the favouritism that could arise from supporting services and activities dedicated to one ethnic group, and the dependence that sustained services to GARs could induce. Eliminating these risks completely may not be possible, but fine-tuning settlement services to allow a greater deployment of available resources while at the same time managing the risks is perhaps possible.

Here are some recommendations that could serve this purpose. Regarding the security and competence of independent volunteers, Fratzke and Dorst (2019) encourage policymakers to provide funding and infrastructure to manage, train, and oversee volunteers; for example, by dedicating funding for volunteer coordinator positions and by developing training programs for them. They also advise building knowledge at the local level on how to use and train volunteers with a view to producing toolkits (admission forms, guidelines,

etc.) easily accessible by volunteer coordinators. As to the risk of favouritism by supporting services and activities for only one ethnic group, Bob White and Joge Frozzini (2022) recommend that cities take inspiration from pluralist thought by recognizing and valuing the diversity that makes the city by fighting against discrimination and by promoting cultural rapprochement. Finally, with regard to early "withdrawal" of services for GARs, Ghada Abid (2020) who reviewed the best practices in services providers supporting GARs, concluded that effective case management systems were of high importance to support the needs of refugees to access and navigate existing services in all areas.

Our findings show that local actors can play an important role in making "existing" resources available to refugees. While local institutions influence the formal and informal support and resettlement services available locally, local actors working within these institutions also play a role, as they have their own view of what should or should not be done. Their vision colours their interventions with refugees even when they apply policies because there is always room for interpretation and manoeuvre. Our findings also indicate that volunteers engaged in a variety of initiatives to make Gatineau a place more welcoming for the Syrian refugees and to help meet their needs. For these reasons, recognizing the influence of local actors could be important in a framework of social resilience.

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NOTES

1 The resettlement of Syrian refugees, both those admitted under Operation Syrian Refugees and those admitted afterwards, was carried out through the Canadian system of sponsorship. The two main modes of sponsorship authorized under this system are sponsorship by the state and sponsorship by the private sector. The latter is called collective sponsorship in Quebec. Collective sponsorship takes place through a group of individuals or a nonprofit organization that has agreed to take responsibility for refugees

by signing an agreement with the Quebec government. Nonprofit organizations such as community and faith organizations and educational institutions can sign such agreements. As for the groups of individuals, in Quebec these must be composed of two to five citizens or permanent residents of eighteen or more years of age.

2 Based on data from the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration following a request for access to information.

3 A summary of the highlights of the report was available here (link defunct): https://bmrc-irmu.info.yorku.ca/files/2021/11/2021_11_12-Executive-Summary-Dauphin.pdf.

4 As set out in the third section of the Programme d'accompagnement et de soutien à l'intégration of the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration.

5 The service providers designated by the government to support immigrants in their search for employment are Service Intégration Travail Outaouais and Carrefour jeunesse emploi de l'Outaouais.

6 All quotations are translated from French by the authors.

7 Let us emphasize that it was the first Quebec municipality to do this.

8 The financial aid includes a lump-sum payment for settlement (purchase of basic clothing, food, and other products), an amount covering interpretation services connected to the first steps in settlement, material aid for the acquisition of household appliances, furniture and other essential expenses, as well as emergency financial assistance for a period of twelve months.

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Neighbourhood Spaces, Super-Diversity, and Newcomer Families

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INTRODUCTION

Located at the interface between state policies and structures and the microgeographies of everyday life (Dyck 2005; Drozdzewski and Webster 2021), the study of neighbourhoods can provide useful insights to understand the factors and processes that influence recent immigrants' experiences and resilience. Through their built and social spaces – for example, location, amenities, demographic composition, safety – neighbourhoods can play a key role in newcomers' ability to successfully integrate and participate in Canadian society. But several decades of urban neoliberalism and austerity in the form of disinvestment in public infrastructure, cutbacks in social programs, and expanding gentrification have contributed to growing social inequalities and precarity while also altering the characteristics of neighbourhoods likely to influence the settlement trajectories of immigrants and their families (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009; DeVerteuil 2016; Grant, Walks, and Ramos 2020; Teixeira, Li, and Kobayashi 2012).

In this chapter, we examine why newcomers settle in certain neighbourhoods, and in turn, how neighbourhood characteristics shape their integration and resilience (also see chapters 8 and 10 regarding the influence of local issues on migrant integration). We present findings from a collaborative, qualitative study of three central neighbourhoods in Ottawa-Gatineau, a second-tier city located at the interprovincial border between Ontario and Quebec. The unique

geographical context of this metropolitan region (Gilbert et al. 2014) – with distinct dominant languages (English vs. French) and immigration and settlement policies and services across the border (Veronis 2013) – provides an opportunity to study the experiences of newcomers from diverse origins. Drawing on a social resilience approach, we develop a framework that combines a livable cities perspective with migrant place-making and the revanchist city.

The three selected neighbourhoods qualify as *super-diverse* based on the scale, complexity, and heterogeneity of their populations; in addition to being diverse in terms of ethnicities, languages, and religions that result from new patterns of migration, they reflect complex combinations and significant changes with regard to "differential legal statuses and their concomitant conditions, divergent labour market experiences, discrete configurations of gender and age, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec 2007, 1025; Vertovec 2019). We argue that settling in super-diverse neighbourhoods with livability attributes offers many advantages and resources – for example, access to services, information about Canadian society, social networks, and mutual solidarity – that enhance newcomers' resilience, thus facilitating their settlement and integration. Nevertheless, we also found that these areas are highly coveted for redevelopment, and low-income residents are subject to landlord abuse, developer-led displacement, cutbacks to social programs, and government neglect. Some newcomers are especially vulnerable to these issues due to their status as immigrants, their socioeconomic precarity, and language barriers, which may prevent or limit timely and effective community mobilizing against their effects.

Immigrant Resilience at the Intersection of Livable Cities, the Revanchist City, and Migrant Place-Making

The concept of social resilience described in detail in chapters 1 and 2 is increasingly used in migration studies to examine immigrants' capacity to overcome challenges and obstacles on the path to integration and full participation in their new society (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022; De Verteuil 2016). Rather than focusing on individual capacity, the notion of social resilience points to the roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders and institutions

in providing the resources and supports that can assist newcomers in this process. This conceptualization of resilience lends itself well to examining the resources and obstacles available to residents of different neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood characteristics such as location, housing stock, services, and level of safety can mitigate or exacerbate barriers to newcomer settlement and resilience. For example, a shortage of affordable housing can mean that suitable housing is inaccessible for many newcomers (Teixeira 2008; Preston et al. 2009; Reiser 2018). Neighbourhoods can also offer resources that support newcomer integration and promote a sense of belonging, such as the presence of ethnocultural communities, spaces for socialization, adequate services and amenities, and a welcoming and inclusive atmosphere (Teixeira, Li, and Kobayashi 2012; Ghosh 2014; chapter 8).

To study immigrant resilience in relation to neighbourhoods, three theoretical approaches inform our analysis. First, we draw on the notion of *livable cities* to account for the impacts of the built and social characteristics of urban space on integration (Badland et al. 2014; Franovic and Andrew 2018). We adopt the definition of livable cities proposed by Australia's Major Cities Unit (2010): "Liveable cities are socially inclusive, affordable, accessible, healthy, safe and resilient to the impacts of climate change. They have attractive built and natural environments. Liveable cities provide choice and opportunity for people to live their lives and raise their families to their fullest potential." Four dimensions of livable cities are relevant to immigrant resilience: walkability, sustainability, community, and interconnectivity (Franovic and Andrew 2018). *Walkability* relates to pedestrian and public transit access, the use of combined modes of transportation, as well as proximity of and access to infrastructure and services (Gaubert 2019); it can provide health, social, economic, and environmental benefits and promote social equity (Raulin, Lord, and Negron 2016). *Sustainability* refers to maintaining the nature, function, and quality of social and built spaces. *Community* involves notions of social cohesion, diversity, inclusion, and sense of belonging. Finally, *interconnectivity* refers to the combined availability of infrastructure such as public transit, public amenities, and green spaces (Franovic and Andrew 2018). In the context of super-diversity, *social infrastructure*, such as community outreach and engagement, access to information, and coordination of service provision, is also important.

Following decades of neoliberal and austerity urbanism (Peck 2012), the livability of Canadian cities is at risk, including for newly settled immigrants, some of whom cannot afford to meet essential needs. The commodification of housing has encouraged gentrification (Aalbers 2016; August and Walks 2018; Kalman-Lamb 2017) while public investments in cities have been rolled back (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002). Canadian cities now face a crisis of affordable housing (Whitzman and Desroches 2020), along with heightened forms of socio-spatial polarization, inequality, and precarity (Hulchanski 2010; Grant, Walks, and Ramos 2020). These trends are exacerbated by neoliberal forms of governance that exclude low-income and marginalized residents from local decision-making (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009; Walks 2009) and often subject them to punitive and exclusionary measures such as policing, enclosure, surveillance, criminalization, eviction, displacement, and so on (Keil 2002; Mensah and Tucker-Simmons 2021). The *revanchist city* refers to the shift from a liberal era of redistributive urban policy in the 1960s to neoliberal urban policies in the 1980s and 1990s that attacked, repressed, and excluded marginalized and vulnerable groups from urban spaces for the benefit of the more affluent (Smith 1996).

Studies of migrant place-making – that is, (im)migrant forms of collective organizing in and through urban space to build community and lay claims to rights, recognition, inclusion, and belonging in receiving societies (Veronis 2007; Gill 2010; Yuval-Davis 2011; Pemberton and Phillimore 2018) – examine immigrant struggles against neoliberal urbanism and processes of deprivation, discrimination, and exclusion (Veronis 2006; Nelson and Hiemstra 2008; De Verteuil 2016; Cahuas 2018). Recently, increasing attention is paid to how migrants organize collectively in super-diverse cities and neighbourhoods, especially in Europe (see, for example, Meisner 2016; Hoekstra and Dahlvik 2018). In Canada, as elsewhere, "it is widely recognised that the scale, complexity, heterogeneity, fragmentation of populations, and speed and spread of change exceeds anything previously experienced" (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018: 734–35); yet little Canadian research investigates how living in super-diverse neighbourhoods influences integration and newcomer resilience.

These theoretical approaches help shed light on the significant role neighbourhoods play as places of settlement that can support newcomers' and their families' integration, well-being, and resilience.

First, from a material perspective, the quality of built spaces and infrastructure are key in meeting basic needs such as housing, transportation, and amenities (e.g., parks, shops). Neighbourhoods also represent important social spaces of encounter, community, and service provision where newcomers can build networks and access information and resources to assist them and help familiarize them with Canadian society. Finally, neighbourhoods provide opportunities for engagement and participation, thus contributing to developing attachment and a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, these characteristics alone are not sufficient to ensure newcomers' resilience; as we will show, institutional actors, policymakers, and various stakeholders are also responsible for ensuring the sustainability of neighbourhoods, including maintenance of amenities, service provision and type of programming, variety of opportunities, safety, as well as their representation in public discourses.

METHODOLOGY

We adopted a collaborative approach unfolding in four main stages from May 2018 to November 2019. First, we consulted community partners in Ottawa and Gatineau with knowledge of newcomer experiences through front-line service provision to identify three neighbourhoods: Mont-Bleu in Gatineau and Ledbury-Heron Gate and Overbrook-Cummings in Ottawa. The three inner suburban neighbourhoods feature large populations of newcomers and a variety of housing types (homeowner, rental, subsidized/public). Each area had recently undergone a difficult experience that tested the residents' resilience: mass evictions in Ledbury-Heron Gate from 2016–18 (Mensah and Tucker-Simmons 2021; Xia 2020), resettlement of many refugees in Overbrook-Cummings (from 2015), and a damaging tornado in Mont-Bleu in September 2018.

In the second stage, demographic profiles based on 2016 census data confirmed that the neighbourhoods are super-diverse in terms of immigrant status, countries of origin, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, language, religion, life course. And family composition (see table 11.1). Broadly, they have higher shares of immigrants, visible minorities, residents with nonofficial mother tongue languages, renters and low-income residents, and lower median household incomes than Ottawa and Gatineau, respectively. It is this complex

Table 11.1 | Selected demographic data for the three neighbourhoods, Ottawa and Gatineau, 2016 Census

	Ottawa (CSD)	Ledbury-Heron Gate	Overbrook-Cummings	Gatineau (CSD)	Mont-Bleu
Immigrants	23.60%	47.20%	32.30%	12.5%	22.5%
Total visible minority population	26.30%	63.40%	43.20%	13.5%	25.3%
Non-official language mother tongue	21.7%	44.8%	31.3%	10.7%	18.7%
Renter	34.30%	72.0%	66.90%	37.5%	64.8%
Low-income based on the low-income tax cut offs, after tax (LICO-AT)	10.60%	33.0%	28.20%	10.0%	22.3%
Median after-tax income of households in 2015	$37,136.00	$28,411.80	$25,983.00	$58,063.00	$40,738.00

Source: Statistics Canada 2016c.

combination of demographic characteristics that lead us to qualify the neighbourhoods as super-diverse.

In the third stage, thirty-seven photovoice interviews, which combine interviews with photographs to empower participants from vulnerable and marginalized groups (Wang and Burris 1997), were conducted with residents in Mont-Bleu (twelve), Ledbury-Heron Gate (thirteen), and Overbrook-Cummings (twelve). Since

photographs provide a useful entry point for conversations about difficult topics and help participants to articulate their thoughts and feelings more fully (Wang 1999), photovoice is an especially useful tool to learn about the resilience of immigrants. The interviews explored participants' reasons for settling in the neighbourhood and their local experiences of integration. We recruited women and men who arrived in Canada under various immigration categories, who could speak French or English, and had dependants. In the last stage, we held community meetings to report back and to validate our analysis.

Twenty-three participants had lived in Canada for five years or less. Many arrived as refugees (eighteen), followed by the economic (eight) and family (eight) classes. Respondents originated from twenty-two different countries, including a majority from Africa (twenty) and West Asia (eight), with smaller numbers from Asia (three), Europe (three), and the Caribbean (two). Except for four homeowners, the participants were renters. Most (thirty) had household incomes below the median in each city (table 11.1). Lastly, women were overrepresented (twenty-seven vs ten men) and the majority of participants lived with children (twenty-eight).

RESULTS

Participants moved to their neighbourhoods for multiple reasons, separated into two groups – those who chose the neighbourhood and those who were assigned to it. For the first group, housing affordability and the availability of larger units were their primary reasons for selecting the neighbourhood. Participants also explained that landlords in these areas rarely required a rental history and credit score, making it easier for them to access housing. Others had family and friends, especially other immigrants from their country of origin, already living there. The second group were assigned housing without much input into the decision. Often refugees, some obtained housing through settlement agencies while others secured subsidized housing with the Ottawa Community Housing Corporation (OCHC).[1] Many in the second group were somewhat dissatisfied with their housing situation and/or the neighbourhood.

We found that each neighbourhood has positive attributes relating to walkability, the sustainability of built and social spaces, community, and interconnectivity, and their super-diversity often

facilitated integration and contributed to resilience by alleviating some challenges – mainly through community engagement and solidarity in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, significant structural challenges undermined the quality of life in the neighbourhoods while creating barriers to newcomers' integration and reducing their sense of belonging. As a result, some participants wished to move out of the neighbourhoods as soon as possible.

Walkability

PROXIMITY AND ACCESSIBILITY OF AMENITIES

Many participants appreciated the convenience of their neighbourhood's central location and the proximity and availability of services, amenities, and infrastructure. Residents had easy access to parks, community centres, businesses (including ethnic food stores), public transit, schools and daycares, places of worship, and settlement services. Also, the centrality of each neighbourhood meant residents could easily reach services and amenities in downtown Ottawa by public transit.

Overbrook-Cummings stands out for being especially well served – with community centres, recreational facilities, and the St Laurent Mall that offers a variety of stores and space to socialize. Francophone newcomers also appreciated the prevalence of French-language services, including educational and health establishments. In Ledbury-Heron Gate, participants were satisfied with the availability of amenities, and especially one community centre because of its friendly staff, relevant programming, and accessible facilities. But they lacked accessible indoor space for socializing and organizing activities; some lamented the partial demolition of the Herongate Mall in 2012–2013, which had been a popular gathering location. Compared to the other neighbourhoods, Mont-Bleu was less well served. Participants were not familiar with the sole community centre in the area. Some mentioned the lack of affordable grocery stores and limited job opportunities and settlement services. Several residents travelled to Ottawa for work, ethnic food stores, and to attend places of worship in English.

PEDESTRIAN ACCESS AND TRANSPORTATION

The proximity of services and amenities in the neighbourhoods is key to walkability, a crucial neighbourhood attribute, especially for newcomers who do not have a car. The three neighbourhoods are

relatively well serviced by public transit, which most participants used. Participants identified a few challenges that limit their ability to get around. First, rising transit fares, especially in Ottawa (Pringle 2020), are problematic. Several participants walk long distances to grocery stores and community events to avoid high fares: "The bus, sometimes it's very costly. Especially for us, at that time, [we] had a low income. It was kind of hard" (OC.10). Public transit with complicated and long bus routes, late and crowded buses, and lack of bus shelters can also be inconvenient.

In all three neighbourhoods, participants identified aspects of the built environment that reduced their access to local amenities. Specifically, several described the roads as dangerous because motorists do not obey traffic signs. Others noted that a lack of snow removal in winter makes sidewalks impassable or dangerous, especially in Mont-Bleu, forcing residents to walk on the road (Leblanc 2021). As a result, many participants noted they rarely go out in the winter, feel isolated, and cannot access local services and amenities. Thus, despite the neighbourhoods' central location and proximity of amenities, challenges related to the built environment represent significant barriers that reduce newcomers' resilience.

Sustainability

HOUSING AND MAINTENANCE OF BUILT SPACES

Most participants moved to their neighbourhood because of low rents. Mont-Bleu and Overbrook-Cummings were described as "stepping-stone neighbourhoods" that provide newcomers with a place to settle until they can afford to move elsewhere. In all three neighbourhoods, participants noted numerous problems with the housing available, including poor quality units (e.g., mould, leaks), inadequate building maintenance, and unusable common spaces such as gyms and pools where problems sometimes persisted for years. Building managers were generally slow to respond to tenant complaints and some participants felt poorly treated by maintenance staff because they lived in subsidized housing or were not fluent in English (for those in Ottawa): "We're the ones who's paying the rent … market rent. But I'm not satisfied … I don't want my children to get sick because of the mould … it's a health hazard … But … they don't care. They think that if you live here, you're less than … other people" (LH.4).

In response to these concerns, several participants planned to leave their current neighbourhoods as soon as they could afford to purchase a house. Other participants expected to stay because housing of equivalent size was more expensive elsewhere. This was especially the case for residents in Ledbury-Heron Gate whose housing had been allocated through a settlement agency or the OCHC. Although some were dissatisfied with their unit or the neighbourhood, they had few options given high rents in other areas: "I didn't choose it, the area, actually … At the beginning, it was really affordable for me. I wanted more rooms … I have six children and they're all with me. So, I wanted a bigger space … Now I'm looking for another area, but it's not affordable anymore. It's very expensive … Sometimes … the market controls your choices" (LH.11).

Participants reported maintenance issues in public spaces, including parks filled with litter in summer. In Mont-Bleu, residents described broken playground equipment and poorly maintained portable toilets that forced them to use parks outside the neighbourhood. Participants also wanted better lighting in public spaces, especially parks, to ensure their safety and to enable them to use sports fields after dark.

Our findings suggest that the low rents in these neighbourhoods are partly related to landlords' neglectful practices and the deterioration of the built environment. The ongoing lack of maintenance of housing and public infrastructure may be a purposeful strategy whereby landlords let the housing stock deteriorate in order to then undertake renovations or revitalization and redevelopment projects that lead to higher housing prices, with the effect of displacing low-income residents. The Timbercreek evictions that took place in Ledbury-Heron Gate in 2016–18 are a case in point: tenants from 150 units (approximately five hundred residents) were forced out because the housing was deemed "substandard" and slated for demolition (Mensah and Tucker-Simmons 2021; Xia 2020). A new mixed housing development is planned, with higher density and smaller, more luxurious units. Some evicted people were forced to move elsewhere in Ottawa, and even to other cities, to find affordable housing. While few participants in this study knew anyone affected by the evictions, it caused concern for many: "Because of Timbercreek, they already sent a flyer saying they are building luxurious house, you know? So, it's challenge for us whether … we'll be able to afford their housing" (LH.8).

Mont-Bleu is undergoing a similar experience. At the community meeting in October 2019, participants said that new buildings with small, expensive units were being built in the wake of destruction caused by a tornado, which were not affordable or suitable for current neighbourhood residents. Local media recently confirmed that Mont-Bleu is gentrifying (CBC News 2021).

(IN)ACCESSIBILITY OF COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING

Participants appreciated the settlement services, social programs (e.g., tax clinics, food banks), and community activities available in or near their neighbourhoods. Although the services and supports helped people stay in the area, participants identified several unmet needs, including additional free programming and programs tailored to the diversity of residents. In Ledbury-Heron Gate, participants mentioned that sports programs for youth had been cut while emphasizing the need for mental health support and more organized sports clubs. Several parents in Ledbury-Heron Gate and Overbrook-Cummings asked for academic support services and training opportunities for youth. In Mont-Bleu, participants wanted more recreational and leisure programs at the local community centre.

Participants noted that program and facility costs limited their access. Even with municipal subsidies, many programs were too expensive for large, low-income families. One mother who arrived as a refugee from Sudan explained, "To go to [the pool] … to just walk in, it's $2 … Okay, how about the kids want to go after school? … I have to provide $10 for each child" (LH.7). Rental costs for multipurpose rooms in community centres limited access to space for community-organized activities, especially in winter. Access to outdoor and indoor public spaces, especially in Ledbury-Heron Gate, was found to be further restricted because groups from outside the neighbourhood rent and use the facilities. For example, local youth must wait for teams to vacate the sports fields to use them.

These findings highlight the profound impacts that urban austerity measures (cuts to social programs, user fees on municipal services) and neoliberal urban transformation (housing commodification, gentrification) have on vulnerable and low-income groups. The quality of life for current residents of these neighbourhoods is declining, thus hindering the well-being and resilience of immigrant families, with potentially significant implications for their integration.

Community

Many participants spoke about their neighbourhood's diversity, explaining that the presence of many immigrants and visible minorities from many different cultures, ethnicities, and socioeconomic classes facilitated their integration. Some felt "invisible" in a comforting way because they were surrounded by others who look like them, speak languages other than English and French, and have accents. Many said that it was easier to develop social ties and social networks with other immigrants who share similar settlement and integration challenges. Emphasizing how their neighbours share their own experiences, many participants felt a sense of belonging to their neighbourhood:

> A feeling of community, yes. Then we are not alone; the other ethnic groups, for me there are other people too who are immigrants, who have a reality of their own. (OC.2; translated from French)

> Most of them [residents] are like us, they are not very strange for me … because most of them are immigrant and I feel we have something in common. (LH.2)

> A lot of newcomers reside in Mont-Bleu, so when I go out, I have this feeling of understanding or acceptance from others, because I meet a lot of Black people; so I didn't feel denied or repressed and ignored or devalued. (MB.1; translated from French)

Neighbourhood social networks are a source of vital support and mutual aid, key aspects of individual resilience in everyday life. Neighbours, along with family and friends, provide information about services and employment opportunities and assist with meeting essential needs: childcare, meal preparation, housework, grocery shopping, and drives to appointments. To some extent, these supports alleviate the structural challenges and barriers participants face and enable them to overcome some of their precarity even though they rarely address the root causes of inequality and exclusion. Those residing in Ledbury-Heron Gate explained that neighbours often assist with basic needs by looking after each other's children, walking them to the bus stop, and driving them to school. Most participants were unwilling

to move to another neighbourhood because they would lose social connections and indispensable support.

Several participants remarked that they found it difficult to connect with Canadian or Québécois neighbours, even though they tried to be friendly with everyone and some managed to develop good relationships. In the aftermath of the 2018 tornado in Gatineau, broad community solidarity emerged; Mont-Bleu residents said that their neighbours, both Québécois and immigrant, rallied together and helped one another. Several met their neighbours for the first time. Because of the emergency, they learned about local services and programs and felt more connected to the neighbourhood. Unfortunately, newly established networks could not be sustained after people had to abandon their damaged units for housing in other neighbourhoods.

Many participants explained how stigmatized perceptions and stereotypes of their neighbourhoods reduced their sense of belonging. Often described by the media as low-income areas with high crime rates and a heavy police presence, a few participants noted that the media overreport crimes in their neighbourhoods. One incident may be covered multiple times by different reporters and media outlets (Xia 2020). According to Ledbury-Heron Gate residents, media coverage often reinforces ethnic and racial stereotypes; one participant suggested that the neighbourhood's reputation for crime is associated with the large number of immigrants, in particular those of Somali, Arab, and Muslim descent: "[The media representation] is a propaganda. Cause I feel like they're targeting a community. And Heatherington, most of the people who lives, I would say that 70 per cent is Somalis. And I'm not saying that … there's a gang related – and gang, it could be any different nationality … but yes, Ledbury and Heatherington, most of the communities were Somalis" (LH.4).

In Mont-Bleu and Overbrook-Cummings, the few homeowners participating in our study said their family and friends were surprised they had bought houses. A couple shared, "Even [our] friends said … 'Why are you still living in the neighbourhood? It's not a safe place'" (OC.5, through interpreter). Although participants acknowledged the presence of crime, some felt that the neighbourhood's reputation did not reflect their experience. Most residents who participated in the interviews had not witnessed any crimes themselves and only a few had heard gunshots or news about drug-related crimes. Many avoided locations where crime concentrated and there was a police presence. Nevertheless, participants often felt

stigmatized whenever they mentioned their neighbourhoods. Several parents were so worried about the safety of their children and the presence of bad influences that they wanted to leave the area.

The police presence made some participants feel less safe, especially in Ledbury-Heron Gate, where residents were wary of police and concerned about racial profiling. Participants thought that a decline in outreach programs had contributed to strained relations with the police. There was no consensus among participants about how to redress the deteriorating relationship; some recommended reviving outreach programs while others advocated for an increased police presence to solve crimes and reassure residents. In May 2019, during the final months of data collection, we noted efforts to improve relations when the police organized a community basketball tournament and barbecue.

Living in a super-diverse neighbourhood offers several advantages for newcomers, including opportunities to develop social networks that can enhance their everyday resilience and sense of belonging. The positive impacts of diversity are sometimes offset by stigmatized representations of the neighbourhoods related to crime and police presence. Stigma, social pressure to leave, even fear and some ambivalence towards the area may weaken residents' sense of belonging and their resilience. Thus, social networks and diversity in themselves are not sufficient to overcome significant structural challenges such as precarity, socioeconomic inequality, and negative perceptions regarding the neighbourhoods and their residents. Put differently, from a social resilience perspective, institutional resources and interventions are necessary to address inequalities and ensure the well-being of newcomers and their families.

Interconnectivity

The social connections and social networks enabled by super-diversity in the neighbourhoods facilitate access to information about integration. Public spaces, parks and community centres, service providing organizations, and places of worship provide crucial opportunities for neighbours to meet and interact. They are important venues for organizing events and community activities. We found that participants in Ledbury-Heron Gate were organizing informal sports teams and tournaments, volunteering, teaching cooking and sewing classes, holding Tea and Chat groups and tenant circles, and planning seasonal events. Some participants in Ledbury-Heron Gate and Overbrook-Cummings

created community gardens, and in both neighbourhoods, residents organized to clean the parks. These examples of migrant place-making demonstrate that residents claim and carve spaces for themselves. In addition to meeting specific needs (e.g., building skills, youth sports, food security, networking, information sharing), these activities create spaces that are comfortable and convivial.

At the same time, many participants discussed the lack of community engagement in the neighbourhood, especially in Mont-Bleu. Many acknowledged that it is difficult for newcomers to access information about programs, while others are preoccupied with settling and too busy to be involved in neighbourhood activities. It is particularly difficult to encourage resident participation in the winter when people are reluctant to venture outside where roads and sidewalks are not well maintained.

Outreach and Communication Issues

Participants in all three neighbourhoods, but especially in Ledbury-Heron Gate, spoke about the challenges of community outreach and coordination among service providers. First, information is not effectively conveyed to residents, especially regarding opportunities for engagement in the neighbourhood. Sometimes, the lack of outreach is related to language barriers, since many newcomers have limited proficiency in Canada's official languages. The lack of reliable information channels reduces newcomers' resilience because they may miss key information and activities that can support their integration.

Participants in Ledbury-Heron Gate and Overbrook-Cummings said information such as posters and newsletters are generally in English only, and translations are often incomprehensible. Some participants reported that language issues exacerbated tensions in the community during the Timbercreek evictions (Xia 2020). Some residents had incorrect information, others missed information sessions and municipal consultations, and some felt language barriers contributed to low levels of community engagement: "They sent a flyer with different languages. There was Nepali, but it was not Nepali. They tried to write in Nepali, but they did mistake … I read my flyer and I didn't understand any of this Nepali. But I understand the English. So that, you are already creating barrier for people who cannot read English … to come to the consultation" (LH.8).

Language barriers also limit access to programs and services. Some participants said they had difficulty communicating with staff in community centres, stores, and rental offices. This was particularly

true in Overbrook-Cummings, where a large francophone population is primarily served by English-speaking staff. Participants in Ottawa also remarked that service providers do not communicate with one another nor coordinate services, which created inconveniences for large families and those without cars who must travel frequently from one community centre or organization to another.

Finally, many participants felt they were not consulted about programming needs in their communities and, consequently, desired programs (e.g., for youth) were not available. Some thought communication with the municipal government was lacking to the point that they felt abandoned by the municipality. For example, a Mont-Bleu respondent referred to maintenance problems, "I feel the park is a bit forgotten, and the Mont-Bleu region, a bit forgotten by the city" (MB.7; translated from French). Similarly, a Syrian refugee living in Ledbury-Heron Gate remarked, "In general, the neighbourhood is good, but it needs someone who takes care of the place and clean and do things. And *the city is not there*" (LH.13; emphasis added). These feelings of being neglected by their municipality and other social actors affect residents' sense of belonging and their well-being and resilience.

Our study reveals that neighbourhood issues – notably language barriers, lack of service coordination, and lack of liaison with the city – pose challenges for newcomers' participation and resilience. While informal networks and activities can be useful to convey key information and provide basic resources, more reliable, institutionalized information channels and community outreach are necessary to facilitate newcomers' timely access to services and programs that can support their settlement and integration and thus enhance their resilience and sense of belonging.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our findings provide empirical insights into the significance and role of neighbourhoods in newcomer resilience and, in turn, their settlement and integration experiences. Our analysis shows that neighbourhood livability combined with super-diversity are key factors contributing to newcomer resilience. In addition to the availability and accessibility of amenities, services, affordable housing, and public transit, the presence of large numbers of immigrants and visible minorities along with a complex combination of diverse languages, cultures, religions, socioeconomic classes, and life course experiences

facilitate newcomers' access to essential information, social connections, and support. Taken together, they facilitate newcomers' adaptation to Canadian society and familiarization with social and cultural norms considerably while also providing material and economic supports – for example, sharing of resources, learning new skills, and advice leading to jobs.

Moreover, our findings suggest that residents engage in a variety of place-making initiatives and collective forms of organizing to make their neighbourhoods more welcoming and comfortable while meeting their diverse needs and desires: they take it upon themselves to clean up parks, host their own events, run their own programming, and build information and aid sharing networks. These initiatives increased participants' sense of belonging and became a reason to stay in the neighbourhood. In other words, residents in super-diverse neighbourhoods are shaping and transforming the social and built spaces around them in ways that enhance immigrant resilience.

Yet, our findings indicate that these often fall short with regard to limiting, mitigating, or addressing the disproportionate impacts on immigrants of the socio-spatial exclusion associated with the revanchist city. In the three neighbourhoods studied, with higher proportions of low-income and immigrant residents than the city, inadequately maintained infrastructure, cuts to social programs, and rising user fees weakened, even threatened, livability and supportive characteristics. Such disinvestment hinders newcomers' resilience and impedes their integration and sense of belonging – not only to the neighbourhood but also potentially to the city. Redevelopment strategies such as the Timbercreek evictions in Ledbury-Heron Gate and post-tornado renovations in Mont-Bleu, along with stigmatizing representations, problems with crime, policing and sense of safety, and lack of municipal engagement with residents suggest these issues are related to the revanchist city in which low-income people are removed to commodify housing, gentrify neighbourhoods, and generate market profits (Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer 2012).

Participants noted that many residents left the neighbourhoods as livability deteriorated. Others were ambivalent about staying. Still others were unable to relocate due to the lack of affordable and suitable housing elsewhere, leaving them at risk of displacement. If the limited affordable and accessible housing and social infrastructure that exists in these areas disappears, where will future newcomers settle? Arguably, these neighbourhoods represent what Neil Smith (1996) called a "new urban frontier" of class struggle.

To conclude, we provide three main recommendations – that primarily target institutional actors, including the three levels of government and other stakeholders – to enhance social resilience in the neighbourhoods where newcomers settle. First, given Canada's ongoing support of immigration for demographic and economic growth, it is urgent to consider how to provide more affordable housing that meets the needs of newcomer families among other low-income groups; otherwise, their successful integration will be jeopardized. Second, municipal governments ought to significantly improve communication with residents in these neighbourhoods and ensure the deployment of effective consultation and community outreach strategies while initiating campaigns to showcase the positive attributes of these areas and eliminate stereotyped perceptions. Finally, given the residents' agency and effectiveness in community organizing, the municipal government and/or philanthropic organizations such as the United Way and Ottawa Community Foundation could provide grants to enhance the efforts of those who organize community activities, events, and supports, including local youth through targeted leadership training programs. These would go a long way in terms of supporting newcomer resilience in these neighbourhoods.

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NOTE

1 A requirement to be eligible for subsidized housing with OCHC is to have resided in Ottawa for a minimum of one full year (see Reiser 2018).

PART FIVE

Conclusions

The concluding chapter returns to the main themes of the volume, not only expanding on the meaning of social resilience but showing how it develops in cities. Contrary to highly individualized and regressive notions of resilience that promote self-responsibilization and often reinforce current inequalities (Golubchikov and De Verteuil 2021), a social resilience approach focuses on social relationships among diverse social actors and the structural forces that shape them. Acknowledging that resilience is always dynamic as people and institutions learn from their efforts to overcome challenges, the concluding chapter emphasizes that migrants settle on services provided by an ecosystem of diverse institutions ranging from school boards and hospitals to neighbourhood and faith groups. In this ecosystem, immigrant-serving agencies have a critical role in welcoming migrants and helping them access other institutions. The chapter details how immigrant-serving agencies in different cities identified the vulnerabilities of migrants, advocated for programs and policies to address migrant needs, and championed migrants who organized to address the inequalities revealed by the pandemic.

The concluding chapter also underscores the multidimensional nature of resilience. While resilience is buttressed by various material and social supports that facilitate integration, as discussed in chapter 8, spiritual support is often a key resource that motivates migrants, especially asylum seekers, to persist in the face of challenges. As Christopher Baker (2018, 269) explains, spiritual resilience can originate in secular as well as religious beliefs:

> Religious capital is the "what": the concrete actions and resources that faith communities contribute. The "why" is the spiritual capital: the motivating basis of faith, belief and values that shapes these concrete actions … If the concept of spiritual capital highlights the motivating energy of our beliefs, values and worldviews that orientates us as citizens in a certain way in the public sphere, and influences the way we contribute to social capital, spiritual capital is not the sole preserve of people who label themselves religious or belong to religious communities. Secular or non-religious beliefs and worldviews (in other words, secular spiritual capital) are also significant, potentially generative sources of social capital.

Spiritual resilience speaks to the expressive and emotional needs of populations to create connections of solidarity and trust (McBride et al. 2023) and the values that motivate people to become allies and sources of support for migrants. This is a major element of the transformational possibilities of resilience that are examined in the conclusion, where the voices of community partners are foregrounded and migrants' efforts to mobilize at the grassroots level, labelled "radical resilience" by Oleg Golubchikov and Geoffrey De Verteuil (2021), are highlighted.

Comparing pandemic experiences across several cities, the concluding chapter also illustrates the varied ways that urban environments influence integration, unpacking how places affected international migrants' living conditions and their life trajectories during the pandemic. As shown in earlier chapters, where migrants live matters for social resilience and integration. As discussed in chapter 3, municipalities adopt different policies regarding integration and each municipality has a distinct ecosystem of municipalities to support migrants (for examples, see chapters 8, 10, and 11). Despite broad similarities in their pandemic responses, municipal representatives and immigrant-serving agencies underline the urban specificity of pandemic challenges, as outlined in the concluding chapter.

Emphasizing that the impacts of place on integration are multiscalar, the final chapter confirms earlier evidence from chapters 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, and 11 that federal, provincial, and municipal policies and programs affect migrant integration with unexpected and often unintended consequences. The urban specificity of policies and

programs is compounded by each municipality's singular ecosystem of local institutions and built form, such as building type, transit networks, and the availability of green space. The discussion in the final chapter illustrates how these intersecting policies, programs, and resources influenced how migrants faired during the pandemic.

The comparison of pandemic responses in chapter 12 also takes account of the power relations between municipalities and other levels of government. The municipalities that play an oversize role in migrant integration are the responsibility of the provinces that often dictate municipal actions. The concluding chapter returns to the question raised explicitly in chapters 3, 10, and 11 about the appropriate scope of municipal involvement in migrant integration. Participants representing municipalities and immigrant-serving agencies comment on the nature of municipal activities during the pandemic and the circumstances that enabled their expanded involvement. Putting side by side the experiences of Quebec and Ontario immigrant-serving agencies highlights how provinces enable and constrain municipal actions to integrate migrants.

Reflecting on their pandemic experiences, representatives from immigrant-serving agencies and municipalities propose an equitable whole-of-society approach to supporting migrants. First, they evaluate how well the Canadian approach to immigrant settlement, which involves institutions within and outside government in integration, responded to the pandemic. While acknowledging the merits of a whole-of-government approach "where government actively uses formal and/or informal networks across the different agencies within that government to coordinate the design and implementation of the range of interventions that the government's agencies will be making in order to increase the effectiveness of those interventions in achieving the desired objectives" (OECD 2007, as quoted in Danna 2023), participants call for a whole-of-society approach to integration that recognizes how the networks of supports that facilitate migrant integration stretch from individuals and families to civil society, nonprofit organizations, and neighbourhoods through to government supports and policies (Ortenzi et al. 2022).

In the last chapter, the discussion illustrates how a social resilience approach calls for more than the interrogation of power relation within society. Rather, a social resilience approach aims for transformation of power relations within society in inclusive

directions through the development of true partnerships between governments and with agencies and institutions outside government. Social resilience is about forging solidarity and transforming towards new possibilities; it is about the ability of each migrant regardless of legal status to realize their full potential in a world where institutions work towards inclusion. Chapter 12 speaks to the opening of meaningful dialogue/communication and coordinated actions between civil society actors and government authorities during the pandemic crisis in Canada that enabled migrants to make progressive social change. By altering the places, institutions, and policies that affect international migrants during the pandemic, migrants themselves and their allies acted to enhance migrants' resilience and facilitate integration.

12

Migrant Resilience, Advocacy, and the Settlement Sector: Lessons for the Future

Valerie Preston, John Shields, Tara Bedard, Lisa Alfieri-Sladen, Henry Akanko, Mary Ellen Bernard, Noor Din, Vera Dodic, Prince Sibanda, and Stephan Reichhold

INTRODUCTION

In this concluding chapter, we turn to representatives from municipal governments and nongovernmental organizations in Ontario and Quebec who work on the front-lines of migrant settlement and integration in local communities. They navigate the complexities of policies, places, and institutions in these two Canadian provinces that exemplify the range of provincial control over immigration and settlement issues. While immigration targets and immigration service policies in Ontario are determined largely by the federal government, Quebec controls both the numbers of economic migrants accepted each year and the funding and nature of immigration services. As service providers and municipal leaders, they shared their experiences and views about building migrant resilience, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 crisis, in a series of focus groups and interviews conducted in early 2022.

The participating practitioners deal every day with the diverse needs of migrants with different legal statuses and rights that affect their employment, their own and their families' eligibility for residency, access to services and supports, and the development of a sense of belonging. They see and are trying to foster robust local responses to the pressures of rapidly growing migration levels and know first-hand the importance of successful migrant integration to

maintain public support for immigration and overall social cohesion and vibrancy. Positioned between the federal and provincial governments that mainly fund migrant services and supports and the migrants themselves, municipal government and nongovernmental organization representatives bring intimate knowledge of immigration policies and unique first-hand experience of the integration challenges migrants encounter and the strategies that enable them to build new lives in Ontario and Quebec cities. Their insights illustrate how diverse institutions operating in different cities and affected by the different immigration and settlement policies in Ontario and Quebec shape migrant resilience. They also illustrate the importance of place-based approaches to migrant integration that are supported by flexible and responsive government policies and investments.

Working locally, these representatives of nongovernmental organizations and municipal governments are attuned to shifting economic, housing, and institutional circumstances that enable and limit the opportunities for migrants to achieve desired societal participation. Practitioners' insights underscore the value of a social resilience approach to migrant integration. Reinforcing the evidence in each chapter of this volume, the participants in focus groups confirmed that each migrant, regardless of immigration status and prior residence in Canada, should be considered in policymaking and program decisions about publicly provided services, an argument illustrated starkly in chapters 2, 3, and 4. The benefits of diverse institutions serving migrants were also emphasized, drawing attention to institutional ecosystems that include large, small, well-established, and new service providers with varied areas of expertise, such as the economic and social institutions discussed in chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Participants also acknowledged that integration is shaped by geography. The case studies in this volume, especially chapters 10 and 11, demonstrate how the places where migrants live, work, make social connections, and participate in civic life influence their pathways to integration.

We engaged in three focus groups in early 2022 with ten participants drawn from the Ontario municipalities studied by the Building Migrant Resilience in Cities / Immigration et résilience en milieu urbain (BMRC-IRMU) partnership and interviews with representatives from the migrant integration sector in Quebec. These seasoned practitioners are embedded in the "lived realities" of diverse migrant populations. Participants represented immigrant-serving

organizations, umbrella settlement organizations, and Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) that convene nongovernmental organizations, government representatives, publicly funded agencies such as school boards, universities, colleges, and hospitals, and private sector representatives to discuss local migration issues and develop plans to address current and future place-based integration issues (Bradford and Andrew 2010; Praznik and Shields 2018c).

Immigrant-serving agencies (ISAs) are mostly nonprofit community-based agencies that are engaged primarily in service roles in support of migrant settlement and integration (see chapter 2 for more details). While ISAs are funded mainly for direct services to migrants, they also enable the voices of migrant clients and their communities to be heard. Funding for Ontario ISAs comes mainly from the federal government through the Department of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), while in Quebec, the Ministry of Immigration, Francization and Integration (MIFI) funds ISAs. LIPs are funded by IRCC in over eighty local communities outside Quebec. They are based in both municipal governments and local ISAs. Created as place-based partnerships, LIPs promote a collaborative framework to enhance awareness about newcomer needs, support research and planning, and build capacity to facilitate migrant integration across organizations and institutions. They have a crucial advocacy role to ensure local experience grounds federal and provincial policy that affects migrants (Walton-Roberts et al. 2019; Veronis 2019). The Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) and the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes (TCRI) are umbrella organizations representing the immigrant-serving agencies in Ontario and Quebec, respectively. The two organizations offer training and information resources to ISAs and represent ISA and migrant interests in the public sphere. Providing a collective voice for member ISAs, the two agencies have a crucial advocacy role regarding immigration and integration issues (Praznik and Shields 2018b). The interviews and focus groups with settlement sector representatives provide grounded, locally informed understandings of contemporary migrant settlement and integration, the dynamics of integration, and the programming and policy issues that arise as service providers and policymakers work to foster migrant resilience.

The impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on migrants and the various organizations that support migrant settlement and integration

were the jumping-off point for a broad discussion of migrant resilience and its determinants. The goal was to learn more about social resilience beginning from participants' own experiences during the recent pandemic rather than describe and document pandemic responses. To this end, conversations began with four broad open-ended questions designed to encourage interaction and exchange among participants (Hopkins 2007). The first examined participants' understandings of resilience and the second asked about responses to the pandemic that enhanced migrant resilience. In response to the third question, collaboration and cooperation, within the settlement sector and with institutions outside the sector such as health and education, were discussed at length as key aspects of building resilience. The fourth question asked participants to reflect on the role of advocacy as a critical element of building resilience. Throughout the conversation, participants used examples from their recent experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic to illustrate their opinions and experiences. This chapter roughly follows the order of questions. We end with five recommendations for enhancing the resilience of migrants, the immigrant-serving sector, and communities overall based on the focus group discussions and interviews and the findings reported elsewhere in this volume.

SOCIAL RESILIENCE AND IMMIGRANT-SERVING AGENCIES

In the focus groups, participants expressed a sophisticated understanding of social resilience. While resilience was described as "adaptability" (ISA5),[1] "ability to respond to changes" (LIP2), and "our ability to adapt and take remedial action" (ISA2), participants underscored its multidimensional nature as a necessary attribute of organizations and a crucial individual trait for successful integration. Thinking about organizations that serve migrants in a constantly shifting social, economic, political, cultural, and policy context, one participant commented, "The ability of the organization to respond to demands in ever changing environments all the time, things are changing but it should be in a kind of effective manner and with the highest level of accountability and efficiency. So, to me, that's resilience. If it's COVID or not really doesn't matter. As an organization, we constantly deal with changes, and organizations that are resilient, they have better ways and means to respond" (ISA1).

Several participants applauded the resilience of staff serving migrants, many of whom were immigrants themselves. One participant commented, "I was blown away by the resilience that my staff demonstrated in the early days, of moving very quickly to things they never thought would be possible in the way of remote service. Reaching out to vulnerable groups. Very intentional work that was done" (ISA3).

Participants emphasized the resilience of migrants themselves, noting that migration fosters resilience as people uproot themselves, make their way across the globe, and root themselves in new places and societies. One participant spoke for many when he said, "If I look at immigrants in perspective, that many of the immigrants that eventually reach Canada, in their life they have gone through very adverse situations. And it's not just that they just leave their land and come here, and they have never seen any difficult circumstances that they have dealt with, right. So, they have built how to respond to these challenges over time" (ISA6).

According to focus group participants, as emphasized in chapter 2, the success of migrants depends on the supports available and the resiliency of the institutions serving them:

> You're dealing with a set of vulnerable clients. So, what are their strengths? What are their capabilities, in terms of, one, access to services, their ability to function a certain way, digital literacy, access hybrid type of services, get services that they'd normally get in person, maybe online? … from an anti-racist framework, ""How do the power structures and institutional barriers that already preexisted COVID enable that sort of a resilience for immigrants?"" So, again, it's the ability for both the agencies and immigrants to be able to absorb that sort of shock, and where the two collide will determine … the success of the settlement sector. (LIP4)

Participants recognized that the pandemic simultaneously enhanced and threatened the resilience of migrants and the organizations that support them. One participant explained:

> I think we've required resilience from everyone with respect to service delivery and service delivery methods and the ability of clients to respond and the ability of staff to respond and,

> organizationally, our ability to respond too … COVID [-19] pandemic has just really upped everybody's game with respect to resilience, and us having to be so aware as to how things are impacting on people … There's certainly been a financial cost, but there's also been mental health cost, physical cost, when people are on Zoom calls all day, that's pretty wearing. It's wearing on a person, it's wearing on them mentally, physically, and it's been a very challenging time for everybody. Absolutely. (LIP2)

Dealing with the pandemic, immigrant-serving agencies and many other institutions serving migrants demonstrated tremendous resilience, learning successfully from each new challenge. In so doing, the COVID-19 crisis also tested and strained their capacities. Focus group participants emphasized their concern that the strains of providing services during the pandemic could limit their responses to future challenges.

Addressing the impacts of COVID-19 on clients and staff, participants explained that ISAs sought to enhance the resilience of both groups. Sharing the agencies' goal of minimizing the harm experienced by migrants and staff, LIPs sought to enhance collaboration and cooperation among ISAs and between the immigrant-serving agencies, governments, the private sector, and other civil society actors.

BUILDING RESILIENCE IN A PANDEMIC

Innovations flowed in response to the pandemic. ISAs in Ontario and Quebec moved services online, making some services available to all migrants regardless of their status, including those who are often the most vulnerable: temporary migrants, such as international students and refugee claimants, who are discussed in detail in chapters 8 and 10 and in the companion volume. In Quebec, the pandemic coincided with the 2019 expansion of eligibility for government-funded immigrant services to many temporary migrants (Government of Canada 2020), a point reinforced by TCRI. In Ontario, ISAs had to work hard to respond to the needs of a growing temporary resident population despite federal funding rules that continue to limit eligibility for settlement service to permanent residents outside Quebec:[2]

> That, I think, is what wears the sector down because for a lot of times they're having to respond, say to international students, to

> live-in caregivers, agri-food workers that don't fit any box of the sector … there's a community need for services that are related to the settlement process of immigrants in general, that do not fit into the funding boxes of neatly designed [federal] immigration policies. That, I find, is a big stressor for agencies because they have to respond to this need and every situation is different. So, they're continuously having to adapt their approach, their services, and still be accountable. (LIP4)

In other instances, participants collaborated with emerging grassroots groups and lobbied successfully for additional funds to meet the needs of the most vulnerable migrants, who were often not eligible for income support programs, as Gabriel and Osman discuss in chapter 4. Food security was an overriding concern for many, especially for undocumented migrants and migrants with temporary status, as Sutama Ghosh et al. (2020) reported for international students. One example illustrates their efforts: "And, for example, undocumented … when COVID-19 started, there were some really heartbreaking cases where people were not able to leave their homes. They lost employment that was their only source of income. As they were not eligible for government assistance, access to food quickly became an issue. We were able to get funding … to provide what's comparable to OW [Ontario Works][3] to undocumented" (LIP1).

ISAs also worked with new partners to address challenges that the pandemic exacerbated, such as food security and limited access to technology: "What we saw to a great extent, very positive examples of small agencies working together. And I can think specifically around food security and the increased need of families and individuals for food … culturally appropriate food. We saw agencies work together and speak to each other who never traditionally spoke to each other before … And those smaller agencies that had that kind of knowledge were able to assist" (LIP3).

Immigrant-serving agencies experimented with new ways to draw attention to the migrant vulnerabilities exposed by the pandemic. One LIP collected and publicized migrant stories to illustrate the need for detailed information about COVID-19 impacts disaggregated by immigration status, ethno-racial identity, neighbourhood, and other relevant social characteristics. With organizations across Canada, an immigrant-serving agency that works closely with employers to enhance migrant employment opportunities engaged in a Twitter

(now X) campaign to remind employers about the crucial importance of immigration for the Canadian economy: "We counted over ten thousand people who connected online to participate. It was so successful. We did a second one and out of that produced a resource document" (ISA2).

New modes of service delivery and novel organizational practices were instituted rapidly. Organizations pivoted quickly from offering services and supports in-person to online service delivery. One describes its shift to online services as a challenging and worthwhile opportunity to make desired changes:

> The first communication we sent for COVID[-19] was [on the] thirtieth of January. We sent to staff that we are transitioning and … more information will come … March seventeenth, we said the staff work from home and … we trained the staff for a good two months, we communicate with both our main funders … We also didn't have all the laptops and equipment and all of that, but … when you have to, you put things together and then you get the work done, and then you go back and see what you need … So, by March, when IRCC … said, "Okay, people can work from home," we were ready. April fourteenth, we were going to have our language training classes in person. And we had them all online … It created an environment for everybody to be more innovative … it wasn't just a big difficult time but … you had a little bit of opportunity to test things, to test relationship, what works, what doesn't work … it hasn't been easy, but it also had a lot of opportunity that came with it. (LIP1)

Many funders responded effectively to the pandemic, enabling innovation in services and organizational practices. Governments maintained funding for immigrant-serving agencies and the LIPs even as the number of migrants entering Canada declined (IRCC 2021b), which allowed agencies to redirect existing funds to meet the increased service needs of migrants already living in Canada as well as changing organizational needs. For example, the shift to online services was greatly facilitated by the federal government's support for investments in technologies that can deliver settlement services remotely.

While the pandemic promoted welcome innovations, it also heightened long-standing challenges for ISAs and many other

organizations that support immigrant integration. The funding system developed under the logic of New Public Management (NPM) rewards organizations that meet numerical targets and bureaucratic requirements, favouring large agencies with well-established links to funders (Lowe et al. 2017). During the pandemic, emergency funds were distributed locally in Ontario, enabling small, often ethno-specific agencies to obtain additional funds. One participant described his agency's access to federal government emergency funds that were distributed through the United Way: "We received that because entities know our work, or they came to know of some project of value to the community through these cluster tables. And they were able to kind of create that pathway for us when the funding got distributed … So, as you come down to the level of cities and region and United Ways … there's more chance … As you move up in the provincial and federal chain, it's only certain players will get it, and they will get every year" (ISA6).

The resilience of ISAs and the other nongovernmental and government organizations that support migrant settlement and integration was also affected by the pandemic. As one participant noted, "I think even without the pandemic, there were some perhaps structural … things that needed to be revisited … The funding regime was not always conducive to the work that needed to be done around settlement prepandemic. The pandemic just brought these things to light. So, meeting the immediate needs of newcomers got interrupted or disrupted by the need to survive as organizations" (LIP3).

For example, ISAs are human resource dependent (Baines et al. 2014). As the pandemic has continued, some staff have burned out despite efforts to normalize the new work environment, especially working from home (Shields et al. 2022). For immigrant-serving agencies that are disproportionately staffed by migrants themselves, the decline in migrant admissions in 2020 can potentially pose future human resource challenges. These agencies have been springboards for workers and volunteers to gain crucial Canadian experience that allows them to compete for jobs in other sectors (see volume 2, *Social Resilience and the Urban Migrant Experience*). Without a steady flow of migrants, the ISAs could find themselves struggling to hire and retain staff in the future.

In the remainder of this chapter, we reflect on how ISAs and LIPs managed through a pandemic that taxed the capacities of many government and civil society organizations. Their experiences

underscore the relevance of social resilience. Adopting a resilience lens draws attention away from the strengths and shortcomings of individual organizations. Rather, it emphasizes the ecosystem of organizations and sectors, available supports, and the ways that organizations seek and obtain necessary supports – the creation of a mutual support system. In this way, documenting the experiences of the diverse organizations supporting migrant integration during the pandemic enhances our understanding of social resilience.

COLLABORATION AND COOPERATION

During the pandemic, cooperation and collaboration expanded and intensified. As one participant noted, "It helped us to be more tangible in what we wanted to do and what supports we could give each other. The spirit of sharing became even more evident" (ISA2). Another participant remarked on the intense cooperation and collaboration required to respond effectively to the pandemic, "Throughout the pandemic, the nature of the collaboration … became a lot more intense. In some instance … related to the pandemic challenges, we saw ourselves meeting twice a week … we participated in what we call instant emergency responses that were sort of bringing wraparound supports to individuals and families that were deeply challenged … we were also constructing at the same time vaccine strategies, testing strategies, needs assessments, and the food security challenges with youth, challenges with seniors … Having intense conversations and endless talks to build the solutions we were overseeing" (ISA5).

Immigrant-serving agencies consulted with other ISAs, nongovernmental organizations in other sectors such as health, and many municipal, provincial, and federal departments. Relationships with organizations and government departments sometimes stretched geographically, enabled by remote work technologies. Collaboration also increased between small and large organizations, just as it had during the Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative (SRRI) (Walton-Roberts et al. 2019). In many metropolitan areas, urgent issues such as food insecurity and limited access to technology encouraged successful collaborations between ISAs, LIPs, and small grassroots organizations that had detailed knowledge of local needs. Collaboration benefited all organizations by helping to spread the risk associated with innovation. As a municipal representative from

one LIP noted, "For small agencies, they can take risks that larger agencies cannot and including legal, financial, all sorts of risks … And when a volunteer group or a grassroots organization that was just established last year approaches you, there is a level of risk that in an emergency it's difficult to manage. If you need to distribute those funds quickly to address an issue, then you tend to go to those trusted well-established relationships" (LIP1).

Funders also collaborated successfully with ISAs. Cooperation with funders, especially the government departments that are the principal funders of ISAs, was the foundation for their successful adaptations to the pandemic, especially enhanced collaboration. In Ontario, the federal government (through the IRCC) and provincial and municipal governments provided a stable funding and operating environment, a prime example of social resilience in practice (Shields and Abu Alrob 2020). There was understanding and respect between funders and the agencies receiving funding. In Ontario, many participants commented that funders were responsive to their inquiries during the pandemic, just as they had been during the resettlement of Syrian refugees (Hamilton, Veronis, and Walton-Roberts 2020). This comment is typical: "What I was impressed [about] is the responsiveness of funders … we could say this is what's needed and funders will bring money immediately on those solutions. So, we had instant responsiveness from funders" (ISA5).

By being supportive, responsive, and flexible during the pandemic, funders created the conditions for ISAs to adapt successfully to online service delivery, to provide the different types of services needed, to maintain in-person services safely for the most vulnerable eligible migrants, principally recently arrived refugees, and to collaborate effectively with partners across sectors (Shields et al. 2022). A key remaining question is whether these conditions are temporary crisis-based responses or if they will become a permanent feature of IRCC funding as part of building back better (Slootjes 2022).

In Quebec, stable funding from MIFI was also crucial for ISAs to serve migrants made increasingly vulnerable by the pandemic. MIFI maintained its funding for ISAs in the province. Indeed, funding increases put in place just before the pandemic continued, as did the expansion of eligibility for funded services to temporary migrants. The funding was essential for Quebec ISAs, who offered almost equal numbers of services before and during the pandemic (TCRI 2020). As in Ontario, the needs of individual migrants increased. Even though

the total number of migrants served by Quebec immigrant-serving agencies declined slightly, migrants used more services as their needs increased during the pandemic. Continued stable funding was key to the success with which Quebec ISAs served migrants during the pandemic.

Even in an environment of stable funding, Quebec ISAs had unanswered questions. Specifically, they sought more direction from their main funder, MIFI, about how to respond to public health orders, ways to resume group and other in-person services, and the availability of funds for the technology, personal protective equipment, and other adaptations required to operate safely during the pandemic (TCRI 2020). Communication with MIFI was an ongoing issue for Quebec ISAs, although TCRI and the agencies successfully declared the ISAs to be essential services so they could continue to offer services in person (TCRI 2021).

In Ontario, LIPs played a crucial role, facilitating frequent collaboration and cooperation among diverse organizations. The LIPs convened consultation tables to deal with different aspects of the pandemic ranging from health promotion and culturally appropriate health services for migrant groups to food security issues among vulnerable migrants who were among the first to be laid off or have their hours cut during the pandemic (Statistics Canada 2020). By promoting cooperation and collaboration among ISAs, between ISAs and other nongovernmental organizations, and among government, private, and nongovernmental organizations, and within locally based pandemic response structures, the LIPs facilitated efforts to identify the specific vulnerabilities of migrants in their communities, address these vulnerabilities, reduce inequities, and monitor responses. Participants agreed that LIPs helped coalesce organizational partners around big picture, mutual goals and at times helped manage tensions that inevitably exist among agencies who have to compete for funding:

> In terms of collaborations, from my observation, as an LIP … as a coordinator of the relationships and collaborations, and part of our role is to create those conditions of success … We can speak to other LIPs, we speak to other levels of government … So those more on the ground sometimes took a little more effort. (LIP3)
>
> The LIPs have been great in bringing us together, even if not dealing with particular tensions, but looking at the big picture of

> why we are all here and why we do the work we do. And there are times when, with the … LIPs, we move ahead and others might drag their feet, but in time, they will get a message and they will join. (ISA2)

Participants noted that the sector has never had as much government funding as it had during the pandemic and that the high levels of funding were unlikely to be sustained. Of course, it is also the case that some organizations, especially the larger ISAs, enjoyed greater access to government resources during COVID-19 than others. Several raised concerns about the impacts of "leaner funding" on their ability to sustain the enhanced levels of collaboration and cooperation that contributed to many successes during the pandemic. With less funding, there is also a fear that competition among ISAs could increase and trust could decline. The same concern was raised with respect to an anticipated rise in reliance on project-based funding that does not support organizational infrastructure:

> Most of the issues … [are] more of a competitive environment than of disagreements based on any issues. And the competitive environment sometimes is created by … government funding schemes [that] force agencies to mission creep because they are paying for some parts of your operational delivery and are not paying for others. So yes, you're paying for somebody's staff time, but you're not willing to pay for the part of the cost of the roof under which the person is going to work. So where is that money going to come from? It's going to mean that if there's another program that would cover that, even if that is outside of your mandate, but you can stretch a bit to make a case for it, then you are going into that funding envelope. So, this is where some of the realistic conversations need to be had around funding that helps reduce those mission creeps. It helps people focus on their mandates. It would help reduce some of the … competition that does happen in the environment. (ISA2)

The competition and other distortions that arise from project-based funding are well known and they were recognized as threats to collaboration among ISAs before the pandemic (Lowe et al. 2017).

The differences in the government support and regulation of ISAs between Quebec and Ontario revealed in our conversations highlight

the value of a comparative analysis of resilience. The experiences of ISAs in supporting migrants and dealing with pandemic challenges have many commonalities in the two provinces, but divergences are also apparent. For example, ISAs in Quebec have higher levels of government funding, more discretion over the use of government funds, and greater flexibility in serving international students and temporary foreign workers. These differences in funding and mandate enabled Quebec ISAs to respond to pandemic needs more quickly than Ontario ISAs, who waited for federal direction. With less concern about funding levels and regulations and a mandate to serve most migrants, Quebec ISAs concentrated on identifying service needs and satisfying them, unlike Ontario ISAs, who spent time and energy to work around funding and eligibility rules. The comparison demonstrates both the continuities and discontinuities within the broader Canadian settlement and integration system. While the immigrant settlement service systems in Quebec and the rest of Canada (including Ontario) are quite similar, small differences in funding and mandate matter; they have material impacts on how organizations operate and what they are able to do. The apparently small differences between Quebec and Ontario agencies influenced the financial stability of organizations and their capacity to serve an increasingly diverse and vulnerable migrant population, especially during a crisis like the pandemic.

ADVOCACY

Broadly conceived, advocacy is "the act of voicing the concerns and needs of the constituency, conveying their opinion and representing their interests to the state" and society (Laforest 2011, 8). Advocacy is a critical part of building migrant resilience (De Verteuil 2016). It can enable voice on the part of migrants, allowing their concerns to be heard publicly and their needs to be identified in the policy arena. Advocacy is also about promoting self-advocacy, an important aspect of migrants' civic and political integration. Advocacy seeks to empower migrants while amplifying their voices. As one participant noted about the advocacy role:

> We are always engaged in advocacy, and our policy is intending to merely clarify for us the advocacy activities and pathways that we are going to pursue … We are about voice, and we

> have a vantage point that's quite unique, the Local Immigration Partnerships. We connect with so many sectors, so many leaders, but also to community members, individuals, and private folks. So, that vantage point is quite unique, and it can be processed to inform policymaking, but that's not given that it will be an easy thing for us to accomplish. We are always thinking about mechanism. Like, one thing is to have the intention to advocate. The other is what's the mechanisms open to you? (ISA5)

Settlement agencies engage in a variety of advocacy practices that range from direct "harder" forms of advocacy with funders and policymakers to "softer" advocacy forms that may simply be information exchange with government program officers regarding the needs of immigrant clients. Advocacy in all its forms is essential for providing effective supports and services. To serve migrants and their communities effectively, service providers and policymakers need to hear migrant voices so they can understand migrants' needs. Many migrants also have to learn how to articulate their own interests. For nonprofit organizations dependent upon government funding, advocacy chill has been an ongoing reality, especially with respect to the harder forms of advocacy (Evans and Shields 2014).

While acknowledging that identifying migrants' needs is crucial for developing resilience, each component of the immigrant-serving sector has a distinct advocacy role. The ISAs advocate on the part of their clients, often through engagement with other service systems, participation in LIP consultations, regular conversations with funders, and collaborations with other ISAs. Often housed within a municipal government, the LIPs are charged with convening multisectoral discussions of migrant issues. During the pandemic, LIP staff chaired consultation tables that involved representatives from municipal departments, provincial and federal governments, numerous publicly funded agencies, private sector representatives, nongovernmental agencies, and grassroots groups. In these different forums, ISAs and LIPs provided detailed information about migrants' needs and concerns to ensure health equity was considered in all pandemic responses. The softer forms of advocacy based in consultations and relationship building are critical for articulating migrants' changing needs for services and supports. As LIP staff noted:

> So, trying to make sure that the concerns that they may have in our community are communicated to the healthcare community and responded to … you had the sense that low-income individuals, including newcomers, were struggling with the pandemic and with responses more than other people … so many of … the expectations that were put out by the healthcare sector were very, very difficult … to achieve … And we have been trying to communicate that message. (LIP2)
>
> One of the things we've done throughout the pandemic is pay serious attention to the data so that we build common understanding of the situation. (ISA5)

Despite the interest of some ISAs and LIPs in identifying and publicizing the concerns of migrants, some perceive that public funding, especially from the federal government, limits their engagement in advocacy activities. Some worry about the security of their funding if they are seen as critical of government funders. As one participant stated, "Advocacy is an issue that we take incredibly seriously … But I just wanted to say it's something that we walk a real fine balance on this all the time. But we have to take advocacy really seriously" (LIP2).

Despite these concerns, some ISAs and LIPs directly and actively engage in advocacy, albeit mainly in softer forms involving consultation and information sharing.

Umbrella organizations like OCASI and TCRI advocate directly and forcefully on behalf of the immigrant-serving sector and migrants. Consulting directly with federal, provincial, and municipal governments and agencies, they also monitor policy developments across Canada and participate in relevant pan-Canadian initiatives designed to influence policymakers and their decisions. OCASI and TCRI representatives meet regularly with executive directors to identify the needs of ISAs and the migrants that they serve, develop possible ways to fill unmet needs, and advocate for these solutions with relevant municipal, provincial, and federal officials.

In this highly differentiated landscape, participants were concerned about how to institutionalize the lessons learned from the pandemic and sustain the new ways of doing things after the crisis subsides. Specifically, ISAs and LIPs want to sustain the responsive, flexible, and respectful multisectoral collaborations with funders and other organizations that facilitated successful pandemic responses when it

came to migrant settlement and integration. A key development was the transformation of the IRCC relationship with ISAs and LIPs away from NPM approaches to emphasize listening, regular communications, respectful relationships, rule relaxation to enhance flexibility, and strong financial support for the ISAs. In this context, soft advocacy was effective at building cooperative partnerships where the voices of migrants and the agencies serving them were heard and acted upon. In this regard, the pandemic was an effective re-shaper of relationships and the power dynamics within them. But is this an enduring change?

Pointing to the detailed data the LIPs collected and analyzed, participants argued that collaboration required continued recognition of the expertise of ISAs and LIPs in relation to the needs and concerns of migrant populations. LIP staff and ISA representatives asked how their capacities to do invaluable detailed research and inform decision-making will be maintained. Everyone recommended that the "experiment in partnership" during the pandemic should be evaluated so that recommendations for the future can be distilled and implemented. ISAs, LIPs, and funders were so busy managing through the pandemic that there have been few, if any, resources to document innovations and lessons for the future. Consequently, participants worried that the memory of pandemic experiences, improvements, and innovations will be lost, especially within the government sector where there is often a high turnover in personnel. Everyone wants to avoid the loss of institutional memory that happened in the aftermath of the Syrian resettlement initiative, which closely mirrored pandemic responses in many communities. "I think data and the evidence are going to become very important to set the parameters for where we can go so that we don't lose some of the good work that's happened. There has never been this much money in the system. And it is not sustainable would be my thought on that. So, advocacy is going to play a very important role in helping to determine the policy and program decision-making, and therefore the investment decisions that follow" (LIP3).

Recent experiences with the early stages of the Afghan refugee resettlement initiative[4] heightened participants' concerns about learning from the pandemic. Several noted that in the initial stages, communications with IRCC were slow and there was little flexibility in the use of funding to resettle Afghans. Well-documented lessons from the SRRI, outlined in chapter 10 and discussed by Leah

Hamilton, Luisa Veronis, and Margaret Walton-Roberts (2020), did not seem to be put into practice. This comment captures the sentiment of our focus groups:

> So, when we were receiving the Syrians, there was a community-wide response that was amazing for communicating back and forth between all the different pillars and all the different groups. And during the pandemic, we'd had a very similar model of all kinds of subcommittees bringing this to a central location, trying to deal with it … many of the issues that we dealt with when the Syrians arrived, we're dealing with it again. It's not like we solve the issue. And in some cases, things that we were able to do with Syrians, we cannot do with the Afghanis … How do we institutionalize all those positive things that have happened and not lose them a year from now? (ISA3)

Along with local data that describes the lived experiences of migrants at the neighbourhood level, such as the information described in chapter 11, collaboration and cooperation are seen as critical for effective advocacy. As one participant noted, "It's actually a little bit of a … struggle that requires deep analysis with data and real conversations of collaboration between governments and players and mechanisms of accountability and cooperation for these large numbers of people to find their way in their places, in the new communities" (ISA5).

Other participants suggested that the pandemic allowed them to hone new approaches to advocacy driven by engagement with diverse groups in their municipalities and the participants' own efforts to empower migrants themselves. "Now, what we've learned through our COVID[-19] lessons really is how … we work with our partners on the ground to continue to generate contact with communities. I think community engagement is a more appropriate term rather than advocacy. Because then through that community engagement and the strong social networks, we're likely to come from the ground up with solutions that are more appropriate, lasting, and supported even by different levels of government" (LIP4).

There is also a recognition that advocacy needs to extend well beyond municipal, provincial, and federal governments to the private sector, civil society, and media. "We also need to broaden that advocacy towards the private sector as well … they also have a

role to play … with work around equity, diversity, inclusion, and belonging; all of these are things that both public and private sector have roles to play in the community. And so, our advocacy work needs to be broader and holistic in approach in terms of who we are targeting, and not only to the three orders of government" (ISA2).

Immigration remains a central aspect of Canada's pandemic recovery and the continued economic, social, and cultural future of the county. The significance of immigration to the short-term and long-term prospects of Canada should give ISAs, LIPs, and other organizations concerned with migrant integration a strategic role. Recognizing the crucial importance of migration and the diverse organizations that facilitate migrant integration, the discussions underscored the practices that promoted the resilience of migrants and the agencies that serve them. The commitment and dedication of staff and leaders enabled a remarkable technological transformation in service delivery, evolving collaborations allowed agencies to document the shifting needs of migrants in real time as the pandemic evolved, and cooperative and productive relationships among all partners, especially funders, allowed ISAs to respond to migrants' changing needs. Despite their success during the pandemic, the ISAs and LIPs have serious concerns about the future. Has the longevity of the pandemic worked to keep the "policy window" open long enough and wide enough to "build back better" or is it creating fiscal challenges that will limit new practices? What is the future of migrant resilience and the resilience of the organizations charged with facilitating their integration?

CONCLUSIONS

In our conversations, representatives from the immigrant-serving sector and municipalities demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of resilience as dependent on and shaped by the institutions around migrants and the responses of migrants and the institutions supporting them to integration challenges. Reflecting on their pandemic experiences, participants emphasized that resilience is dynamic. Overcoming one challenge can equip migrants and the institutions serving them with the resources and strategies to deal effectively with subsequent challenges. Such understandings of resilience go beyond restoration of the status quo that prevailed before a crisis to acknowledge that crises can be transformative along progressive

pathways. The ISA and LIP respondents were, of course, outlining a social resilience approach. Based on the concerns that ISA and LIP participants raised, we propose five recommendations for building migrant resilience and the resilience of the sector that serves them and the communities where migrants live. The recommendations focus on eligibility for services; funding mechanisms, especially in Ontario; collaboration; policymaking practices; and advocacy.

Expand Eligibility for Federally Funded Settlement and Integration Services

Service eligibility is a key issue in Ontario and other provinces outside Quebec where immigrant-serving agencies scramble to assist the growing numbers of international students, refugee claimants, temporary foreign workers including seasonal agricultural workers, and undocumented who require help but are not currently eligible for most federally funded services. These groups now outnumber permanent residents in many communities across Canada, are a permanent feature of Canadian communities, and increasingly become permanent residents as a result of intentional federal policy changes (Esses et al. 2021; Tuey and Bastien 2023). They were clearly identified as disproportionately vulnerable in the context of the pandemic and there is a growing expectation and need in communities across the country that they be supported to succeed. The intentional expansion of temporary visa programs since 2010 challenges long-held views that publicly funded immigrant services should only be for permanent residents. During the pandemic, the shift to online services blurred the sharp distinctions between eligible and ineligible migrants since some, albeit limited, services were available to all. The decision to invite more than ninety thousand temporary residents to become permanent residents (IRCC 2021b) highlighted the contradictions between selection policies that encourage and enable temporary residents to apply for permanent residence and settlement policies that exclude them from services. The decision to provide temporary visas and extend federally funded settlement services to an unlimited number of displaced Ukrainians also underscores the contradictory policies. Policies that deny federally funded settlement services to temporary residents can no longer be justified. They clearly harm large numbers of Canadian residents and create immense place-based challenges to which municipalities across the

country do not have the financial and resources to respond on their own. Extending federally funded settlement and other services to all migrants across Canada, a policy shift already underway in Quebec (Paquet and Xhardez 2020), would enhance the resilience of the growing numbers of temporary residents, many of whom hope to become permanent residents and naturalized citizens; reduce inequity; and improve overall societal resilience. Expanded eligibility will also buttress the resilience of the immigrant-serving sector by expanding its clientele, reducing the resources devoted to accommodating those now considered ineligible, and enhancing the "warmth of the welcome" (Reitz 1999) in many communities where there are now two classes of migrants: the eligible and the ineligible.

Eligibility also has a geographical dimension. ISAs and other organizations serving migrants receive much of their funding based on the number of immigrants in the local area. As services shift online, clients located almost anywhere can participate and specialized services are now more available. As the geographical boundaries of services blur, concern about competition and how clientele at a distance will be considered in funding decisions increases. While virtual services are often very effective, in some cases, in-person service cannot be replaced. Integration, inclusion, and resilience are deeply dependent on human connection and networking. One organization cannot serve everyone. There will be an ongoing need for localized, in-person services while also expanding virtual service provision across geographical jurisdictions to meet some needs. Immigrant service providers recommend thoughtful consideration as to which networks of organizations are needed to best serve migrants.

Sustain Pandemic-Induced Improvements to Government Funding Practices

Participants emphasized that migrant resilience has been improved by reforming some harmful funding practices during the pandemic. ISAs and LIPs applauded the flexibility and stability of funding from municipal, provincial, and federal governments and the stripping away of bureaucratic rules and reporting requirements that reduce organizational capacity to meet client needs. The success with which the sector pivoted to online services, maintained in-person services for the most vulnerable, engaged in heightened collaboration, and convened consultation groups to address migrants' pressing needs

demonstrates that stable, unrestricted funding enhances migrant resilience – and the resilience of the ISA sector and of communities overall. ISAs, LIPs, and other immigrant-serving organizations recommend maintenance of the flexible, stable, and unrestricted funding practices that improved efficacy and contributed to their success during the pandemic while still ensuring the accountability needed for public funds.

The COVID-19 crisis demonstrated that the "just in time" delivery of lean services with a precariously employed nonprofit workforce necessitated by NPM funding models – a system of "doing ever more with less" – are ill-suited to building sustainable resilient organizations and systems. Sustainable ISAs can only be constructed on a base of stable, flexible, and solid funding centred around a "just in case" approach to crisis and resilience (World Economic Forum 2022). Sustainable capacities designed to deal with contingencies like crises need to be built into funding arrangements.

The pandemic underscored the impact of funding on the ingenuity and responsiveness of the not-for-profit sector. During the crisis posed by COVID-19, small and new grassroots groups emerged to address issues such as food security, misinformation, and vaccination hesitancy (Edwards 2021). Many of these initiatives were supported with funds from all levels of government distributed through local nonprofits such as the United Way that have long-standing relationships with the many different nonprofit organizations in their municipalities. The intervention of the United Way enabled access to government funds for new organizations and timely and responsive programming to meet the evolving needs of local communities. The government should continue to distribute funds through local nonprofits or other place-based frameworks for funding decisions, such as those being explored through the ongoing IRCC funded Service Delivery Improvement pilot projects.[5] This approach will enhance migrant resilience by enabling rapid responses to migrants' changing needs and the emergence and survival of new organizations trying to serve rapidly changing migrant populations.

Invest in Institutional Capacity for Effective Collaboration

The multisectoral cooperation and collaboration across geographical scales – municipal, provincial, and national – described in chapters 3 and 4 were another key to the success of the immigrant-serving

sector during the pandemic. ISAs collaborated with each other, non-governmental organizations in other sectors such as food banks, other publicly funded organizations such as hospitals and school boards, private sector representatives, and governments. The LIPs and other umbrella organizations played crucial roles in convening discussions, identifying policy issues relevant to migrants, and advocating for support. Our research and discussion focused on the umbrella organizations for ISAs in Ontario and Quebec, but other pan-Canadian organizations also facilitated crucial discussions and advocacy. The pandemic demonstrated that building migrant resilience depends on funding and supporting the organizations such as LIPs that facilitate multisectoral collaboration centred around the immigrant-serving agencies. Sustained and sufficient investment in direct and indirect services is needed to facilitate and enhance the collaboration and cooperation that characterized the pandemic.

Strengthen Institutional Links and Processes That Engage all Three Levels of Government in Coordinated Immigration Planning

Immigrant settlement and integration happens in communities across Canada – not at a national level. Underlining the significance of the municipal scale investigated in chapters 3, 5, 7, and 10, the pandemic demonstrated the value of a bottom-up approach to policymaking for addressing the inequalities that constrain migrant success. As demonstrated in chapters 8 and 11, compiling migrants' stories and detailed information about migrants at the neighbourhood level is crucial for identifying and addressing inequalities. During the pandemic, the food insecurity, misinformation about COVID-19, and vaccine hesitancy in migrant populations could only be addressed effectively at a local level, in some cases by initiatives targeting a single high-rise building or a single migrant group. Fortunately, some of the planning infrastructure to develop policy rooted in the lived experiences of migrants already exists in Ontario in the form of LIPs. During the pandemic, LIPs gave voice to migrant groups, collaborated with government and nongovernmental organizations locally, provincially, and federally, and facilitated the direct engagement of immigrant-serving organizations in local pandemic responses. This engagement resulted in rapid and targeted solutions that helped to reduce inequalities. To sustain local decision-making,

a comprehensive evaluation of the LIP practices during the pandemic is needed, similar to the evaluation completed for the SRRI (Walton-Roberts et al. 2019).

While revealing the need to address long-standing geographies of social inequality, the pandemic also underscored the local nature of migrant integration and the need for locally informed funding and decision-making. Municipalities played a crucial role in building migrant resilience during the pandemic and many are now drawing on their pandemic experiences and their success with resettling Syrian refugees to assist displaced Ukrainians. Currently, municipalities are reviewing the various strategies that they used for Syrian refugees to unlock underutilized housing and expand eligibility for municipal programs and services such as transit passes. Municipal contributions are a reminder of the potential benefits from enabling municipal direction on funding allocations and infrastructure planning. In addition to expanding existing programs such as the Municipal Nominee Pilot, provincial and federal governments should create other pathways to ensure direct and sustained engagement with municipalities about immigration planning (IRCC 2020). Pandemic experiences indicate that expanding local responsibility for immigrant settlement programming and funding allocations is likely to foster migrant resilience and ensure that immigration planning levels have positive impacts on Canadian communities.

EXPAND ENGAGEMENT OF IMMIGRANT-SERVING AGENCIES AS CAPACITY BUILDERS IN OTHER SECTORS

Our final recommendation is for the immigrant-serving sector to extend its engagement beyond the current focus on the three levels of government and for funders such as IRCC to acknowledge the value of this engagement by earmarking funding to facilitate this work. The provincial and federal governments are the main funders of immigrant services, justifying the current attention they receive from LIPs and ISAs. Nevertheless, migrants encounter barriers to integration across society, as the pandemic demonstrated. In many municipalities, LIPs and ISAs developed multisectoral alliances with representatives from the health sector, housing providers, police boards, and employers, among others, to address pandemic issues for migrants. The information, data, and research undertaken by ISAs and LIPs provided invaluable insight into the inequalities that had to be considered in pandemic responses. More generally, the

pandemic demonstrated that centring the voices of migrants encourages policies that reduce inequalities and thereby enhance migrant resilience, the resilience of the immigrant-serving sector, and the resilience of the places where migrants live.

Future initiatives to enhance migrant resilience and ultimately improve their integration require such engagement to build capacity about migrant issues within the private sector, the general public, and the many nongovernmental and public organizations migrants interact with. Establishing and sustaining engagement across sectors requires time and resources that are in short supply in many ISAs. By earmarking funds for engagement by ISAs, funders can strengthen the local networks of migration supports and services that are key to integration. Funding for engagement is an investment that will pay dividends in the years to come by promoting the innovations across society that will enable rapid and effective responses to migrants' evolving needs.

These recommendations will enhance migrant resilience by ensuring vibrant, engaged, and sustainable institutions to serve and advocate for them. Like the other chapters in this volume, the recommendations acknowledge the benefits of a social resilience approach to integration for research, policymaking, and programming. While illustrating how diverse policies, institutions, and places shape migrant integration, the recommendations also hint at the ways migrants are transforming Canadian society and Canadian cities. This topic is taken up in a second volume, *Social Resilience and the Urban Migrant Experience*, which focuses on the integration of migrants with different immigration statuses. By comparing the experiences of migrants without status, temporary migrants, and permanent residents through an intersectional lens that takes account of gender and race, the second volume does more than add to our understanding of integration. It also acknowledges how migrants themselves are making Canada, with its complex provincial, municipal, and neighbourhood geographies, a place where supports and services of all types help migrants overcome the inevitable challenges of integration and enhance the lives of all vulnerable Canadians. Together, the two volumes make the case that the societal challenge of migrant integration cannot be addressed successfully by focusing on individual migrants. Rather, migrant resilience depends on transforming policies, institutions, and places in conjunction with each other.

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NOTES

1 To maintain anonymity, participants are identified only by one of two designations: ISA, immigrant-serving agency, and LIP, Local Immigrant Partnership. Within each group, participants are numbered.

2 Although temporary visa-holders are still officially ineligible for settlement services funded by IRCC, Ukrainians admitted on three-year temporary visas have been offered settlement services and Economic and Social Development Canada is funding settlement services for temporary foreign workers (Economic and Social Development Canada 2022, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada 2022).

3 OW refers to Ontario Works, the main social assistance program in Ontario.

4 Government of Canada, "Supporting Afghan Nationals: About the Special Programs," modified 19 July 2024, https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/afghanistan/special-measures.html.

5 Peel Newcomer Strategy Group, "Regional Accountability Models for Settlement," accessed 23 January 2025, https://peelnewcomer.org/regional-accountability-models-for-settlement/.

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